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# STATE PAPERS

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VOLUME VII.

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King Henry the Eighth.

PART V.—*continued.*

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1849.



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# STATE PAPERS.

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King Henry the Eighth.

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PART V.—*continued.*

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

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1527—1537.

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# STATE PAPERS.

## PART V.—*continued.*

### CLXVI. KNIGHTE to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it Your Highnesse to understand that at myne arryval at Compiegne, which was the 10<sup>th</sup> day of this moneth, I delyvred Your Highnesse letters unto my Lorde Legat immediatli, the contentes whereof aftyr that he had red and perused, I assure Your Highnesse he rejoysed right hertily, perceyving bi the same to his singulier comforete, that all theeffectes that hath ensued upon the grete payne and travayle, which he hath employed in your affayres here, beth right thankfull acceptable and unto your highe contentacion. And ensuyng Your Highnesse pleasure for my spedi depeshe towardes Rome, aswele for thatteignyng of the protestacion that Your Grace desyreth, as allso for a general commission unto hym from the Pope, which shall serve not oonly for certaine purposes that now beth thowght requysite, but allso for other cawses that hereaftyr may chaunce to insurge durante captivitate Pontificis; His Grace hath depeshed Gregori de Cassalis, in cumpagnye with Sir Robert Jarnegham and Carrew Hacham, towardes Mons<sup>r</sup> de Loutrek, 14 daiys passed; which, being here full instructe for thatteynyng of the protestacion and commission, after recommendacion of the saide Sir Robert and Carrew, and levyng theym with Mons<sup>r</sup> de Loutrek, shall make all diligence convenient to repare unto the Popes presence. And with like charge His Grace hath set furthe the Prothonotari Gambara. And I now being likewise furnyshed and instructe for the saide porposes, do bi my Lordes advise and cownsel take my voyage towardes Venyce, havyng a letter of credence from him unto the Segniorie, with good and sufficient matier; bi reason whereof, I may with your honoure demeure there a tyme, dyssymulyng the cawse of myne abode there, tyll I shall

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

have oportunyte to remove and procede. And ordre is taken that I shalbe advertised from Gregori de Cassalis and the Prothonotari, whither accesse may be had unto the Pope or no, and whither I may speke with His Holynesse remotis arbitris or no; so that, yf there be any meane possible to accomplishe Your Highnesse pleasure, oon of us thre, God willing, shall atteigne therunto. My Lordes pleasure ys that, in case I have convenient accesse unto the Pope, I shall set furthe the protestacion; but as towching the general commission, inasmuche as he porposeth to commune with Your Highnesse frist upon the same, I shall no thing attempte for thobteignyng thereof, tyll I be advertised from his Lordship. In the rest of the charges commytted unto me by Your Highnesse, aswele for the mariage of my Lorde of Richemont as all other, there hath nothing bene omytted that myght conferre or avaunce any parte of theym, as his Lordship, beyng mynded within few daiys to repare towardes Your Highnesse, will shew and declare, and with good rayson satisfye in every poynte.

Fynally, Sir, I thowght I cowde no lesse doo, of my trewth and duety towardes Your Grace, then to advertise the same of such thynges as beth spoken and sayde here upon my Lorde Legats doynges and proceedinges, redowndyng I assure Your Grace unto your highe honour, and unto the honour of your Royalme. And beyng yestreday with my saide Lorde Cardinal in a grete presens of all thAmbassadors, as the Popes, Venetians, Florentynys, the Duke of Myllayns, the Counte of Carpe, the Segniour Rence, with the Chauncelour of Fraunce, the Duke of Vandome, thArchebishop of Burgys, the Grete Mastre, the President of Alaunson, with a grete numbre of other of the Frensh Kinges Cowncel, my saide Lorde Legat made a long discourse and rehersall, aswele of the perpetuel peace betwene these two Royalmes, as of the streighe amyable and lovyng conjunccion betwene Your Highnesse and the Frensh King, and allso of such exspedicions as hath bene made into Spaigne for thatteynyng of peace, and the setting forwarde bi see and land of the werrys of Italye. Which declaracion was made in suche discrete and eloquent manyer, that the same was not oonly to the grete admyracion of all the herers, but allso to their singulier satisfaccion and contentement. Wherof I thowght convenient to advertise Yow, to thentent that Your Highnesse may geve unto hym thankes acordingly. The Holigoste preserve Your Highnesse. At Compiegne, this 12<sup>th</sup> day of Septembre.

Your moste humble chaplain  
servaunt and subiect,

W<sup>m</sup>. KNIGHTE.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinges most noble Grace,  
Defensour of the Faithe.

CLXVII. KNIGHTE TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it Your most noble Grace to understand, that Christofer Mores in discrete manyer hath delyvred unto me your gracious letters concernyng your secret affaire, which is to me oonly commytted; the contentes wherof I shall not faulte to folow acordyng unto Your Graces pleasur, with suche diligenee discretion and dexterite as in me shalbe possible. And where at my cummyng hither my Lorde Legat supposed to have so fulli contented Your Highnesse, that bi the cummyng of Christofer Mores I shuld have bene by Your Grace contremaudyd, willing me therfor to abyde and tary for the saide Christofer; I, for thadvoiding of suspicion, shewed myself content so to do, beyng nevyrthelesse determynd to procede in my journey, if the saide Christofer had not cum the next day: and now Your Graces pleasure knownen, my Lorde hath advised me to repare to Venyce; which cownsel can not hindre Your Graces purpos, for there beyng, yf there be any possibilite of accesse unto the Pope, I have commodyte to passe bi the see, tyll within oon hondred myles of Rome. And, Sir, yf your dispensacion may be obteigned, constante matrimonio, whereof I dowbte, having any possibilite of accesse, I shall soone obteigne hit; and if it can not be impetrat nisi soluto matrimonio, then lesse diligence may be suffred. Of which dowbtes at my cummyng into Italy I shalbe sone resolved; and as I shall see cawse, I shall not faulte to advertise Your Highnesse, as I may conveniently. This day I procede towards Parrhis. My Lorde Legat requyred of me, at my cummyng, the letter that Your Grace promised to have writen unto the Frensh King, whome I satisfyed with the not doyng thereof, forasmuche as Ye cowde not use the cownsel of your Secretari in Frenshe, being diseased with contagious syknesse. The Holigoste send Your Highnesse that, that your noble hert desireth moste. At Compiegne, this 13<sup>th</sup> day of Septembre.

Your moste humble chapelaine  
servaunt and subgiect,

W<sup>m</sup>. KNIGHTE.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Kinges moste noble Grace.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

CLXVIII. JOHN DYMOCK *to King Henry VIII.*

A TRESHAUT Noble et Trespuissant Roy, mon Soverain Schyre. Vous  
 pryant tres beningnement de me pardonner destre chy ardy de escrire a Vostre  
 haulte Mageste, mes voyant et entendant comme le tamps est pour luere, et  
 lententyon des gens, des grans personages, et aussy du comun pueplle de  
 pardecha, comment il sont delyberee a mon entendement pour lamour de vous  
 marchans, quil ne viennent point, comme ilx sont accoustume, ales festes. Ylx  
 sont delyberee partout ces pays, assavoir Hollande, Zeelande, Braban, Flandrs,  
 Haynault, et Artoys, et du hault pays sur le Ryn, pour faire ungne ordonanche,  
 que nulle personne ne pourra admener nulx draps dEngleterre desdys pays  
 chydevan momez ; par quoy il pourroit porter grant doumaige a Vostre noble  
 Mageste, et a vostre Royhaulme, quar Vostre Grace set bien che vous draps  
 ne peullent vydier hors de vostre pays, vous gens de mestyer en seront destruys.  
 Quar il commencent ychy pour luere presente en beaucoup de villes la ou on  
 ne souloit faire quatre ou cinq draps pour homme, yl en font bien sincquante  
 pour homme, ou plus. Et en aultre vylles, lo ou on ne souloit point drapr,  
 comencent pour faire provysyon pour draper. Et, tres noble Schyre, je ne  
 suis pas hardy asses descrire a Vostre bone Grace tout che que jen say bien,  
 et che Vous avez quelquon de vous gens quil dient quil ne peullent draper sans  
 vostre layne dAngleterre. Le contraire est vray, quar il y beaucoup de laynes  
 de pardecha, et des laynes dEspaeingne, pour faire la draperye, et il font ychy  
 des draps de layne dEspaeinge et des laynes de pardecha, qui vault bien l'huyt  
 soulz laune de nostre monoye sans y metre nulle layne dEngleterre. Et sil y  
 a quelquon qui veult dier le contraire, say bien quil est vray. Mes, tres noble  
 Schyre, toussant ceulx qui veullent que vostre draps viennent a Callays<sup>1</sup>, cest  
 a double

---

<sup>1</sup> In the Harleian Collection, No. 442. fol. 77, is a copy of "A Proclamation for establishing  
 of Trade of merchandizing and traffique within the towne and Marches of Callice, with divers  
 immunitiess and freedomes concerning the same." It is dated at Calais, the 13th of July, anno  
 Reg. 19, and provides that all and singular the King's subjects, merchants, as also all other  
 merchants, strangers, of what nation or country soever, shall and may repair from time to time  
 with their goods, wares, and merchandize to the town of Calais, with full liberty of bodies and  
 goods, without paying any "hedmoney, halfe passage money, travers money, sandgelt, wharfgeilt,  
 the Flemish toll otherwyse named brocage of the haven, or anie other toll whatsoever," except  
 only such customs and tolls as the King's merchants and subjects have been accustomed to pay at  
 the marts at Antwerp and elsewhere within the Emperor's Low Countries. Various other  
 privileges are conferred, but it is provided "that Marchauntes of the Hanze, Fraunce, Spaine,  
 Portugale, and all other Marchauntes comprised in leage and amity made by their Princes and  
 "heades

a double dispens et tres grant doumaige pour vous marchans ; quar ausytoſt quil ſont deſſerget a Callays, vendu ou non, yl ſont incontynent envoiet en Anvers, a grant dangier et doumaige pour les marchans, et che en le quontynue longhement vous trovrers en vostre couſumes grant doumaige pour Vostre Grace. Et sil y a quelque queſtyon entre vous marchans, lung contre lautre, pour ung modt de Vostre Grace les metteres bien accordt.

Schyere, pour che que je ſuis vostre ſerviteur jure, mon cœur che conſtraint pour eſcryre a Vostre noble Mageſte, et tout che que je Vous eſcrys. Vous le trouveres vray ; et che Vostre bone Grace plaeſt de me avoir devers Vous pour moy houir parler, mandes moy par ungne lettere de Vostre bone Grace pour paſſer et repaſſer ſans eſtre ſeryet, ou quelqueaultre empesſement, alant et vennat : je viendray volentiers a vostre bon plasir pour Vous declarer plus que je ne puis eſcryre.

Et, tres noble Schiere, je Vous ſupplye tres humblement quil Vous ſouvigne de che que maves promys devant Terreuane, quar je nay jamays riens heu de che que maves promys, et je ſuis ung povre viel homme toutjours pryant pour Vostre bone Mageſte. Et jay entendu que mon filx a pourchaffe pour avoir ungne ſertaine ſomme de ſervoyſe, quil Vous plaise de Vostre bone et noble Grace de luy accorder, et je pryray a Dieu pour Vostre bone Mageſte. Aultre novellez ne Vous ſauroye eſcryre, synon que Dieu Vous doint de tous vous bons desyrs lacompliſſement. En Anvers, le 15<sup>e</sup> de Septembre, anno 1527.

(Signé) Par le tout vostre povre et humble Serviteur,  
JEHAN DYMOCK  
tout jours pryant pour Vostre bone Grace.

(Suscrit)

A treshault et tres puissant et noble  
Roy de Engleterre.

" heades with the Kinge's Grace, and also Florentines, Januais, Venecians, Lucays, Bononiens, " Millanoys, Italions, with all other marchauntes which nowe be in the towne and marches of " Callis or hereafter ſhalbe under the Kinges ſafeconduct, ſhall not convey, nor doe to be con- " veied, by themſelves nor by anie other for them, by fraud colour or male engine, into the partis " or anie place within the ſaid Empcrours Lowe Countries, anie woollen clothes or other of the " Kinges commodities, upon paine of forſeiture of all ſuch goodes and marchandizis or the value " of the ſame." Nevertheless, they might tranſport the ſaid goods into their own countries through the Emperor's dominions, upon giving ſufficient ſureties and bonds ſo to do.

## CLXIX. BROWNE TO KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASETH it Your Heighnes to understand, that as yesterday the 17<sup>th</sup> day of this moneth my Lord Legat departed out of Compaygne, whom the Frenche King conveyed almoost an Englisshe myle out of the towne, and at his departing shewed unto hym asmoch honour and famylierite as was possible.<sup>1</sup>

To declare the honour that my said Lord hath done unto Your Heighnes in this journey I can not, for I assure Your Grace he hath so handeled your affaires here, that the Frenche men think there is no King cristened, that hath such an other Counceillour; who in that behalf hath takyn so great labour and contynewell payn both day and nyght aboutes the concluding and perfiting therof, that moch merveill have I, how he hath escaped sikenes, or sum other inconveniences.

Asfor to advertise Your Heighnes of any newes, I know noon here occurrant, oonles such as my said Lord hath therof advertised Your Grace by this berer; and also that the Frenche King wold gladly know how Your Heighnes doth like your crosse bowes, the which He sent You, to the entent that yf they were to your pleasure He myght provide Your Heighnes of moo.

Also He hath desired me to know, whether Your Heighnes wold have any wild swyne sent into England, and yf your pleasure be to have sum, He woll provide yerely three or foure score; for He verely thinketh that, yf Your Heighnes had oons seen the hunting of them, Ye wold like the same aswell as any other game.

I am sure He hath no thing in his realme, that may do Your Heighnes pleasure, but that Ye may have the same as redy at Your Heighnes commaundement, as any thing within your Realm. As knoweth the blessed Trinite, who have Your Heighnes in his blessed tuycion. Writen at Mountydair, the 18<sup>th</sup> day of September,

(Signed) By yowr most humbol subget

and bounden servant,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Heighnes.

ANTONE BROWNE.

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I. p. 279.

CLXX. BROWNE *to King Henry VIII.*

PLEASETH it Your Heighnes to understand, that the 26<sup>th</sup> day of this moneth the Great Maister shewed unto me that the same day he wold take his leave of the Frenche King, and so repaire to his owne hous for four or fyve dayes, and from thens set forwardes towardes Your Heighnes. Notwithstanding, the same nyght aboutes nyne of the clok, he advertised me that the King wold not suffre hym to depart before the last day of this present moneth; so that I esteme, what for his abode here and at his owne hous, it wolbe the fourth or the fift day of the next moneth, or he take his journey towards England.

I ensure Your Grace here is none more glad to do Your Heighnes pleasure and service than he, and hath interteyned me for your sake, noon in Fraunce like unto hym, shewyng me alweys that yf he coud do the thing that myght content You, he wold think hymself happy, and as glad wold be to accomplissh the same for Your Heighnes, as for his owne maister: and forgetteth not what Your Heighnes hath don for the Frenche King, reporting hit after such sort, that it soundeth heighly to your honour.

Yf it may please You to gyve hym thankes at his comyng, he shalbe the gladder alweys to do Your Heighnes the service that in hym shall lye, for he is the man that bereth the gretest stroke here.

Sir, he cometh with a great compayne, but Broyes, Peyton, nor Mons<sup>r</sup> Maryne, goo not with hym, notwithstanding they were appoynted. The let therof I can not advertise Your Highnes.

The passetyme that the Frenche King useth is every day in hunting of the hart, and after the deth, than hounteth the wyld bore, orels the wolf within the toyle: wherunto many tymes cometh my Lady his mother, accompanied with many ladies and gentilwomen.

Furdermore of such newes as the Frenche King hath had out of Italye from Mons<sup>r</sup> de Lotryk, and such as now be occurrant here, I have by letters ascerteyned my Lord Legat, who I doubt not but woll advertise Your Heighnes therof.

I have a little boke for Your Heighnes, with other thinges, which is not yet fynysshed; but it shalbe within three or four dayes, and by the nexte sure messenger that commeth I shall send the same unto Your Heighnes. As knoweth

knoweth the holy Trinite, who have Your Heighnes in his blessed tuycion.  
Writen, at Compaigne, the 28<sup>th</sup> day of Septembre,

(Signed) By your humble subget and  
moost bounden sūñt,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Heighnes.

ANTONE BROWNE.

### CLXXI. BROWNE to KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASETH it Your Heighnes to understand, that on Mighelmas evyn Mons<sup>r</sup> Gabriel de la Chater, capiteyn of the hundred of the Frenche Kinges Gard, came to my lodging, saying that the King desired me to be with Hym the same nyght at evynsong, and also the morow at masse, to se the maner of the solempnyte of his Order, which was kept in a monastery of blak monkes within Compaigne. Wherupon I taried in my lodging unto fyve of the clok, thinkyng to be accompanied from thens by sum gentilman, considering that it was the Kinges desire to have me there present. Albeit, I understande that aswell the Popes Legat now here, as the Ambassadour of Venys, were goone to the said monastery allone, without any company of the French partie; and at the last, the said Mons<sup>r</sup> Gabriel sent me word that I shuld repair thider; where amonges the other I taried the comyng of the King in the quere, the neither part wherof was hanged with blew velvet, and flour de lices of gold, powdered, and the overpart with tapicerie. In the Deanes place hanged a cloth of estate of blew velvet, poudered with floure de lices, under the which were set very high the armes of Fraunce with a croune imperiall, and on the other side ayenst the same was a like cloth of estate, wherunder, moch lower than the French Kinges, were set the armes of thEmperour, the King of Denmarkes, and of the King of Navers. At the oone end of the aulter was a place made for the Legat and the other Cardinals, and at the other end an other was ordeyned for me and thAmbassadour of Venys.

A litle before six of the clok, came to the church my Lady the Kinges mother; and within half an houre after came the King with the Knightes of the Order, sum having on their collars of the Order, and sum none, but a seochen of Seint Mighell, being none otherwise apparailled than they go dailly. And assone as they were entered the church, aswell the King as every of the said Lordes repaired to his place without any reverence makyng or more solempnyte; and whan the evinsong was doon, they made noon abode, but departed.

On

On the morow bitwene ten and elevyn of the clok, the King, with them of his Order, came to masse in their comon wering garmentes, without more, at they dyd the nyght before.

And at the tyme of the offryng, a Gentilman Ussher with an heraulde went up before the King, and the said Mons<sup>r</sup> Gabriell brought unto Hym a taper, and a croune stykking in hit, the which He offred. The residew of the Order the mean tyme sat still in their stalles. Next went the Duke of Vandome, to whom also Mons<sup>r</sup> Gabriell delyvered the said taper, the which he offred, and a croune. And evere as oon had offred, the taper was brought to an other by the said Mons<sup>r</sup> Gabriell; so every of them offred a croune. Howbeit noon of them went out of his stall, unto the other that offred were come to his place.

The masse was not so sone done, but that the King and they departed, without speking to any Ambassadour for that tyme. I assure Your Heighnes I saw nothing there to be praysed. I perceyve well, that they wold fayn folow the fashion of your Order; but they fail in every thing, and that not a litle. I thinke in all the world is no such Order as yours.

On Mighelmas evyn were made of the Order the Duke of Longevile, and the Countie Carp an Italian, who is so impotent, that he can not goo, but as he is led bitwene men.

As for the setting forwardes of the Great Maister, is according as I have advertised Your Heighnes by my former letters. As knoweth the holy Trinite, who have Your Heighnes in his blessed tuytion. Writen at Compaigne, the first day of Octobre,

(Signed) By your humble subget and  
moost bounden ſuñt,

ANTONE BROWNE.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

## CLXXII. BROWNE to KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASETH it Your Heighnes to understand, that the 8<sup>th</sup> day of this present moneth I receyved a letter from my Lord Legat, wherby I was made pryvey to the contentes of such letters as my said Lord had writen unto the French King; amonges the which, oone was of the sore wordes that Your Heighnes had to thEmperours Ambassadour, upon the exhibiting of certeyn letters to Your Heighnes from the said Emperour, directed not oonly concerningyng the surmySED offres, supposed by the same to be made by the French Kinges Ambassadour

to the said Emperour, but also touching his ambitious mynd to the Duchie of Milleyn<sup>1</sup>, in such wise that the said French King, not oonly by the purport of my said Lordes letters, but also by my report, knoweth how good loving brother Your Heighnes is to Hym ; the which to know was to Hym no litle pleasur and comfort, rejoysing moch that Your Heighnes was so playn to the said Ambassadour ; wherby thEmperour may know the great amytie zeale and love that is bitwene Your Heighnes and Hym. At the resiting wherof He toke of his bonet, saying that there was never man so moch bounden to Prince as He was to Your Heighnes, praying God that He myght lyve to do that thing that myght be to the contention of your mynd, wherunto He wold as diligently applye Hym self as any creature lyving shuld do ; ordering his spech and his jesture, after such sort manner and lowlynes, with such reverence and herty affection towardes Your Heighnes, that after my mynd no creature coud have don nor have spoken it with more humblenes than He dyd ; desiring me to gyve unto Your Heighnes on his behalf his moost herty thankes for the same. Shewing me ferder that He woll nothing do concernyng the premisses, but oonly by thadvise of Your Heighnes ; and what thing Your Grace wold have Hym to do, let Hym have therof knowlege, and He woll fulfill the same to the uttermoost of his power.

And as concernyng the newes occuraunt in these parties, I have at length writen of them to my said Lord Legat, who I doubt not but woll therof advertise Your Heighnes.

Furdermore the French King sendeth overe with the Great Maister oon of his Ekquyers to provide for Hym sum fair large geldinges well reyned, and mares of like fashion ; beseeching Your Heighnes to be contented to suffre his said Ekquier so to do, for He wold have here a rase of the said mares. He is so in love with the two geldinges that Your Heighnes gave Hym, and in especiall with the bay, that He saith He never saw their like, nor thinketh that any such can be found as the same bay is. As knoweth the holy Trinitie, who have Your Heighnes in his blessed tuytion. Writen at Sanlys, the tenth day of Octobre,

(Signed) By yo<sup>r</sup> moost houmble subget and  
most bounden sūñt,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

ANTONE BROWNE.

<sup>1</sup> By a despatch of Lee and Poyntz, from Palencia, the 27th of September 1527, it appears that the Emperor demanded Milan absolutely. Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 205.

CLXXXIII. MONTMORENCY *to* WOLSEY.

**M**ONSEIGNEUR. Pour le grant desir que jay de faire la reverence au Roy d'Angleterre, et a vous, arryve que suis a Boullougne, me suis mis par deux foys sur la mer, et par deux foys ay este contrainct de retourner par faulte de vent servant ; la tierce foys ay prins le hazard ; et apres y avoir demoure depuis dix heures au matin jusques a cinq heures de la journee ensuyvant, suis, graces a Dieu, arryve saulvement en ceste ville de Douvres. Ou jay trouve Mons<sup>r</sup> le Grant Chambellain, Messieurs les Tresorier, et Mareschal de Calais, qui mont fort gracieusement recully, et faict prou de presens, et la melleur chere dont ilz se sont sceu adviser. Aussi ont ilz faict aux autres Ambassadeurs et gentilz hommes que jay a[mene]z yey avecques moy. Jentendz bien que le tout procede de vous, Monseigneur, et de vostre ordonnance. Vray est que partie de noz gens et chevaux nont peu arryver avecques nous, tellement que jay este contrainct dactendre au jourduy pour tout le jour ; demain me delibere, actendant avoir de voz nouvelles, passer a Cantorbery ; ou il vous plairra, Monseigneur, me faire ceste grace de madvertir dece que jaray a faire, et en quel lieu il vous plairra que je vous voy se trouver pour vous declarer ce quil a pleu au Roy me donner charge, et en tout et par tout me conduyre et gouverner sellon vostre saige et pourveu conseil, lequel ay propose suyvre en toutes choses, ainsi quil ma este ordonne et commande par le Roy mon maistre. Et esperant estre de brief vers vostre Seigneurie, ne vous feray pluslongue lettres, me recommandant treshumblement a vostre bonne Grace, a laquelle treshumblement se recommandent aussi Messieurs les autres Ambassadeurs. Prian Dieu, Monseigneur, qui vous doint tresbonne vye et longue. A Douvres, ce 14<sup>me</sup> jour d'Octobre.

(Signé) V<sup>re</sup> treshumble servyt,

(Souscrit)

MONTMORÈCY.

A Monseigneur Monseigneur le Cardinal  
Archevesque d'Yort, Legat, et Chan-  
cellier d'Angleterre.

CLXXIV. BROWNE to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Heighnes to understand that acording to my last letters to Your Heighnes directed, I was with the French King, Who being advertised of the comyng of your Ambassadours with thOrder, was not a litle joyfull therof, saying that He never receyved thing with better hert good mynd and will than He wold the same, and that for the moost part He wold not faill but were hit; and also shewed me that He was perfitely and assuredly enfourmed that the Burgonyons on their parties were as sory, as evill contented, and therwith asmoch aggreved, as any people myght be. And said ferder that the same honour, that Your Heighnes in this behalf dyd to Hym, was and shuld be an occasion meanes and cause that aswell the said Burgonyons, as other his enemyes, wold be the more ferefull, and moch the lesse encoraged to maynteyn the werres ayenst Hym. And for recompensation, aswell of this your goodnes, as of other the former and dailly benefites, kindeneses, good will, favour, and ayde, that Your Heighnes to Hym hath ministred shewed and done, as well He, as the hooll realme of Fraunce, were for ever bounden to Your Heighnes, as to Hym, that is the rote, well, and ground of all their welth, honour, prosperite, and preservation; adding therto ferder how honerably his Ambassadours were receyved and enterteyned with Your Heighnes, and what honour Your Grace had caused my Lord Cardinal to shew unto them. And said; "Mons<sup>r</sup> Ambassadour, I can neither gyve unto the King my brother so cordial thankes, as his goodnes doth deserve towardes Me, nor yet ymagyne to expresse such gratitude, zeale, good mynde, and affection as my pover hert bereth to Hym; and sore am I that I can not shew nor declare the same to you accordingly as I wold, wherby ye myght infourme Hym, or that I think My self in any wise hable the same to deserve towardes Hym, by any meanes, now or in tyme to come; beseching Hym to accept Me as oone that bereth Hym my service; and yf with my handes, spending of my blood, or otherwise, I ever be of power any part of his gentilnes to acquite, He shall fynd Me, my realm, and all that is within the same, alweys redy at his commaundement;" praying me that, yf I coude more largely therof advertise Your Heighnes, than He had spoken and declared Hymself to do,

<sup>1</sup> From the Chapter House.

that

that I wold enfourme Your Heighnes of the same. Which wordes were uttered with such reverence, and after such maner and sort, that it lieth not in my power to expresse or declare the same accordingly. As knoweth the holy Trinite, who have Your Heighnes in his blessed tuytion. Writen at Parys, on Alsoulen day,

(Signed) By your humble subget  
and most bounden svent,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Heighnes.

ANTONE BROWNE.

### CLXXV. KNIGHTE to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it Your Highnesse to understand that, at my passyng ovyr the mountaynes, a commune voixe was that the Pope was delyvred and restored unto his liberte, which cawsed me to leve the highe waye towardes Venyce, and to repare towardes Parma, where certayne of the Cardinalles beyng, I supposed to know the trowthe. At my cummyng thidre the chief of the Cardinalles were absent, but there I fownde the Prothonotari Gambera, of whome I understood that the General of the Observantes<sup>2</sup>, returnyng lateli from Spaigne, had writen letters unto the Popes Holynes, confortyng Hym, and saiyng quod sperabat intra paucos dies auferre Sue Sanetitati squalorem et tenebras. Nevrthelesse, for the bettre spede of Your Highnesse matiers, the Prothonotari had sent unto Rome two messiengers for a sauf conduycet; pourposyng, as he saide, to bringe me with hym unto Rome, or els, yf his saufconduycet wolde not serve for that porpos, he wolde gete a special licencee for me. And upon this he avised me to draw nere, as spedeli as I cowde, unto a citie called Orvieti, lyyng within fyveti myles of Rome, and he wolde folow bi poste as sone as he had receipyd his saufconduycet. Ensuyng his cownsel, I toke my journey unto a cite called Fulignio, wher I have acquain-

Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter from the Ambassadors in Spain to Wolsey on the 24th of October (Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 208) they state that John l'Alemand had good opinion of the deliverance of the Pope, because on the 15th of September came to Gaeta the General of the Observants and Mons<sup>r</sup> de Milleur; and they add, "the Nuncio sayed to us, in a communication of the deliveraunce of the Pope, that " the Emperour bade hym wryte that, as He is true Kyng and Knyght, the Pope withoutt anye " condicions shold bee delivered opon the arrivall to Rome of the Generall and Mons<sup>r</sup> de " Milleur."

taunce,

taunce, and is but 60 myles from Rome, lyng also nere unto Orvieti. Sythyns my cummyng hither, I have sent unto the governor of that cite, and have received awnswere that the Prothonotari hath not as yet bene there; and whither upon oportunyte, other cownsel, or difficulte in getyng of a saufconduyc, he is stayed or gon unto Rome other waiys then bi Orvieti, I dowbte. Ther passed bi this towne lateli the Master of the Pope his postes, called Angelus de Avantagijs. He returned from the Frensh armye, and was going towardes Rome, and shewed unto me that no man cummyth to Rome, withowte saufconduyc, but he is in jepartie of life and goodes; and moreovyr that no man, specialli a straungier, myght entre into the Castel of Saynt Angel but by grete gyftys or suete of frendes; nor speke with the Pope, which, with the Cardinalles, ys kept in the moste strong and straight place of the castel, called the Rochk, nisi arbitris presentibus. And this way I can not satisfye Your Graces pleasure, which willed me not oonly to kepe your pleasure secrete, but also to desire the Pope to do the same. I am here allwaiys in a redynesse, so that if I may perceyve any oportunyte to fulfyll Your Highnesse desyre, I shall not faulfe to step unto hit, thowgh I shuld hazard both goodes and lyfe. Yf the Pope be oons in his liberte, Your Highnesse may be assured to obteigne asmoche as He may graunte, salvis clavibus; and I suppose that thEmperor, at thinstaunce of Your Highnesse and other Princes, will relent, and not contynue the Pope and Cardinalles thus in captivite, and the warres shall surcease, or other cawse may bring His Holynesse unto liberte: thende whereof, if Your Highnesse commaunde, I shall abyde and see. And whate els may be your pleasure, I beseke Your Highnesse moste humbli that I may know bi this berer, whome I send pourposli therefor at this tyme, and I shall moste obedientli folow the same, as ferforthe as my little power wisdome and discretion wyll extend unto. I have advertised my Lorde Legat of such occurrentes, as I have sene and herd in thiese parties, not dowbting but that Your Highnesse shall see the same. And thus I beseke Almighty Jhesu to graunte Your Highnesse that that Ye desire moste. At Fulignio, this 4<sup>th</sup> day of Novembre.

Y<sup>O</sup><sup>R</sup> moste humble sūn̄t chaplain  
and subiect,

WILLIAM KNIGHTE.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinges Highnesse.

CLXXVI. SIR ROB. JERNIGAM *to Wolsey.*<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE hit Your Grace to be advertysed, that yesterdaye here arryved from the Duc of Ferrer Signor Gregorie; who unto hym is agayne retourned, and bifore his departing desired me to wryte unto your Grace, not doubting but that, within thies 3 or 4 dayes at the most, we shall obtaign and recover the saide Duc of Ferrer, notwithstanding thymportaunce of his fourmer demaundes, the copye wheroft I sent inclosed in my last letter unto your Grace addressed; whiche done Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec ys determyned, after his departyng from thys towne of Parme, ymmediatly without eny further dilaye, in hys journeye towardes Rome to make diligent spedē and expedition.

Please hit your Grace, the same Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec dailly and incessantly calleth upon me to write unto your Grace for more moneye; unto whome (for that I am not of your Graces pleasure therin assured) I cannot gyve aunswere. Wherfore I humbly biseche your good Grace that of your determinat myn in that behalfe I may be advertysed; whiche knowen, I shall not fayle, God willing, to accomplishe accordingly: assuryng your Grace that in our sayd journeye a more impedymēt and lett cannot be, then the dilaye of the sayd moneye. Other newes here be none occurraunt. As knoweth the ineffable Trynite, who preserve your good Grace in long helthe and prosperous life. At Parme, the 12<sup>th</sup> daye of November.

Please it your Grace, that where as I wrote in my fourmer letters<sup>2</sup> unto your Grace dyrected, that the Pope, for the somme of 50 thousand crownes unto thEmperour payed, was unto his libertie restored; so it ys, I am this daye by the saide Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec credibly advertysed that the sayd appoyntement ys not yett accomplisshed, but that the Popes Holynes dothe styll folowe the same, wherwith the sayd Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec ys veraye well contented, and for hys pourpose thinkethe the same to be goode. The said Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec desired me to make unto your Grace hys humble recommendations.

Your humble servaunte,

(*Superscribed*)  
To my Lorde Legates goode Grace.

(*Signed*) ROBART JERNIGAM.

<sup>1</sup> From the Chapter House.

<sup>2</sup> Wolsey's Letters, Vol. VII. p. 33; dated the 28th of October.

CLXXVII. KNIGHTE TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it Your Highnes to call unto your remembraunce, that by my last letters I did wright what difficulte and let was here, to cum unto the obteignyng of such cawses as Your Highnes commytted unto me. And sone aftyr that I had sent the saide letters, a servaunt of Your Highnes, with a chapelain of my Lorde of Rocheforte, arripved here with Your Graces letters directed unto me, and in the same a mynute for your dispensacion, newli conceipved, and not ferr discrepant from the first. Aftyr that I had perused the same, and perceyved your fervent desyre and pleasur therein, all perils and daungiers set aparte, I toke my voyage towardes Rome, havyng with me oon servaunt and a guyde mete for my purpos. And passing by a towne called Narny, wher a capitayn called the Lorde George de Sancta Cruce lay with 2000 souldiers of the Venetians cumpagnye, yt chaunced that in the same towne were certayne straungeres abydyng compagny towardes Rome, amonges whom was a gentilman bilongyng unto the Colonyses, which had meny woordes of me, saiynge he mervayled that I durst aventure to go unto Rome withowte saufconduyet; which woords were browgt unto the capitain, and he advertised me of the same, geving me cownsel to have good respect unto myself. In this cumpagnye was also a frere, whome the capitayn recommendyd unto me, and unto the rest of the cumpagnye, for a good man, supposing that he had bene a Calabrise as he affermed to be, and in veari dede was a Spagniarde and a spye. With this cumpagny I contynued, tyll we cam unto Monterotundo, 12 miles from Rome, which beyng ruyned and spoyled bi the Spagniardes, the peple there, as desperate, thowght to have robbed and slayne us; but bi the wisdome of my guyde we escaped that nyght. The next mornyng, beyng Saynt Katheryns day, which was veari trobelous with wynde and rayne, and therefor more mete for our voyage, my guyde I and my servaunt departed and left all the rest of the cumpagnie behynde, and sauflly entred into Rome abowte 10 of the clock, and sodeynly reaped unto a Romaynes howse, with a letter that I had bifore procured, for loging, where I was ryght welcum, and secretly kept, as it was expedient, for in the same hows were loged dyvers Spagniardes. That day I fownde meane that the Pope was advertised of myne arripval, and His Holynes ordeigned immediatli that the Prothonotari Gambora shoulde cum unto me. Albeit, and thowgh he were at the door of my logyng, he durst not adventure to cum unto me. Wherfor the

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

next mornyng I went unto hym, and was enformed that there was no meane to speke with the Pope, for if he wolde have offred 10000 crownes for a sauf-conduyet for me, he cowde not have obteigned hit. And seyng that there was none other remedy, I wrote asmoche, as I wolde have sayde on Your Highnesse behalfe, unto His Holynes; and the same, with Your Graces letter of credence, and the laste mynute for your dispensacion, closed togider in a papyr and sealed, I directed unto His Holynes, which the Cardinal Pisan delyvred unto hym in presence of the Prothonotari Gambora. Aftyr, His Holynesse dyd rede and peruse the hole contents of every thing, and that done, reponed the same saufly, as Gambora shewed unto me. When nyght cam, the Cardinal Pisan sent unto me his chamberlayn, whome I used for convoyng of my letters into the castel, and advertised me that the Pope was enformed how Alercon had knowlege of myne arripval, wherefor His Holynes wolde in any wise that I shulde departe. Aftyr this His Holynes dyd send unto me the Prothonotari Gambora with like message, willing me to abyde at Narny, Tody, or Fulignio; and as sone as He were at his liberte, He wolde send unto me all Your Graces requestes in as ample forme as they beth desired. I suppose vearili that His Holynesse is at his liberte bi this tyme, or undowbdytli shall be shortly; for He ys fully agreed with the Spagniardes and Almaignes, and shall delyvre unto theym hostages, the Cardinal Pisan, and the Cardinal Trevulces, for performaunce of such articles as beth agreed. And thus I trust in Almyghti Jhesu to have in my custody shortli asmoche perfect spedd and under lede, as Your Highnes hath long tyme desyred; and under secret manyer, for I have writen unto the Popes Holynes that Your Highnesse extemeth as moche the keping secrete of the dispensacion, as the obteynyng of the same. The Prothonotari Gambora will call in tyme convenient upon the Pope for expedicion, and the gentleman of Rome, that was myne hoste, will solicit Gambora; and yf I perceyve any negligence in theym, I shall not faulte to adventure oons agayne unto Rome, albeit I trust in God it shall not nede.

These bringers sayde that thei had no money, whereupon I have delivered unto theym 150 crounes, and now I am like to be unfurnyshed of money, yf my dyettes be not shortly sent hither. Yt may please Your Highnesse that the currer, that I sent lateli, may be returned with diligence. The Holigoste preserve Your Highnes. At Fulignio, this 4<sup>th</sup> day of Decembre.

Y<sup>r</sup> mooste humble subgiet, sunt  
and chapelain,

WILLIAM KNIGHTE.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

## CLXXVIII. WOLSEY TO SIR GREGORY DA CASALE.

DOMINE Gregori, &c. Alijs meis literis copiose ad vos perscripsi Regie Majestatis animum et desiderium super his rebus, quas vobis impresentia commisit, suo nomine, Sanctissimo Domino nostro declarandas.

Nunc vero ob humillimam synceramque meam devotionem, qua, ex jure et officio, non solum Sanctissimo Domino nostro, sed etiam miseris Ecclesiæ sublevandis rebus, dignitatique Apostolice restituende, adstringor, his literis vos instruam super quibusdam rebus precipue et accurate notandis et considerandis; quas, post humillimam reverentissimamque meam commendationem, meo nomine, Ejus Sanctitati speciatim sigillatimque declarabis: et quum causam concernant, quam Regia Majestas nunc maxime optat et requirit, dictam Sanctitatem rogabis, ut non gravetur cuncta legere, et bene notare.

Primo itaque indolens infelicem adversumque presentium rerum successum, in quo Sanctissimus Dominus noster Cardinaliumque Reverendissimorum Collegium constituti sunt, diuque ac noctu mente volvens, quo pacto, quibusve modis, totis meis viribus, omni sumptu molestiaque neglecta, et cum proprij sanguinis viteque effusione, possem ministerium impendere, aut solamen afferre Ecclesiæ, Sanctissimique Domini nostri collapso statui, in quam rem, quoad vita suppetet, haud dubie incumbam; mihique in hac cogitatione versanti, in mentem recordationemque succurrit mirus et grandis quidam effectus, qui, divina sic disponente providentia, provenit ex instanti, assiduaque mea opera, ut inducerem hunc optimum Dominum meum Regem, eique persuaderem, ut ad arctissimam istam intimamque cordis et animi conjunctionem deveniret erga Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, Ecclesieque et Sedis Apostolice tutelam et juvamen suscipiendum; recordationique succurrunt innumere rationes, quas adduxi, ut Regiam Majestatem (quæ adeo tenaciter Cesari inhærebat) ad suscipiendam Sanctissimi Domini nostri defensionem, rerumque Italicarum tutelam, adducerem; inter omnesque rationes adductas, nulla fuit validior, aut vehementior, vel quæ Regiæ Majestatis pectus magis penetraret, quam intima perfectaque securitas, et constantia, quam assidue indesinenterque ei insinuavi, de Ejus Sanctitatis integra optimaque correspondentia in amore perpetuo indissolubilique amicitia, animo et voluntate, in concedendis dicte Regiæ Majestatis petitionibus, vel desiderijs, quoad Ecclesie thesaurus, et authoritas ipsius Sanctitatis, Vicarij Christi, permittit, vel quousque se extendit, seu posset extendere; super idque omnia latissime promisi, meam etiam salutem, fidem, honorem, animamque

animamque adstringens, quod omnia ex dicta Regie Majestatis voluntate rebus ipsis in omne tempus prestarentur, absque ulla prorsus occasione, aut scrupulo, ab his rebus concedendis digrediendi: adeoque Regia Majestas, ex hac mea asseveratione et relatu cognoscens hunc propensum Sanctissimi Domini nostri animum, mihiique, Ejus Sanctitatis nomine, veluti Legato, et Sedis Apostolicæ membro, loquenti firmam certamque fidem adhibens, periculis omnibus posthabitatis, laboribus sumptibusque neglectis, nullaque subditorum aut regni ratione habita, animum adfixit, prorsusque statutum et decretum habet in omnibus se adjungere, et perpetuo, constanterque cum Sanctissimo Domino nostro in affectu convenire: in eoque certum habeo, velle decrevisseque perstare perseverareque usque ad mortem, nisi forsan ex eventibus longe diversis, et contrarijs meo promisso, Regieque expectationi, occasio subministretur Regiam Majestatem amovendi ab hoc animi sui decreto, id, si accideret, quod avertat Deus, merito mihi posset ascribere perfidiam, levitatem, violationemque promissi, quo casu, quid servitij aut ministerij possem Pontifici prestare, aut que fides in Ecclesiæ rebus mihi haberetur, Sanctissimi Domini nostri prudentiæ judicandum relinquo; nunquam enim meo in arbitrio posthac esset quicquam alicujus momenti hinc efficere in Ejus Sanctitatis commodum, Regiæ Majestatis spe et expectatione hac in re frustrata.

Secundo, accurate considerandum est, quantopere hec Regiæ Majestatis intersint, et quanti sint momenti. Inde namque, preter Regiæ Majestatis conscientiæ exonerationem, omnis quoque lineæ regie continuatio pendet; huic adnectitur totius regni fœlicitas, vel excidium; hic consistit securitas, et salus tum eorum, qui nunc sub Regis imperio sunt, tum etiam, qui ullo posthac tempore in hoc regno nascentur, qua ex re oriri potest fomes, et occasio vel perpetue quietis, vel belli, et discordiæ crudelissimæ per omnem christianum orbem; quæ res majoris sunt momenti, et pressius perpendende, quam gratia, et satisfactio maximi cujusque Principis vel Principissæ.

Tertio, causa ex se hujusmodi est, ut in animam meam spondere ausim, ejus concessionem futuram non solum, in conscientiæ honorisque Suæ Sanctitatis exonerationem coram Deo et hominibus, sed in cœlis quoque gratam acceptabilemque futuram; in hac preterea re non nulla sunt secreta Sanctissimo Domino nostro secreto exponenda, et non credenda scriptis; quas ob causas, morbosque nonnullos, quibus absque remedio Regina laborat, et ob conceptum etiam animi scrupulum, Regia Majestas nec potest, nec vult, ullo unquam posthac tempore, illa uti, vel ut uxorem admittere, quodcunque evenerit. Preterea non exigua est habenda ratio eorum, quæ alijs meis literis continentur, concernentia, quam pro ingenti thesauro Pontifex habere queat, tam certam

Regie Majestatis amicitiam, constantissime cum Ejus Sanctitate perstituram in prosperis et adversis; in quam etiam sententiam amicos confederatosque suos pertraxit, et assidue pertrahit ad Ecclesiæ defensionem et conservationem, causas omnes suas deducens, et actiones; possentque hi omnes facile, Regia Majestate deficiente, in contrarium duci, et, ut vera loquar, nullum Principem video, in quo Sanctissimus Dominus noster posset, quam in Regia Majestate, plenius aut perfectius confidere, vel cujus medio Apostolice Sedis status queat in pristinam suam dignitatem facilius restitui; qui absque ejus subsidio, nisi solus Deus ex immensa sua bonitate citissime apponat manum, omnino immunitus iri videtur. Quod si Sanctissimus Dominus noster nunc (quod absit) in his Regie Majestatis petitionibus, durum se aut difficilem prestiterit, molestissimum certe mihi erit diutius vitam producere, ob mala, quæ inde subsequutura videntur, precipuo hoc firmoque subsidio tam ingrate abjecto, soloque hoc certo presenti calamitati corrigende presentaneo remedio neglecto, quum Sanctissimus Dominus noster hac in re, optima sua erga Regiam Majestatem animi gratitudine comprobata, possit de illius amicitia et conjunctione omnia sibi polliceri contra quoscunque, qui ejus autoritatem vel dignitatem voluerint impugnare. Tandem, his causis rationibusque omnibus in unum congestis, mecum ipse reputans, quot magni momenti in hujus matrimonij dissolutione occurrant in tam justo fundamento posita, ob que dicta dissolutio nec possit absque gravissimo detimento, aut debeat, diutius protrahi aut intermitti; videns quoque quid possit adduci, et adducetur, omnino in purgationem Regiæ Majestatis conscientiæ coram Deo, etiam si a Sanctissimo Domino nostro non admittatur quæ in hujusmodi exoneratione confisa; vereor, ne in hac rerum extremitate constituta, potius quam gravissima mala quæ hinc apertissime pendent succedant, dicta Regia Majestas ex duobus malis minus malum eligat, et in sola puraque conscientia freta, id agat, quod nunc tam reverenter a Sedis Apostolice autoritate exigitur, unde illius contemptus indies excresceret; hoc presertim tempore, maxime damoso; hecque omnia sunt a Sanctissimo Domino nostro ex ingenti sua prudentia pressius altiusque perpendenda, nullo prorsus dubio aut difficultate in re tam gravi interjecta ad alicujus Principis instantiam vel contemplationem; presertim, quod in multis alijs rebus, non tam manifestis, aut dignis, Sanctitas Sua erga alios facilem se et liberalem sepe prestiterit. Cui, omni premissa reverentia, meo nomine dicetis, quod hec loquor tanquam fidele, ut cumque indignum, Ecclesiæ membrum, omnia ea excogitans, quæ in Ecclesie augumentum et existimationem cedere queant, ea admonens et consulens, ut evitentur, quæ in contrarium cedere possent.

Quocirca Sanctissimo Domino nostro dicetis, quod, premissis omnibus singulari

singulari sua prudentia consideratis, tantique momenti existentibus, Ipsius Sanetitati humillime supplico, non veluti mediator, aut intercessor, ob privatum ullum affectum, quem Regiae Majestatis causis promovendis gero, ut maxime debo, sed tanquam is, qui in re tanta, et ex tam certa cognitione, velim Sanctissimo Domino nostro suadere, ut id efficiat, etiam si in hoc Regnum nunquam venissem, aut hic quicquam commune haberem, monereque et rogare ut, omni dubio metuque sublato, nullo pacto dicta Sanctitas omittat aut differat ea statim concedere et indulgere, quæ Regia Majestas, urgentissimas ob causas, tanta nunc animi sollicitudine exposcit, sed ea potius benigne libereque concedat in ampliorem ac firmiorem modum, qui possit excogitari, compertissimumque Sanctissimus Dominus noster sibi habeat, id se effecturum, quod coram Deo et hominibus justum habebitur, Regiamque Majestatem arctissime devinciet ad Sua Sanctitatis, Ecclesiæ, Sedisque Apostolice causas omnes pro viribus juvandas protegendasque, nec in eo ulli labori, periculo, sumptui, regno, vel subditis parcet, nec, si opus fuerit, propriam personam exponere recusabit, sed in eo constantissime permanebit, in paremque sententiam Gallorum Regem aliosque confederatos attrahet, tam pro redēptione liberationeque Sue Sanctitatis et Cardinalium, quam pro Sedis Apostolice authoritatis et dignitatis restituōne; et preter quam quod Sua Sanctitas mei, devotissime sue creature, fidem et existimationem conservabit, quo in omnem eventum et necessitatem ea possim hic facilius commodiusque tractare, quæ in beneficium, commodum, et securitatem Ecclesie redundare poterunt, ad idque omnem meam industriam, zelum, studium, et affectum, non minori sollicitudine adhibeo, quam possit ab ullo excogitari. Quod si Pontifex harum rerum non habuerit rationem, vereor ne in mea potestate sit futurum, ut Serenissimum hunc Regem, vel quenquam alium Principem, ad ea adducam, que possint esse Sue Sanctitati solatio aut subsidio, sed confido ab ea tot malorum occasionem sublatam iri, et gratissime, liberrime, benignissimeque omnia, ut petuntur, concessuram esse, nullo objecto impedimento, contradictione, seu dilatione. Et bene valete. Die 6 Decembris, 1527. Ex Londino.

Vester tanquam frater amantissimus,

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Equiti, Domino Gregorio Casilio,  
Serenissimi Domini Angliæ et Franciæ  
Regis Oratori, &c. tanquam fratri carissimo.

(*Signatur*)

T. CAR<sup>TS</sup> EBO<sup>R</sup>.

## CLXXIX. SIR ROB. JERNIGAM TO KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASE hit Your Highnes to understand. Thys daye here arryved one with Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec, who credibly hathe advertysed hym that thostages unto the Spanyardes and launceknyghtes, bifore commytted on the bihalf of the Popis Holynes, accourding to my fourmer letters unto Your Highnes in that same dyrected, of trewthe be now gone and effuged, and in like wise the Pope Hym selfe is also escaped, and commen to a strong towne called Urbyen<sup>1</sup>; of the whiche goode fortune (not without cause) we do gretely rejoice.

Please hit Your Highnes, the saide Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec hathe moved me by my wryting to advertise Your Highnes, that if it wolde please You at somme tymes (as unto Your Highnes shalbe thought most convenient) unto hym to dyrect your most honourable letters, the same unto hym sholde be veraye singuler pleasur and conforte.

Other newes here be none occurraunte, but that the saide Mouns<sup>r</sup> de Lautrec intendeth to departe from this towne towardes Bononia within thies 3 dayes at the furthest<sup>2</sup>, by the grace of the ineffable Trynyte, who ever preserve Your Highnes in honour and long lyfe. At Parme, the 9<sup>th</sup> day of December.<sup>3</sup>

Your humble subgiet and servaunte,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

(Signed) ROBART JERNIGAM.

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake for "Urvyet." Orvieto.

<sup>2</sup> It appears by a letter from Jernigam to Sir John Russell of the 21st of December (Chapter House, Bundle A<sup>6</sup><sub>1</sub>) that Lautrec arrived at Bologna on the 19th, and tarried there the coming of 6000 lanceknights, "after whoos arryvall, and sure knowledge ones had from the Pope con-  
cernyng his entre into the lege, the same Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec, with as moche diligens as he  
convenyently maye, intendeth, God willing, to go forward."

<sup>3</sup> On the 8th of December Gregory Da Casale and Jernigam wrote to the King precisely the same intelligence, prefixing another short sentence, "that the Marques of Mantua is now into  
"the lege entered, and the peax on his bihalf openly proclaimed; and hathe promised to fynde  
"in tharmye 100 men of armes, furnisshed."

CLXXX. SIR ROB. JERNIGAM *to Wolsey.*<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE hyt your Grace to be advertysed, that according to my last letters unto your Grace in that bihalf dyrected, further knowledge ys commen, that of treuthe the Pope and thostages be escaped; and the Pope is commen to the towne and castell of Urvyct, out of the daungier of his enemyes.

Please it your Grace, I trust it is not out of your Graces good remembraunce, that theflect of my commissyon gyven unto me by the Kinges Highnes and your Grace, for the whiche I was sent into thies partyes, ys expyred; by reason wherof my being here ys the lasse extemed; and that also Gregory ys dyvers wayes further auctorysed, as by commyssion to the Duc of Ferrer, to the Marquis of Mantua, and otherwise. For the whiche cause I am here the worse regarded, and accompted not onely as his inferiour, but also as at his commaundement under hym, rather then as his felowe to be reputed; wherof I assure your Grace I am not a lytle sory. How be hyt, if I knewe it were your Graces pleasure I sholde so here contynue, hit wolde the lasse grieve me. Wherfore I humbly byseche your good Grace, that of your pleasure, eyther for myne abode here, or for my retourne, I may be advertysed, whiche knownen I shall not fayle (God willing) to accomplishe accourdingly. Other newes in thies partyes be none occuraunt, but that Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec intendeth to morow to departe from this towne, and with as spedys diligens, as he conveniently maye, to avaunce forwardes in his journey; by the grace of thineffable Trynite, who ever preserve your said Grace in long helth and prosperous life. At Parme, the 13<sup>th</sup> daye of December.

Your humble servaunte,

(Superscribed)

To my Lord Legates good Grace.

(Signed) ROBART JERNIGAM.

CLXXXI. WOLSEY *to Sir GREGORY DA CASALE.*

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori, &c. Salutem et Comendationem. Ex literis, quas die 23 elapsi mensis ad me dedistis, alijsque novis, quæ una cum eis misistis, abunde cognovi quo in statu res Italice versarentur, gratissimumque

<sup>1</sup> Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VII. p. 28.

Regie Majestati et mihi fuit intellexisse illustrissimum Ducem Ferrarie confederatorum partibus se adjunxisse, ex cuius prudentia, ac probitate, ingentique erga Sedem Apostolicam et Italiæ salutem studio, licet illud idem semper expectaverimus, facile tamen Regia Majestas, et ego, perspicimus, quam multum opera, industria, dexteritasque vestra, tante rei tractande profuerit, quæ nimirum vestra officia nobis acceptissima et optatissima extiterunt, eorumque nomine quam maximam possumus vobis gratiam habemus. Ex hac enim occasione, si unquam antea, nunc presertim, fœlicissimo isti confederatorum exercitui secundissima omnia futura conjicimus, quum inter se tumultuantibus hostibus sparsis, nullo ordine sœvissime debaccantibus, nulliusque ductoris dicto obedientibus, presidium nullum tutum sit amplius in Italia relictum, parumque e Germania spei supersit, cuius magna pars in Hungarie rebus distinetur, et ex alijs, qui domi sunt, tum quod nulle adsint pecunie, tum quod a validissimis istis copijs sibi timeant, nemo educi potest, adeo quod dum omnia omni ex parte circumspicio, eam rei bene gerende oportunitatem illustrissimo Domino Lautrec divinitus propositam judico, qua nullam suis conatibus commodiorem potuisset exoptare. Nunc, igitur, fortissimo, quo cepit, animo, ad paucas illas iniquissimorum hostium perdendas reliquias progrederiatur, nec ex ulla cunctatione eis quicquid mature decernendi spacium esse sinat; ab illustrissimi enim Domini Lautrec virtute, robore, atque prudentia, hec omnia manifesto pendent. Regis Christianissimi illiusque regni conservatio, filiorum liberatio, totius Italiæ quies, universalis pax, Sanctissimi Domini Nostri redemptio, et Sedis Apostolice a Turcis perpetuoque jugo erectio, his denique merito accedit Domini Lautrec immortalis gloria, perpetuum decus, immensa laus, divinumque restitute tranquillitatis premium; nec video presertim, quum Ducem Ferrariæ confederatum habeat, ullam amplius superesse causam, que ejus actiones et consilia, vel profectionem, retardare debeat. A Rege Christianissimo, Regia Majestate juvante, me pro viribus intercedente, omnia isti exercitui jam provisa sunt, et continue providentur, que commoda et necessaria quoquo pacto habentur, cui etiam dicta Regia Majestas, ob amorem et studium, quo Regis Christianissimi actionibus in articulo nunc constitutis afficitur, preter jam antea conventam capitulatam et prestitam contributionem, novam aliam, juxta veterem ratam, pro mense, videlicet Novembri et Decembri, contribuit, et Domino Magno Magistro, sub ejus fide Regis Christianissime nomine adstricta, ac ea sola conditione, persolvit, ut Dominus Lautrec recta Romam proficeretur, nihil propterea dictarum provisionum expectatio eum amplius remoretur, quum in strenuissimis istis fovendis, vel dissolvendis copijs, hoc potissimum tempore, commune bonum, universaleque excidium verisetur.

Regiæ

Regiae idcirco Majestatis et meo nomine, Domino Lautrec asseretis haud dubie fore, ut nihil hinc desideretur, quod queat inceptam expeditionem promovere, ex cuius solo successu concordie ineunde consilia Cesar moderatur, utpote qui non, nisi Italiæ desperatis rebus, et suis profligatis copijs, eam videatur amplexurus. Ob has itaque omnium gravissimas causas, contidimus Dominum Lautrec in tam preclaris prestandis facinoribus nullam esse diligentiam, celeritatem, aut temporis occasionem pretermissurum, qui, sumptu multo minori, et commodo gloriaque majori, in ipsa hostium capita progredi, quam uno in loco tantum exercitum diu continere potest, et ex hac sola profectione, tam singulari virtute comparatam existimationem conservabit, victoriisque minus cruentam assequetur. Quocirca ejus Excellentiam Regio et meo nomine rogabitis, ut suam istam tam necessariam et utilem profectionem velit urgere, putetque nihil se posse Serenissimo huic Regi, a quo in fratri loco habetur, gratius hac re impresentia prestare, qui publice tranquillitatis nomine debitam ejus virtutibus mercedem gratiamque liberalissime referet.

Superest nunc ut iterum atque iterum vehementissime vos rogem, quod, rebus omnibus quibuscumque posthabitis, omni seposita mora, in his rebus expediendis ac diligenter procurandis, de quibus die 7 hujus mensis<sup>1</sup>, per Thadeum, cursorem, copiose ac distinete ad vos perscripti, omnes vires, omnes ingenij nervos, omnemque industriam adhibere velitis; quod commodius atque facilius a vobis impetratum iri confido, quod ex vestris literis de Sanctissimi Domini nostri, vel opera Comitis Guidi<sup>2</sup>, vel alia quapiam ratione, successura liberatione, Ejusque Sanetitatis in regijs concedendis desiderijs propensione, spem certam Regia Majestas et ego concepimus, hujus nos voti compotes futuros. Et res, quæ petitur, talis est, ut nihil majoris momenti aut tenacius queat Regiae Majestatis pectori inhærere; modos idcirco omnes excogitate, ut ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, pro hac regia petitione secretissime ac celerrime obtainenda, ubicunque fuerit, accedere possitis: quod si negocium hoc putaveritis, vos posse per Comitem Guidum, juxta perscriptam ad vos formam, commodius expedire, ejus opera et auctoritate omnino utemini. De quo hec Regia Majestas sibi omnia pollicetur, et cuius in se animum studiumque, vestris compluribus literis declaratum, sic accipit, ut, data occasione, parem sit prestitura, eam vero mercedem et

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to the letter of the 6th, given in p. 18, for none of the 7th has been discovered. There is one of the 5th in the Museum, Vitellius, B. IX. leaf 189, printed by Burnet, Vol. I. Coll. 12, and Fiddes, Coll., p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Rangona.

munificentiam, quam pro regia hac obtinenda causa dicto Comiti Guido promiseritis, Regia Majestas fidelissime cumulatissimeque prestabit, quo deinde hec res, que dicte Majestati tante cure est, facilius ac citius optatum effectum consequi possit. De ea ad Dominum Knyght, et Dominum Prothonotarium Gambaram, in hanc eandem sententiam copiose scriptum est. Sed ob meum erga vos affectum, si fieri posset, maxime vellem, mercedem omnem, et impetrare rei gratiam, quæ grandis erit, vestre opere, industrie, fideique debere. Hanc itaque causam procurandam, et occurrentijs quantumlibet gravibus omnino preponendam, vobis etiam atque etiam tanto studio commendo, ut nihil, etiam si mea salus ageretur, ardenter queam commendare. Ad hec si Sanctissimus Dominus noster (quod votis omnibus a Deo precor) fuerit ullo modo liberatus, hoc imprimis Ejus Sanctitatem Regie Majestatis nomine admonebitis, quod, rebus omnibus posthabitis, in confederatorum exercitum, vel in eum locum se recipiat, qui tum ab hostibus, tum ab his qui secreto ei male volunt, tutior ac securior visus fuerit, cui constantissime affirmate, in Sua Sanctitate ejusque familia in pristinum statum restituenda, Regiam hanc Majestatem, et me, eam operam et subsidia, cum Rege Christianissimo, vel solos, subministraturos esse, quæ ab amantissimo ac devotissimo filio, observantissimaque creatura, possent expectari. Hunc autem syncerissimum et addictissimum Regiæ Majestatis animum, mirifice nunc Sanctissimus Dominus noster augebit et perpetuo confirmabit, si ejus petitionibus, ut nil ambigo, benignissime adnuerit. Et bene valete. Ex meis edibus, apud Mour, die 15 Decembris, 1527.

Intende<sup>1</sup> expedicionem eorum que in hijs continentur, ac alijs meis literis omnimodam curam ac ingenij tui vires, quoniam ex eis dependet hujus Principis vita et salus, ac tui in pristinam familiam restitutio.

Tuus nō min<sup>2</sup> quā amātissi<sup>2</sup> frater,

T. CAR<sup>LIS</sup> EBOZ manu ppria.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Gregorio Casalio, Serenissimi  
Domini Regis Anglie et Francie Consiliario  
et Oratori, nostro tanquam fratri carissimo.

<sup>1</sup> This concluding sentence, as well as the compliment and the signature, are in Wolsey's handwriting.

CLXXXII. POPE CLEMENT VII. *to King Henry VIII.*<sup>1</sup>

+

CHARISSIME in Christo fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Recepimus tuas literas manu tua scriptas, tuumque Secretarium libentissime audivimus. Ex quo Tua Serenitas intelliget, quanti Nos faciamus petitiones tuas, quæ presertim Tibi cordi sunt. Tua vero opera ita nota sunt omnibus, ut testimonio non indigeant. Deum supplices deprecamur ut Nobis facultatem prestare dignetur, quo erga Te grati aliquando esse possimus.<sup>2</sup> Te etiam, fili, rogantes ut in cepta tua pietate persistere, et Nos coadjuvare velis, ad eos fines perficiendos, qui Nobis Tecum semper communes fuerunt, in universali bono, et omnium, presertimque hujus Sancte Sedis, dignitate restituenda. Datum in nostra Civitate Urbevetana, die 16 Decembris, 1527. .J.

(Superscribitur)

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro, Henrico  
Angliae Regi Illustri, Fidei [Defens]ori.

CLXXXIII. TAYLER *to Wolsey.*<sup>3</sup>

PLEAS hit your Grace, that sith I wrote last, the which was the 12 day of December, here hath been no newes. But upon Monday the 16 day of December the Kyng was at the Palace, and, as I have knowlege, asked a greate subsidye of his subjectes spirituall and temporall. Respite to make an aunswere was graunted; which done, the Kyng taryed not, but rode forth a huntyng.

Madame daily hath a sermone before her in her chaumber duryng this tyme

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. On the 14th of December Clement wrote to Wolsey, informing him of his escape, and expressing his gratitude for the measures taken by France and England at his instigation. Vitellius, B. IX. leaf 202.

<sup>2</sup> The Pope's Bull for Henry's divorce, as printed, after some hesitation, by Lord Herbert, was dated 16 kal. Jan. *i. e.* 17th of December, 1527. Herbert's Henry VIII. p. 279. There are copies in the Museum, Titus, C. X. leaf 78, and in the Harleian, No. 4994, leaf 155; the former of which is (probably erroneously) dated 10 kal. Jan., the latter agrees in date with Herbert.

<sup>3</sup> From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XII. leaf 21.

of Advent. Both the Kyng and my Lady war very well content that your Grace with so good diligence sent a post in to Italy, and so they commaunded me to write. They trust hit shall have good successe, for this nyght ys comme tydinges that the Pope and his hostages been eskaped the handis of the Spanyardes, as more at large your Grace shall knowe by the letters that this messenger, Mons<sup>r</sup> Brosse, bringeth, the which conteyne all thing at lenght, as the Graunde Maister shewed me; the which lowely recommendith hym unto your Grace, and desired me to write unto you that, when he was in Englond, he toke by eschaunge of Antony Vyvaulde 4000 skutes, and nowe yt is shewed hym that he must pay 76 skutes for the Kynges right, scilicet 1d. for every skute: hit is informed hym that none suche dueties been payde by any Ambassadours; in the which cause he humbly submytteth hym selfe to be ordered as yt shall please your Grace; wherfore he is desirous to knowe your graciouse pleasure therin. The Kyng within 3 or 4 dayes departeth from hens to Seynt Germyns, and there intendith to kepe his Cristmas. Thus Jhesu preserve your Grace. At Parys, the 19 day of December, by your chapelen and daily bedeman,

(Signed)      Jo. T. Mr of the Roll<sup>c</sup>.

(Superscribed)  
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

#### CLXXXIV. SIR ROB. JERNIGAM to WOLSEY.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it your Grace to be advertised, this daye here arryved from the Popis Holynes the Countye Guydo, and the gentilman whiche was last in England with the Kinges Highnes and your Grace in ambassade from his saide Holynes, by whome Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec cannot perceive, nor in lykewise I, by the communycation whiche I with theym have had, that the Pope woll in eny meanes be confourmable to entre into the lege. And further His Holynes hath, neyther by wryting nor otherwise, moved the saide Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec to avaunce forwardes, nor to retourne back; but saythe that if he go on fourthe to Rome, He thinketh hit well done; or elles, if he retire to Millain, He will also be content, so as he woll desire Hym nother to the one nor to thother. How be it I do well perceive His Holynes wold be right glad that his countreis, and all the countrey of Italy, shold be unto lybertye restored, and

the Spanyardes dryven oute, so as nothing by Him were done in that bishalf.

Please hit your Grace, the secretenes and importancy of the Kinges affayres, and your Graces, commytted unto M<sup>r</sup> Seerctory and Signour Gregory, have not ben so covertely and prively kepte, but that unto some hit ys very well knownen; insomoche as I myself have perfyte knowledge therof, wherwith I trust your Grace woll take no displeasour. Acertayning your Grace that nothing in thies parties so secretly is communed, but that by somme meanes I come to the intelligence of the same, to the whiche I do at all tymes endevour my self, for that I maye from tyme to tyme advertise your Grace accordingly. I understand also of treuth, that thEmperour of the sayd affayres is manyfestly notefied, and hathe wryten to the Popis Holynes, that in eny wise He shold not consent to the same. ThEmperour had therof had knowledge by a servaunte of the Quenes, whiche ran oute of England into Spayne.<sup>1</sup> I trust your Grace dothe not thinke, but that, according unto my duetye, notwithstanding the notice of the said affaires, I woll kepe the same secret, as shall appertaign. Other newes here be none occurraunte. As knoweth thineffable Trynyte, who preserve your good Grace in long helth and prosperous life. At Bononia, the 24<sup>ti</sup> daye of December.

Your humble servaunte,

(Superscribed)

To my Lorde Legates goode Grace.

(Signed) ROBART JERNIGAM.

## CLXXXV. WOLSEY to SIR GREGORY DA CASALE.

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori, plurimam salutem et commendacionem. Alijs meis literis per Thadeum, cursorem, datis, copiose atque distinete de Regiae Majestatis desiderio et petitione vos instruxi, dispensationemque obtainendam, et in mundum redactam, in eam quam expedit formam misi, quo omnia possent diligentius atque secretius confici, cuius dispensationis exemplar una cum his accipietis. Ad vos etiam misi commissionem, a Sanctissimo Domino nostro obtainendam, in mundum redactam, et ad me directam, in eam formam ac sententiam, quam ex ejus his adnexo exemplari cognoscetis; ita quod ad eas expediendas alia nulla re esset opus preterquam Ejus Sanctitatis signatura,

<sup>1</sup> Francis Philipes. See Vol. I. pp. 215, 220. Vol. VI. p. 595.

quæ tunc habebatur, et nunc habetur, conveniens atque sufficiens pro regia causa discutienda et decidenda. Quibus vero modis rationibus et circumstantijs uti deberetis in persuadendo, et ad id adducendo Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, additis etiam Regiae Majestatis et meis literis ad Ejus Sanctitatem, Episcopum Veronensem<sup>1</sup>, et Cardinalem Sanctorum Quatuor<sup>2</sup>, uberrime per eundem Thadeum ad vos perscripsi, ad measque tunc missas literas vos remitto, que nisi ad vestras manus pervenerint, et quum ad id solum tendant, ut dispensatio pro Regia Majestate, et commissio ad me impetretur, secundum exemplaria quæ nunc accipietis. Omni ideo vestra industria prudentia ac sedulitate promovebitis, et procurabitis id, quod nunc pro ea re ut maxime expediens excogitatum est.

Profunde a Regia Majestate consyderatur et perspicitur, quam maximi ponderis et momenti extet hujus matrimonij inter Se et Reginam dissolutio, partim ob personarum qualitatem, partim etiam ob occasionem que subministrari posset obloquentibus, et recte gesta sinistre interpretantibus, quibus ut male dicendi os obturetur, et ut omnis ansa a medio tollatur aliquid de Regia Majestate suspicandi aut obloquendi, quod cum Dei lege vel sanctionibus aut canonibus Ecclesie non conveniat, dicta Regia Majestas in animo habet, ut omnes hi rumores excludantur. Quoniam deinde maxime confert Sue Regie Majestatis posteritatis perfectioni et stabilimento, ut totus negotijs processus et actio in eam formam moderetur disponatur atque tractetur, quæ ex omnium exterarum partium, suorumque simul subditorum satisfactione et contentatione fuerit, eadem propterea Regia Majestas meditans, et assiduo studio consulens, quod magis ei rei conduceret, optimum fore judicavit, ut, pro rei gerende solemnitate gravitate ac majestate, a vobis istic procuretur, et pro viribus efficiatur, omni diligentia atque dexteritate adhibita, quam honorificus aliquis Cardinalis gravis, et rerum agendarum peritus, ut puta Campegius, Tranus<sup>3</sup>, vel Farnesius<sup>4</sup>, tanquam Legatus hujus rei gratia constitutus, a Sanctissimo Domino nostro huc in Angliam mittatur pro hac regia causa definienda et determinanda, sufficientique commissione et authoritate suffulciatur, sejunctim ipse, vel conjunctim tecum, ferendi sententiam et finalem hac in re statuendi determinationem. Ex quo non solum removebitur omnis causa et occasio recusationis, que imaginari et adduci posset a Regina, ob id quod Regie Majestatis sim subditus; sed etiam omnis rumor et obloquendi fomes evitabitur, qui forsan posset insurgere; nihilque ambigo, quin ubi hec omnia Sanctissimo Domino nostro exposueritis, Ejus Sanctitas, ob cause equitatem, et ne etiam

<sup>1</sup> John Matthew Giberto.

<sup>3</sup> John Dominic da Cupis.

<sup>2</sup> Lawrence Pucci.

<sup>4</sup> Afterwards Pope Paul III.

totius

totius hujus negotij onus suis solum humeris incumbat, summa sua prudentia, omnibus consideratis, in hac regia concedenda petitione conformis et facilis sit futura; eique affirmare potestis, quod, et si res que petitur non debeat ex æquitate et justicia denegari, ut tamen aperte loquar, publicis rebus in hoc quo sunt statu versantibus, Rex ex aequo et honesto cogi non posset, ut hanc causam in disputationem istuc afferret, quo tutus nullus ejus subditis patet accessus, quibus tam grave negocium tractandum committeret. Rei deinde determinatio a facti cognitione pendet, cujus probationes possunt multo convenientius hic, quam istic, haberi et recipi; ita quod etiam si predicte considerationes non essent, hec una est via qua Pontifex ex partium contentionе queat se ipsum exonerare; neque res est nova aut insolita, sed quæ ex consuetudine et sine difficultate, diversis alijs Principibus, et personis statu longe minori, concedi et indulgeri consuevit. In cuius rei contemplationem, et ob complura Regiae Majestatis merita, et gratissima officia erga Sanctissimi Domini nostri personam, et Sedem Apostolicam, quæ hujusmodi extiterunt, ut nulla majora fuerint, nostra tempestate, vel ullius memoria exhibita, existimandum nullo pacto est, quod Sanctissimus Dominus noster velit ullam difficultatem, dilationem, aut impedimentum huic rei injicere, sed potius quod in diligentí hujus cause expeditione, in eam formam quam vos petetis, concedenda, benignum propensum ac facilem se declarabit, juxta Regiae Majestatis ac meam spem expectationemque. Quapropter Regia Majestas, et ego, impensisime vos rogamus, ut, priori commissione<sup>1</sup> ad me directa, alijsque rebus per Thadeum missis, a Sanctissimo Domino nostro obtentis, vel non obtentis, ab Ejus Sanctitate procuretis et contendatis, quod, omnino hujus rei gratia, Legatum aliquem, ut dictum est, huc mittat; in quo agendo negocio actiones vestras, ut sequitur, disponetis.

Primo, si acciderit quod, priusquam he litere vobis reddantur, nullam adhuc de priori obtainenda commissione Sanctissimo Domino nostro motionem feceritis, tunc primo proponite, et sedulo curate de mittendo Legato: qua in re, si illum impedimentum interciderit, vel temporis tractus interponetur, tum forsitan, quod Cardinalis, ad hanc obeundam legationem assignatus, non in promptu vel paratus fuerit, ut se huic itineri diligenter accingat, vel quod Pontifex super eo decernendo, absque longa mora, se resolvere noluerit, vel Cardinalem aliquem deputaverit, qui huic ex regia sententia decidendo negocio incommodus aut non aptus videretur; in eo tunc casu Sanctissimo Domino

<sup>1</sup> A draft of this commission, indorsed "Minuta Comissionis missæ per Thadæum, cursorem," is in the State Paper Office. It appears from Knight's letters, printed by Burnet, Vol. I. Collections, pp. 22-25, not to have been adopted without considerable alterations.

nostro proponetis de priori commissione ad me directa obtainenda; dicetisque et affirmabitis, si gravissimum hujus rei momentum urgensque periculum probe consideretur, omnis in hac regia causa celeritas ac diligentia est adhibenda, ut quam primum definiatur et terminetur; alioquin, si res in suspenso vel in deliberatione protrahatur, quam multa interim gravia pericula subsequuntur videntur: maxime idcirco ex Regiae Majestatis contentatione et satisfactione esset, presertim quum in mittendo Legato in longum tempus et tarditatem res dilata iri videatur, ut commissionem ad me directam Ejus Sanctitas omnino quam primum concederet; in qua diligentissime impetranda, modis, persuationibus, hisque rationibus omnibus utemini, quae in literis per Thadeum missis copiose vobis enarrantur. Sed si, priusquam has literas acceperitis, dictam priorem commissionem ad me directam obtainueritis, eam huc, quam velocissime et securissime fieri poterit, mittetis; et nihilominus ob causas et respectus superius enarratos, et quo res honorificentius peragatur, pro viribus elaborabitis, ut Legatus huc mittatur, absque tamen ulla prioris indulte commissionis revocatione; ita quod in Regiae Majestatis arbitrio et libertate sit, prout dicti Legati adventus aut accelerabitur aut differetur, ejus accessum expectare, vel rem antea absolvere; et sicuti dicta Regia Majestas de celeri dicti Legati expeditione et diligentie huc festinatione certior reddetur, ita in animo habet negocij determinationem in ejus huc adventum protrahere atque differre, ab illo tunc et me conjunctim, vel ab eo solo peragendam, juxta desuper concessarum commissionum formam et tenorem, qui modus habetur honorificentior et magis indifferens, et ex optima omnium partium satisfactione, et quem Regia Majestas vult libentissime sequi; modo in Legati expectatione res non multum protrahatur, aut in longam moram traducatur, quod solum in hoc negocio est cavendum, et quod ut omnino excludatur, precipue cordi Regie Majestati est: quam ob causam, nisi jam priorem commissionem impetraveritis ante harum literarum adventum, sed solum rem aperueritis cum spe illius obtainende, sic vos geretis, in Legati missione, ut ex ea re nullo pacto differatur aut impediatur commissionis expeditio, quae in spe versabatur, vel ex eo Legati adventus ullo modo retardetur; adeo quod vel commissionis concessio, vel diligens Legati destinatio effectum sortiatur: sed quibusunque poteritis modis enitemini, ut priorem commissionem obtineatis, et eam statim concessam hue quam diligentissime mittatis, et tamen, ut dictum est, nihil omittetis in diligentie Legati destinatione procuranda pro hujus cause definitione, crebroque ac diligenter significabis Regiae Majestati, et mihi, quid de tempore in tempus fuerit in hac re actum, et quousque sit promota, nullis parcentes sumptibus in tabellarijs mittendis, prout judicaveritis rei occurrentias exigere: hocque accurate semper prospicite, ut is Cardinalis in hanc legationem mittatur, qui eruditus,

eruditus, indifferens, tractabilis, et de Regia Majestate bene merendi cupidus fuerit, nec is qui in Cesarianorum partes videatur inclinare. Cujus rei vitande gratia, ab Ejus Sanctitate instantissime requiretis, ut hcc legatio Cardinali Campegio committatur, qui et eruditus est, et indifferens, commodamque habet hoc in Angliam veniendi occasionem, sui episcopatus visitandi gratia. Quod si Pontifex in eo mittendo nullo pacto consentire voluerit, ab Ipsius tunc Sanctitate omnibus precibus petetis, ut aliquis ex Cardinalibus, qui ab urbe absunt, veluti Tranus aut Farnesius, qui bone sit gravitatis ac existimationis, et quem ob ingenij conformitatem Sanctissimus Dominus noster judicaverit gratiorem acceptioremque Regiae Majestati futurum; in hocque precipuam et omnimodam curam habebitis, ne de alio ullo procuretis, nec in aliquem alium consentiatis mittendum ad Regiam causam terminandam, nisi talis fuerit, et his qualitatibus et conditionibus peditus, qualis vobis est superius prescriptus, et ei qui mittetur commissio sejunctim vel conjunctim mecum a Sanctissimo Domino nostro concedatur, secundum formam et modum hic excogitatum, qui nunc cum his literis ad vos mittitur, absque ulla prorsus digressione aut immutatione clausularum, sententiarum, tenoris, substantie, vel effectus in presenti commissionis forma comprehensi. Ceterum si Pontifex, quod nullo pacto credo, forsitan dicere, Se absque prioris vel alterius commissionis concessionem, velle Legatum mittere ad inquirendum de facto, istique reservaverit, ut sententia feratur, Ejus Sanctitati tunc dicetis, quod quum hec causa probe hic sit omni ex parte cognita, discussa, et mature examinata, hujusmodi dilatio, aut processus prorogatio in causa esse posset, ut modus aliquis extraordinarius tentaretur, quem Regia Majestas sequeretur, hujus rei determinationem ad Pontificis manus neutiquam remittens, in gravissimum ecclesiastice jurisdictionis prejudicium: quae gravia pericula ut evitentur, continue ego labore, et totis viribus enitor; firmam certamque fiduciam et spem habens, quemadmodum prioribus meis literis ad vos perscripsi, quod Sanctissimus Dominus noster suam autoritatem sine difficultate interponens, benigneque huic negocio favens, id facere et concedere non gravabitur, quod Regiae Majestatis expectationi satisfaciat, et quod sit in hujus regni quietem, beneficium, securitatem, et commodum redundatur. Nunc itaque estis copiose instructi de Regiae Majestatis voluntate et animo in Legati adventu procurando, quibusve modis id effici expediat; vosque vehementissime rogo, ut hos agendi modos pro regia obtinenda causa sequamini, datisque instructionibus semper innitamini, quo ex Regis sententia celerius omnia terminentur; pro actionumque vestrarum fundamento id sumite, quod scilicet dilatio et temporis tractus, tum in priori commissione obtinenda, tum in Legato mittendo, omnino evitetur et arceatur.

Pro hoc autem negocio expediendo et absolvendo, si evenerit, ut proculdubio expectamus, quod Pontifex Cardinalem Campegium, vel aliquem alium deputet, qui huc mittatur, eum vos, regio nomine, et meo, instantissime rogabitis, ut huic itineri quam diligentissime se accingat, et majoris celeritatis gratia, sue familie partem aliquam post se relinquat, constantissimeque promittetis omnino futurum, ut, ex dicti Cardinalis sententia, Regia Majestas sumptus labores atque molestias liberalissime compenset: ex his preterea pecunijs, per cambium Venetas ad vos transmissis, honestam aliquam summam dicto Cardinali subministrabitis, casu quo eis egere se dixerit; ita quod ex pecuniarum defectu, vel ex egestatis occasione, diligens ejus adventus nullo pacto impe diatur vel retardetur.

Vobis adhuc significo, quod tam per Thadeum, quam per hunc tabellarium, eadem expeditio, quæ ad vos missa fuit, et impresentia mittitur, sub una et eadem forma confecta, missa quoque est, et nunc mittitur, ad Dominum Knyght, et Dominum Prothonotarium Gambaram, ad eum finem, ut si eorum aliquis nactus fuerit commodiorem facultatem ad Pontificem accedendi quam vos, vel vos quam illi, Regiæ Majestatis causa et desiderium, modis omnibus, ut vehementissime cupid, promoteatur et celerius expediatur. Animunque vigilanter apponite, ut quid eorum quisque in hac causa jam effecerit, cognoscatis; quo actiones vestras ad regium votum obtinendum, ut magis expedit, accommodare et moderari possitis. Et, præter hoc, nullo pacto omittite, quin omni studio ac diligentia procuretis dispensationem impetrare, prioribus meis literis per Thadeum missam, cuius exemplar nunc etiam ad vos mittitur.

Denique, si videritis nullo pacto vobis ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum patere accessum, tunc, quando eadem instructio ad Prothonotarium Gambaram missa est, qui ab hac Regia Majestate huic tractande rei aptus existimatur, et quem Romæ esse intelligit, conducibile esse judicat, ut modum aliquem reperiatis dictum Prothonotarium conveniendi, quem ad regiam obtinendam petitionem omni industria vehementiaque hortabimini. Vestre nunc sunt partes, ut quum Regiam mentem perspectissimam habeatis, omni studio dexteritate ac diligentia, quacunque ratione fieri posset, procuretis, ut quam primum voti et expectationis sue compos fiat. Qua in re adeo acceptum Regiæ Majestati ministerium prestabis, ut eo nomine maximam sit vobis gratiam habitura. Et bene valete. Londini, ex meis edibus, die 27 Decembris, 1527.

Vester tanquam frater amantissimus,

(*Signatur*) T. CARLIS EBOZ.

Postquam

Postquam hec scripsissem, pressius cogitanti mihi, quos alias Cardinales, preter Campegium, Tranum, et Farnesium, Sanctissimus Dominus noster pro regia definienda causa deputare posset, memoria succurrerunt Cardinalis de Cesis<sup>1</sup>, de Monte<sup>2</sup>, et Senensis<sup>3</sup>, qui, ut certissimo jampridem testimonio cognovi, eruditi graves ac prudentes sunt, et ardentissimum semper studium eorum quisque pre se tuit de Regia hac Majestate optime merendi; nunc vero, quum oblata sit occasio, in re tam gravi, officium eidem Regiae Majestati omnium gratissimum et optatissimum prestandi, ipsa confidit eorum quenque hanc causam decidendi gratia, Legationis hue provinciam libentissime suscepturum esse. Proinde vos, qui regium animum omni ex parte compertissimum habetis, in eo ex dictis Cardinalibus Legato procurando adnitemini, qui vestro judicio ac prudentia aptior visus fuerit, ut negocium hoc, ex Regie Majestatis desiderio et expectatione, que justissima et sanctissima est, quam citissime decidat.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Gregorio, Equiti Casalio, ac  
Serenissimi Anglie et Francie Regis Consiliario  
et Oratori, &c. tanquam fratri carissimo.

### CLXXXVI. POPE CLEMENT VII. to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>4</sup>

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CHARISSIME in Christo Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Ex dilecto filio Tue Serenitatis Secretario, et ex literis tuis quas ad Nos attulit, perpetuum tuum erga Nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem amorem agnovimus, gratissimumque accepimus. Quare quod ad dispensationem attinet, quam prioribus literis manu tua scriptis a Nobis requirebas, per Secretarium ipsum et Ubertum Gambara Nuntium nostrum miserimus, quod vero posterioribus literis preter dispensationem petijsti, idemmet Secretarius idcirco ad Nos reversus ad Te affert una cum eodem Nuntio. Et quanquam non nisi difficulter, et cum magno nostro et rerum nostrarum discrimine, concedi hec a Nobis potuerunt, concessimus tamen libenter ut mutuum nostrum erga Serenitatem Tuam amorem et fidem tanto majorem esse cognosceres, quanto hec que concessimus

<sup>1</sup> Paul Aemilius de Cæsis.  
<sup>2</sup> John Piccolomini.

<sup>3</sup> Antony Ciocchi da Monte.  
<sup>4</sup> Holograph.

magis periculosa esse videntur, vi quidem fidei ut prestantissima tua virtute in nostrum et ejusdem Sedis auxilium et reintegrationem, sicuti facis, respondeas, Serenitatem Tuam quanto majore animi studio possumus in Domino requirimus, quem ad modum idem Secretarius tuus et Nuntius noster, qui tibi has afferent literas, copiosius exponent, declarabuntque super his et alijs mentem et desiderium nostrum, in quibus non invenies nisi paternam et summam nostram erga Te et Regnum tuum voluntatem et amorem, quibus Tua Serenitas fidem habebit. Ex Urbe Veteri, die prima Januarij, 1528. .J.

(*Superscribitur*)

Carissimo in Christo filio nostro, Henrico  
Angliæ Regi, Fidei Defensori.

### CLXXXVII. KNIGHTE to KING HENRY VIII.

MY lettyr<sup>1</sup> was writen unto Your Grace, bifore that I had taken my leve of the Pope, at which tyme He willed me to beseke Your Highnes to kepe secret the commission that I do now bring, and that it wolde please Your Highnes that no proces be bigonne, but that frist Ye do certifie the Pope that Ye entend within 15, 20, or 30 daiys to move your cawse bifore my Lord Legat, to thentent that a new commission with date convenient may be sent, if nede be. For if Mons<sup>r</sup> de Loutrec were cum, the Pope thynketh that He myght by good color say that He was requyred by your Ambassatour here, and by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Loutrec; to whome, beyng here with grete power, and the cause beyng a matier of justice, He cowde not say nay: and this myght be for the Pope, as He thynketh, a sufficient excuse towardes thEmperor. Albeit He is determynd, what so evyr shulde chaunce of Hym, to fulfil Your Highnes desire and pleasure; for confirmacion whereof I do bring the commission at this tyme. But the Pope his full trust ys that Your Highnes will regarde his honour wele and prosperite; which all is fully in your puissaunce, with publishing of the commission, to destroye for evyr, as His Holynes supposeth. The Holigoste preserve Your Highnesse. This Newyeris Day<sup>1</sup> in the mornyng, at Orvyeti.

I cowde

<sup>1</sup> There are two other letters of this date from Knighte, one to Henry VIII., the other to Wolsey. They are in the British Museum, Vitellius, B. X. leaf 2, and are both printed by Burnet, Vol. I., Collections,

I cowde no lesse do at this tyme then wright unto my Lorde Legat that the commission and a dispensacion for Your Highnes is obteigned, inasmuche as he sent hyther the mynute of a dispensacion to be spedd, but I specifie not aftyr what forme your dispensacion is graunted and passed.

(Signed) Yō<sup>r</sup> most humble subiect, ſu<sup>r</sup>nt, and  
chaplain,  
W. KNIGHTE.

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### CLXXXVIII. WOLSEY TO SIR GREGORY DA CASALE.

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori, plurimam salutem et commendationem. Ex literis, quas die 10 et 15 elapsi mensis copiose ad me scripsistis, summa cum voluptate percepi in eo statu res Italicas esse constitutas, ut non nisi optimus ex eis successus sperari possit; mirificeque Regiae Majestati et mihi placuit industria et opera, quam tanto cum lige beneficio in Ducis Ferrarie et Marchionis Mantuae componendis rebus prestitistis; usque adeo ut ingentem eo nomine vobis gratiam habeamus, quum nihil potuisset utrique nostrum optatius contingere, quam eos Principes in confederatorum partes devenisse, quos syncero amore semper antea complexi sumus.

Alijs meis literis, quas die 7, 15, et 26, elapsi mensis ad vos dedi, de urgentissima Regiae Majestatis causa copiose ac distinete vos instruxi, institique, ut pro ea decidenda et definienda, Legatus aliquis a Sanctissimo Domino nostro huc mitteretur, et nihilominus obtineretur ad me commissio et pro Regia Majestate dispensatio in eam formam, quam in mundum redactam, et ad vos missam, hic excogitaveramus, ejus rei gratia a Sanctissimo Domino nostro obtinendam; quarum exemplaria et instructiones, de Regie super his animo, die 26 preteriti mensis ad vos misi; quo tempore magnam, utcunque incertam, de Pontificis liberatione spem hic conceperamus. Nunc autem, tum vestris, et aliorum complurium literis, tum vero benignissimis Ipsius Sanctitatis ad Regiam Majestatem et me brevijs, incredibili cordis exultatione cognovimus,

Collections, pp. 21-24. That to the King mentions Knight's interview with the Pope on his granting the dispensation; that he had set out to return, but on meeting with a courier with dispatches from England he went back again to Orvieto, where, with Casale, he obtained a commission directed to Wolsey, not exactly in the form it was conceived in England. The letter to Wolsey details the first interview with the Pope respecting the divorce.

Deo

Deo sic favente, Eam fuisse in suam libertatem restitutam, et ex brevium data, jam Orbvetum pervenisse, in locoque tuto ac seguro esse; atque ita Regia Majestas nihil ambigit, quin intellecta Sanctissimi Domini nostri liberatione, ad eum statim, ceteris omnibus actionibus omissis, accesseritis pro his expōnendis, quae vestre fidei commissa erant, alijsque rebus juxta Regiæ Majestatis expectationem procurandis et expediendis: confidoque, longe prius quam has literas acceperitis, regiam dispensationem, commissionem, et legati missionem fuisse a vobis, vel Domino Secretario, vel Domino Prothonotario Gambara, a Sanctissimo Domino nostro impetratam; ad bonumque terminum jam omnia reducta esse ex honestissimi ac sanctissimi Regiæ Majestatis desiderij satisfactione. Verum tamen ob immensam laetitiam, quam Regia Majestas, et ego, intimis precordijs, ex Sanctissimi Domini nostri liberatione concepimus, ob sinceramque congratulationem habendam, atque etiam ut de his, quae nunc expedire videntur, copiose vos instruam, tabellarium hunc quam diligentissime expedivi, qui vobis reddet Regiæ Majestatis et meas literas ad Sanctissimum Dominum, libertatem ipsi gratulantes, et alia nonnulla declarantes, que ex earum exemplo cognoscetis. Quibus acceptis, Regia Majestas vult, ut Pontificem quamprimum adeatis, postque cordatissimas ac filiales commendationes, Ejus literas reddatis: itidemque ego rogo, ut, meis humillimis premissis commendationibus, meas literas exhibeatis, quibus vero modis congratulationem hujusmodi habebitis ex nostrarum literarum exemplo, habunde percipietis; illudque addetis, quod de conditionibus, quas suæ liberationis causa, Sua Sanctitas longe preter Sedis Apostolice honorem, justitiam, et æquitatem, metu, periculis, violentiaque subire coacta est, Regia Majestas, et ego, judicamus prudentissime ab Ea fuisse factum, quum alia nulla ratio excogitari potuisset facilior aut commodior ad Sue Beatitudinis liberationem maturandam, quae non absque gravissimo, tum universe Christianitatis, tum vero Sedis Apostolice detrimento, poterat diutius protrahi. Ob quam causam nil poterat ab eadem Sanctitate melius effici, quam exteriori signo et assensu tam duras et vi exactas conditiones admittere, ut ex ea tandem occasione libertatem assequeretur; quod tamen nullius roboris aut effectus hujusmodi conditiones vi extorte, et metus causa concesse, haberi possunt; ex eisque non prestitis nulla objecta sit honoris macula, vel conscientie culpa coram Deo, qui rectus est cordium scrutator, idem Sanctissimus Dominus noster, ex innata sua prudentia, optimis etiam abhibitis consiliarijs, facile potest dignoscere; ita quod minime dubitandum est, quin Ejus Sanctitas, in dictis tam inquis perimplendis conditionibus, accuratam sit rationem habitura tam maximi damni ac prejudicij, quod sibi Apostoliceque Sedi inde proveniret; et tanti etiam commodi, quod in hostium beneficium

beneficium et commodum redundaret. Etenim, quum ejusmodi sint conditiones, ut nullo divino vel humano jure ad eas observandas Sanctissimus Dominus noster adstringatur, tantumque discriminem suis et aliorum rebus manifeste impendat, si nunc liber eas perimpleret nullo jure coactus, omnis merito culpa ob promissi observationem, et non ob conditiones metu admissas, in Ejus Sanctitatem rejiceretur; ideoque Regia Majestas et ego confidimus, parem nunc, libertate assequuta, in suis agendis rebus prudentiam adhibituram esse, qua liberationis causa, in conditionibus obeundis, antea est usa, omninoque evitaturam ingens periculum, quod non solum Sibi et Apostolice Sedi, verum etiam omnibus ejus amicis et lige confederatis imminet, si tam inique conditiones nunc observentur. Qua in re, Serenissima Regia Majestas, et ejus carissimus frater et perpetuus confederatus, Rex Christianissimus, pro viribus illi aderunt, tum in pristino suo statu et dignitate recuperanda, tum etiam in his injurijs ac malis reparandis, que dicta Sanctitas, una cum sua familia, passa est.

Deinde, quum misericors Deus ipsam e manu inimicorum suorum libera-  
verit, in libertateque constituerit, admonebitis, et modis omnibus Suam Sanctitatem rogabitis, quod ita prudenter ac vigilanter sibi caveat, ne ex ullo prospero aut adverso alterutrius partis successu, rursus in nova pericula adducatur; sed ita sue securitati consulet, quod, quamvis pax inter Regem Christianissimum et Cesarem, non absque longo temporis tractu, componeretur, vel interim forsan in Italia utriusque exercitus congrederentur, certaminisque finis sit incertus, in omnem semper eventum ab omni discriminine, quacunque ex parte, semper dicta Sanctitas secura tutaque sit. Ex sola enim Sue Sanctitatis conservatione et libertate, suarum rerum et successuum omnium summa pendet; fierique posset, quod nolit Deus, ut collatis copijs, commissoque certamine, Dominus Lautrec succumberet. Quo tunc casu, si accideret, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster, aliquo in loco Cesarianorum violentie obnoxio ageret, incertum profecto est, an illi pactionibus aut conventionibus ullis stare velint, vel ab ipso Pontifice abstinere, vel deterius quam antea tractare. Que nimirum res accurate consideranda est, respectusque precipue habendus ipsius Sanctissimi Domini nostri securitati, cui de loco in quo tutissime resideat, utecumque longinquo, statuendum est, adeo quod, dum hec in suspenso tumultuantur, dicta Sanctitas, cum Cardinalium Collegio, nullius hostis periculo sit exposita. Quod si probe prospiciatur, cetere omnes ejus actiones non possunt nisi prospere succedere, summa cum sua, totiusque ejus familie, instauratione et incremento, in magnamque illorum confusionem, qui violentas in Christi Vicarium manus ausi sint injicere. Atque ita his omnibus, ea qua par est dexteritate

dexteritate expositis, capta occasione, sermonem ingeretis de gravissimo moerore, quem Regia Majestas, et ego, ob Sanctissimi Domini nostri captivitatem conceperamus; narrabitisque, quid pro ea liberanda hinc excogitatum et effectum sit, ut sequitur.

Primo, indignissima Ejus captivitate accepta, hec Regia Majestas ad Regem Christianissimum in Galliam me misit<sup>1</sup>, quam ego profectionem, nulli meæ ingravescenti etati, nullis periculis, sumptibus, aut laboribus parcens, libentissime suscepi, ad eum certe finem, ut potentissimi hi duo Principes in perfecta solidaque concordia conglutinarentur; id quod partim genuina quadam illorum propensione, partim quoque meo studio et industria effeci, eaque inter illos jam firma et stabilita conjunctio intercedit, ut omni inimicitarum prorsus ansa vel occasione amota, indissolubile conjunctionis et concordie vinculum inter eos eorumque heredes et successores in perpetuum conglutinatum et connexum sit; adeo quod, in publicis actionibus, unius animi, spiritus, ac voluntatis existant. Que tantorum Principum conjunctio, in hunc modum firmissime conciliata, maxime omnium visa est ad Sanctissimi Domini nostri liberationem conducere et conferre, maximeque juvare posse totius Christianitatis quietem, quam semper antea horum duorum Principum dissensio et hostilitas perturbavit. Interimque nullam occasionem pretermisi, quocunque modo possem, promovendi et urgendi Domini Lautrec expeditionem; agens nihilominus, ut omnia necessaria illi exercitui providerentur. Ad quem effectum, subsidia non multo minora, quam Rex Christianissimus, hec Regia Majestas contribuit; et licet Dominus Lautrec non tam diligenter, ut conventum fuerat, processerit, ob Helvetiorum recessum, nulla tamen hinc diligentia fuit omissa, quæ posset ejus exercitum promovere; ea quidem spe et consilio, ut ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum liberandum quam multum prodessemus: nec nunc quicquam hinc omittetur, quod ad Cesarianorum exterminium, et vi extortarum conditionum moderationem, spectare possit. Adhec omnis diligentia adhibita fuit in Venetis animandis, quo in suis actionibus et conventionibus constantissime pergerent; et Dux Ferrariæ, ac Marchio Mantuæ, aliquae Italiae Status, in confederatorum partes attraherentur; et ne etiam Florentini in hostium partes deficerent: quod publicis rebus admodum profuit, et forsitan in causa esse poterit, ut Italia a tantis turbinibus atque periculis eximatur, Pontifexque facilis in pristinam suam autoritatem ac dignitatem restituatur.

Et quum Galliæ populi alieque nationes viderent se veri Ecclesie Pastoris solacio orbatas, nullumque in suis necessitatibus refugium superesse, de remedio

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I. pp. 191-281.

adhibendo

adhibendo agere ac meditari coepерunt, ad inferiorem authoritatem quam Sedis Apostolice recurrentes, quo res gerendi modo in consuetudinem semel adducto, periculosum excrevisset exemplum in ecclesiastice dignitatis et authoritatis prejudicium, et separationem ab Ecclesia Romana; Regia Majestas, et ego, dum in Gallia agerem, non solum novos hos tentatos modos silentio involvimus; sed rationes omnes ac vias excogitavimus, quibus, si Sanctissimi Domini nostri liberatio protracta fuisset, consuli et prospici posset Apostolice authoritatis in integrum conservationi.

Preterea, statim post confirmatam perpetuam horum duorum Principum conjunctionem, solemnis et expressa facta fuit, eorum nomine, apud Cesarem requisitio, pro Sanctissimo Domino nostro liberando, practicis etiam alijs pacis additis; idque exageratum est tanta verborum acrimonia, et belli comminationibus, ut nihil plura potuissent effici, si ipsa Regia Majestas fuisset liberanda: adeo quod inter hos duos invictissimos Principes plane statutum foret, quod, nisi Cesar ad Ejus liberationem devenire voluisset, bellum, preter id, quod in Italia geritur, adversus inferiores has Cesaris regiones, proprijs personis, hac proxima æstate gererent; quod etiam gerent, nisi ad honestam pacem voluerit Cesar devenire, permiseritque Pontificem cum Ecclesie patrimonio secure et quiete vivere. Alie deinde litere confecte fuerant nomine totius Anglie Cleri ad Cesarem, Pontificis liberationem exposcentes; consimilesque etiam ad totius Hispanie Clerum<sup>1</sup>, quibus induceretur ad protestationem Cesari faciendam; Regiaeque Majestas et ego apud Regem Christianissimum egeramus, ut Galliae Clerus idem quoque efficeret; literarum vero hujus rei gratia confectarum exemplar cum his accipietis, quo Sanctissimus Dominus noster perspiciat quid super Ejus liberatione maturanda hic foret excogitatum. Quibus omnibus, ut Dei gratiam magis propiciam haberemus, bis in ebdomada per universum regnum solemnes celebrate sunt processiones et supplications, jejuniaque devotissime observata; existimandumque est tam synceras preces fuisse a Deo exauditas, et Pontificem aliquanto celerius fuisse liberatum: Cujus Sanctitati affirmare poteritis, nihil hinc fuisse pretermissum, quod ad id conferre potuerit. In quo Regia Majestas, tanquam optimus et Christianus Princeps, et ego, ut observantissimus minister, decreveramus proprio sanguini neutiquam parcere, si ita fuisset opus; idque non minori promptitudine effecissemus, quam si in ea actum fuisset de Regiae Majestatis salute; nec unquam conquiescemus, nisi Sanctissimo Domino nostro in pristinum statum restituto. Ceterum quum,

<sup>1</sup> Copies of both these letters are in the State Paper Office, and the latter states that there had been a similar one to the Clergy of France.

divina favente clementia, nunc ex omnium voto felicissime successerit Ejus Sanctitatis liberatio, licet sub inquis, et, ut dictum est, nullo pacto observandis, conditionibus ; non minorem tamen dicta Regia Majestas et ego laetitiam de ea concipimus, quam de eo quod omnium optatissimum nobis contingere potuisset ; continuoque studio excogitabimus, quicquid post tam bona liberationis initia cedere possit in prefate Sanctitatis et Apostolice Sedis commodum, et utriusque status dignitatis et authoritatis reintegrationem, et illatarum injuriarum et calamitatum reparationem, et in sue nobilissime familie adjumentum et conservationem : quem nostrum devotissimum animum, rogabitis, ut ea synceritate, qua offertur, velit accipere.

Atque ita, his dexterime expositis, paulisper conquiescere poteritis, expectareque in quam partem Sanctissimus Dominus noster premissa omnia interpretetur : nihilque dubitandum est, quin humanissima verba statim addat, ex quibus, commodissima vos capta occasione, Regiae Majestatis causam, omni industria atque dexteritate promovebitis et procurabitis, nisi prius ad optatum effectum fuerit deducta ; Ipsiusque Sanctitati dicetis, quod, quamvis Regia Majestas quecumque potuit officia in Ipsius commodum prestiterit, omnia quoque ubi res exposet posthac effecturas, ob intimum affectum filialeisque devotionem, qua dictam Sanctitatem prosequitur, et Sedem Apostolicam complectitur, etiam si nihil ab Eis in propria causa expectaret ac requireret, quum tamen negocium habeat maximi momenti, justum, rectum, et honestum, in quo sic agitur de suo regnique sui statu et conservatione, ut nil magis cordi queat habere, et ejusmodi est, quod antea concedi consuevit compluribus, qui longe minora de Sede Apostolica quam dicta Regia Majestas sunt promeriti ; Sanctissimusque Dominus noster, in mittendo Legato, de omnibus prorsus se exonerabit, quae ab ullo hac in re possent objici ; et Regia Majestas confidit quod Sanctissimus Dominus noster (qui etiam, si nulla gratissimi animi testimonia extarent, non denegaturus esset illi tam justam et honestam petitionem) prestitorum tamen officiorum intuitu, faciliorem ac benigniorem se exhibebit in regio voto, absque ullo prorsus impedimento, dilatione, aut difficultate injecta ; et Sibi persuadet Ejus Sanctitatem, Sue Regiae Majestatis intellecto desyderio, omnia ultro concessuram esse, pro quo obtinendo ad Eam Sedisque Apostolice autoritatem nunc fidentissime confugit. Hoc in loco Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, meo nomine, humillime rogabitis, ut meminisse dignetur quanti aextimanda sit tam constans Regiae Majestatis voluntas, et syncerissima erga Ejus Sanctitatem affectio, a qua propemodum sola ipsius actionum et causarum omnium fundamentum ac stabilimentum pendere, et in ejus fide ac presidio spes omnis remanere videtur ; in memoriamque redigetis, quam parum tutum Sue

Beatitudini

Beatitudini esset ex cause tam juste et sancte denegatione tam benevolum atque sibi addictum Principem amittere, vel ulla in re ejus animum immutare ; qui in Ejus pectore tam alte nunc radices egit, ut nihil sit in dicte Regiae Majestatis viribus positum, de quo Sanctissimus Dominus noster ex sua sententia et arbitrio non possit disponere ; Eique preterea reverentissime supplcabitis, ut, quemadmodum Regia Majestas continuo studio modos omnes ex cogitavit, quibus Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum a captivitate liberaret, ita nunc Ejus Sanctitas, parem gratiam illi referens, velit non minori benevolentia et promptitudine, Sue Regiae Majestatis conscientiam et animum a peccati errorisque captivitate et laqueo redimere ; et hac pulcherrima occasione, potentissimum hunc Principem firmissime et constantissime in suis omnibus occurrijs et actionibus sibi adjunget, et cum eo Regem quoque Christianissimum lucrifaciet, quod ex maximo Sue Sanctitatis (ut dictum est) commodo et securitate erit. Atque ita, quum nunc compertissimam habeatis Regie Majestatis mentem de commissione et dispensatione obtinenda, et de Legato mittendo, quod precipue curandum est, commodusque ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum pateat accessus, optimaque oblata sit de causa tam justa loquendi occasio, si Regie Majestatis expectatio in longum protrahatur, existimabit profecto id nullo pacto a Sanctissimi Domini nostri benevola in se mente, sed a vestra incuria et negligentia proficiisci, a qua certum habeo vos procul abfuturos : quod negocium, quum tam magni sit momenti, ut majoris esse nequeat, solum vos admoneo nulla in re vos posse Regiae Majestatis pectus vobis certius promerer, quam in hoc Ejus impetrando desiderio ; et ex eo succedet vestri, familieque vestre, et successorum, perpetuum augumentum et ornamentum.

Denique, Domine Gregori, vos iterum atque iterum vehementissime rogo, et tanquam vestri studiosissimus amicus pro viribus hortor, ut quemadmodum in publicis actionibus in lige commodum et beneficium obeundis, vestra opera, fide, ac diligentia, Serenissimae Regiae Majestatis et meae expectationi cumulatissime satisfecistis ; ita pari dexteritate, industria, atque prudentia, in hac Regia obtinenda petitione, omnino utamini ; adeo quod Sue Majestati perspicuum sit, quanta sedulitate causam hanc, omnium gravissimam, procuretis, et omnino efficietis, ut Legatus aliquis huic negocio ex Regiae Majestatis sententia definiendo aptus, hue quamprimum mittatur ; cuius sumptus et labores, tanta gratitudine ac liberalitate, Regia Majestas compensabit, ut nullam legationem potuisset utiliorem aut honorificentiore exoptare.

Et ut premissa, in Hispaniam expedita pro Sanctissimi Domini nostri liberatione acceleranda, apertius Ejus Sanctitati constent, cum his etiam ad

vos mitto exemplar intimationis belli Cesari faciende, casu quo dictam Sanctitatem nollet a captivitate liberare, atque pacis honestas conditiones amplecti. Et bene valete. Londini, ex meis edibus, die 7 Januarij, 1527.

Vester tanquam frater

et bonus amicus,

(*Superscribitur*)

(*Signatur*)

T. CARLIS EBOZ.

Magnifico Domino, Gregorio Equiti Casalio,  
ac Invictissimi Domini Regis Anglie et  
Francie Consiliario et Oratori, tanquam  
fratri carissimo.

### CLXXXIX. KING HENRY VIII. to POPE CLEMENT VII.<sup>1</sup>

BEATISSIME Pater, post humillimam commendationem ac devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Dolorem, quem ex Vestræ Sanctitatis captivitate omnium acerbissimum antea conceperamus, Ejusdem nunc liberationis, votis omnibus a Deo expetite, acceptum breve sic emollivit; nec enim fieri potuit, ut tam subito omnem abstergeret, ut in novam quandam et omnium maximam lætitiam publicamque felicitatem prorsus conversi simus. Quid namque ulli Christiano Principi, ne dum Nobis, qui amore vere filiali, et mutuis continuisque utrinque officijs, Vestræ Sanctitati tenacissime adligamur, optatius vel felicius contingere potuissest, quam de Ejus liberatione nunc allatum nuncium? publicum optimunque parentem languenti orbi fuisse restitutum? Sancteque Apostolicæ Sedi et Christianæ religioni verum caput et moderatorem redditum? divinaque potius Providentia, quam humano consilio, tantis superatis turbinibus, salvum et in columem evasisse? Quod certe summum beneficium, sicuti Omnipotenti Deo, qui humilia ex alto respicit, acceptum referimus, ita ut perpetuum esse faciat syncerissimis supplicationibus et sacrificijs ab Ejus Divina Majestate præcabimur, nominique suo gloriam ac laudem sempiternam ex animo dabimus, quod suæ miserum in modum afflictæ plebeculæ tandem misertus, suum pastorem verumque parentem de manu inimicorum in omnium salutem libera- verit, ex qua nunc Dei benignitate et clæmentia certe confidimus fore ut pristinum suum nitorem dignitatem et autoritatem omnia recuperet, ex tantisque perpessis calamitatibus, Vestræ Sanctitatis probitas innocentia virtus

<sup>1</sup> Copy from the Vatican. In the same collection is another letter from Henry to the Pope, dated on the 5th of January, accrediting Bishop Staffileo, the French King's Orator.

ac pietas universo sit orbi in multo majore quam antea veneratione futura. Quod vero suam se liberationem Nobis debere agnoscit et scribit, hanc nunc Deo Servatori nostro acceptam referimus, illud interim de Nobis nequaquam reticentes, nullis nuncijs aut litteris, nullisve opibus aut officijs, defuisse, ut Sanctitatis Vestrae liberationem maturaremus; quam etiam prorsus decreveramus, vel proprio sanguine, et nostræ salutis discrimine, juvare: quæ nunc officia in, heu nimium conculcato, Ecclesiæ sublevando statu, in Vestra Beatitudine recreanda, et in Apostolicæ Sedis dignitate recuperanda, omni studio ardore ac promptitudine exponemus; superfluumque fore existimamus, ut Ipsa a Nobis petat, quod ea quæ salutis suæ gratia cum hostibus agere, et conditiones quas subire necessitate coacta est, eo quo gesta sunt animo accipere velimus, cum certum habeamus non nisi divino prudentique consilio, et nulla sui erga Nos animi immutatione, fuisse facta, sed solum Sanctitatem Vestram necessitate metuque adactam, ut tam impias hostium manus evaderet, conditiones eas subijsse, de quibus jam deferente fama intelleximus, et multo uberior ex Prothonotario Gambara, quo nullum Vestra Sanctitas potuisset gratiorem nuntium ad Nos remittere, brevi percepturos Nos speramus. Verumtamen, Vestra nunc Sanctitate in libertatem restituta, ex sua conservatione potissimum totiusque Christianæ reipublicæ quiete est, ut ab his iniquis præstandis conditionibus omnino se contineat; et nihil observet, quod præter jus et honestum, et in suum confoederatorumque prejudicium, vi et potentia hostes extorserunt: quod ut securius Vestra Sanctitas queat efficere, Dominus Lautreck expresse habet in mandatis, ut ad hostium perdendas reliquias audacter progrediatur, quo tandem subatti hostes cogatur moderatas a Vestra Beatitudine conditiones, quas Ipsa dabit, et non eas quas Illi tanta sævitia antea præscriperat, accipere; sicque, Sanctitate Vestra, una cum Sede Apostolica, in pristinam coronam et dignitatem restituta, universalis pax facilius ac celerius componi poterit, qua in re eam operam et adjumentum, una cum carissimo fratre et confoederato nostro perpetuo, Rege Christianissimo, Beatitudini Vestrae præstabimus, quod plane ex ejus sententia in viribus que nostris fuerit. Quid autem in Vestrae Sanctitatis gratiam hactenus efficerimus, longe apertius et distinctius posthac quam adhuc ob recentem liberationem potuerit, Vestra Sanctitas cognoscat, ex quorum nostrorum jam præstitorum officiorum testimonio facile judicare poterit, quanto his majora sibi queat de Nobis polliceri, quem certe addictissimum nostrum animum sibi totique sue familiae non absque fructu, hoc solo officio in perpetuum confirmabit; si videlicet in his concedendis, in quibus nostra Regnique nostri salus et quies versatur, et de quibus tum nostris litteris, tum Oratoribus apud Sanctitatem Vestram, nuper ardentissime ac vehementissime egimus, benignam

facilem

facilem et propensam se præstiterit, et ita Nos sibi Apostolicæque conservandæ juvandæ ac protegendæ Sædi, præter id quod quilibet Princeps ex jure debet, adstringet, ut Nos, Regnumque nostrum, suis semper votis promptissimum sit habitura, uti magis sigillatim ex magnifico Domino Gregorio Casalio, Oratore nostro, Vestra Beatitudo intelliget. Cui ut certissimam fidem et expeditionem, a Nobis omnium maxime expectatam, concedere velit, impensissime rogamus. Et felicissime ac diutissime ipsa valeat. Ex regia nostra Grenwci, die 8 Januarij, 1527.

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis

devotissimus atque obsequentissimus Filius,  
Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei  
Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,

HENRICUS.

(*Superscribitur*)  
Sanctissimo Clementissimoque  
Domino nostro Papæ.

### CXC. KNIGHTE TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it Your Highnes to understand, that, forasmuche as by your gracious letters, sent by Thadeus, your pleasure was that, aftyr your dispensacion and a commission convenient were obteigned, I shulde returne; so it is, that Your Highnes dispensacion is sped, and under lede, in suche forme as it was in effect conceipved in the mynute browght bi Barlow. Moreovyr a commission<sup>2</sup>, as sufficient as cowde be dyvised by the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, is likewise obteigned; and Gambora, now beyng in Fraunce, and purposyng to passe into Englond, inasmuche as I do remayne here to know ferther of your pleasure, shall bring bothe with hym. The premisses obteigned, I, accordyng unto Your Highnes pleasure, returned thus ferr homewardes, fyndyng here certaine letters from Your Highnes and my Lorde Legat, commaundyng me to enduce the Pope to send a special Legat into Englond for diffynycion of your cawse. But, considering that I am ferre from the Pope, and Gregori de Cassalis, which hath letters of like effect, ys nere unto His Holynes, moreovyr that peraventur, when that that ys obteigned all redi, and my letters, shalbe seene, yt may so be that withowte lenger tracte Your Highnes will accept the same,

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> A draft of this commission is in the British Museum, Vitellius, B. IX. leaf 218.

I do

I do contynue here, tyll I do effsonys know Your Highnes pleasure; and that done I shall endevour my self with all diligence to accomplishe the same. The Holigoste preserve Your Highnes. At Aste, the 10<sup>th</sup> day of Janyvere.<sup>1</sup>

Your most humble subiect servaunte

and chapelyn,

W. KNIGHTE.

*Superscribed*  
To the Kinges Highnes.

<sup>1</sup> There are two letters from Knight to Wolsey, dated on the 9th and 10th of January. Vitellius, B. X. leaf 31. In the same volume, leaf 34, is a letter from Jernigam to Wolsey on the 10th, giving an account of the proceedings of Lautrec.

The following is in the State Paper Office, but it does not appear how it was transmitted:

" Substantia Reverendissimi Domini Datarij super his, quæ Sanctissimi Domini nostri nomine  
" die 11 Januarij scripsit.  
" Sanctissimus Dominus noster ad se revocavit Archiepiscopum Capuanum, propterea quod  
" Gallorum Rex non contentabatur ut in Angliam veniret, nec illi voluit suum animum super  
" tractanda concordia aperire, ideoque frustra advenisset, quum Romæ posset plus proficere.  
" Sanctissimus Dominus noster, ut ostendat quo amore prosequatur Serenissimum Regem Angliae  
" et reverendissimum Dominum Cardinalem Eboracensem, mittit Dominum Prothonotarium  
" Casalium, qui declarat Sue Sanctitatis innocentiam super declaratione facta cum Rege Gallorum,  
" quæ non potest appellari liga nec confederatio, sed sola et simplex securitas non offendendi hinc  
" inde, id quod factum est sine aliquo prejudicio Cesaris et Sanctissimi Regis Angliae ac reveren-  
" dissimi Domini Eborum. In qua securitate sunt conclusi tantummodo Florentini ad evitanda  
" pericula, in quæ potuissent devenire ob ea quæ olim pro Cesare fecerunt; et sic sua Sanctitas est  
" in pristinis terminis, et in solita neutralitate, nec aliter reperietur. Super quibus latius ore  
" referet idem Dominus Prothonotarius Casalis, ostendetque exemplum omnium actorum et con-  
" tentorum in dicta securitate. Quare hoc fecerit plures sunt cause allegate, videlicet, periculum  
" a Turca imminens, impotentia Cesaris ad bellum sustinendum, a quo ad tres menses preteritos  
" nulle literæ allate sunt, potentia Gallorum Regis in Italia, subsidium Ducis Ferrarie, qui ab  
" ejus Sanctitate repente defecit, impotentia Sanctissimi Domini nostri ac totius Italie, tumultus  
" exorti in Italia, ac presertim in civitate Senarum, ubi Renzius Capitanus Gallorum habet  
" magnam factionem, discrimen amittendi regni Neapolitani, quod militibus ac pecunijs est prorsus  
" destitutum, et licet Galli hactenus premiscent Ducem Albaniæ, ut amoverent Viceregem, forte  
" dictus Dux visa ista oportunitate non facile retrocedet. Continua et mala dispositio est ipsius  
" Viceregis in Pontificem, qui, sub colore dimittendi quandam camerarium et secretarium alium,  
" Regis Gallorum captivos, ut pro redemptione irent, cum eis de concordia cum Rege Gallorum  
" componenda tractabat, idque fieret spreto Pontifice, asserebatque dictus Vicerex, prout Sanctis-  
" simus Dominus noster certior per partes hinc inde factus, quod mallet inter se ipsos concordare  
" quam id ullo medio Pontificis facere, multasque commoditates concludendis treguam vel pacem  
" fore amissas, modicamque curam esse adhibitam a Cesare super Ducatum Mediolani, qui aliquando  
" non magni fecit, utrum dictus Ducatus deveniret ad manus Ducis Olientis, idemque fecit Serenis-  
" simus Majestas Anglie, quæ noluit mutuo dare illa quinquaginta millia ducatorum pro defensione  
" dicti Ducatus. Itaque, si predicti Principes, quorum maxime interest, hanc rem non curarunt,  
" cur Sua Sanctitas, que multa habet, ac ea in periculo constituta, sine prejudicio dictarum  
" Majestatum non debet consulere indemnitati suæ, et proprie conscientie satisfacere, servans  
" continue suam neutralitatem. Quibus bene consideratis, non potest Sua Sanctitas sibi persuadere  
" ipsos Principes dictam securitatem oegre laturos, nec (ut forte aliqui jactant) assumpturos  
" sectam Lutheranam contra Ecclesiam. De quibus tamen bene confidit, et in omnibus petit  
" reverendissimum Dominum Eborum, tanquam legatum et protectorem Ecclesie universalis, et

CXCI. TAYLER to WOLSEY.<sup>1</sup>

PLEAS hit your Grace, yester eve came to my handis this packet of letters from Mons<sup>r</sup> Gregory de Casalis, with the which I had a letter dated at Bonany the 7 day of January, wherby I perceyve Mons<sup>r</sup> Lotrek shuld departe thens shortly towardes Naplus, yf no lett war made in the way. Other newes wee have none, but that Mons<sup>r</sup> de Gambara hath take his leve here, but he spoke not with the Kyng, as he will shewe at large to your Grace, as he promysed me.

As yester day, the 19 day of January, Mons<sup>r</sup> Senonensis<sup>2</sup> received the Cardinallis hatt by the handes of the Legatt de Salviatis : moche solempnyte there was, with out good order or discretion ; the grettest thing to be noted was, the while the oracion was made, the Chaunceller, sytting by nethe the Legatt afore the High Aulter, stale a good slepe, and so did he also after dyner, sytting by the Legate, the chaumber beyng full of people. He is named Presbiter Cardinalis, tituli Sancti Anastasij.

All other newes Mons<sup>r</sup> de Gambara will shewe unto your Grace at lenght. The 15 day of January I sent letters to your Grace, with other letters of

“ Suæ Sanetitatis, et sperat suam reverendissimam Dominationem omnia in bonam partem  
“ accepturam.

“ Ad ostendendam innocentiam constantiam et bonum animum Suæ Sanetitatis, quæ nec prece  
“ nec precio unquam movetur, recusavit oblationem tribus elapsis diebus sibi a Vicerege nomine  
“ Cesaree Majestatis factam, casu quo voluisse se declarare contra Gallum ; videlicet, Ducatum  
“ Barri cum statu viginti millium ducatorum pro nepote, sumere provinciam Ducatus Ferrariae,  
“ finito prius bello Mediolani, et ipsum Ducatum dare nepoti Suæ Sanetitatis una cum sorore  
“ Cesaris in conjugem ; et ex nunc pro observantia securitatis exhibuit Garentum in manibus Suæ  
“ Sanetitatis, et Principatum Tarenti. Obtulit et investituram Ducatus Mediolani, sed in manibus  
“ Suæ Sanetitatis. De quibus omnibus egit gratias Viceregi, et hoc idem Cesari fecit per proprium  
“ nuncium, dolens intrinsecus judicium hominum esse tale, ut potius proprio interesse moveri  
“ debeat Sua Sanctitas, quam bona mente sua erga Cesaream Majestatem. Ex quibus intelligere  
“ possunt integritatem Suæ Sanetitatis, et si ambulat in via Domini recta querens, quæ Dei sunt  
“ in vera neutralitate. Et quia omnes serenissimi Principes videntur non moveri, nisi quantum  
“ necessitas illos urget, relaxando, et remittendo, prout res ipse succedunt, nescit Sua Sanctitas  
“ quid ulterius agere debeat. Instat tamen apud Cesarem de novo, ut velit mittere liberam  
“ instructionem, et mandatum quod agentes sui in urbe dicunt non habere sufficiens, ut si Deus  
“ dederit aliquam occasionem bene vel minus male perducendi res, possint tandem ad finem  
“ perduci. Offert deinde Sua Sanctitas omnimodam observantium et benevolentiam Serenissimo  
“ Regi et reverendissimo Domino Eborum, quibus iterato committit negotium.”

<sup>1</sup> From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XII. leaf 19.

<sup>2</sup> Antony du Prat, Archbishop of Sens, the Chancellor of France.

Mons<sup>r</sup> Gregory de Casalys. Thus Jhesu preserve your Grace. From Parys,  
the 20 day of January. By your chapelen and daily bedeman,

As yester day, the 19 day of January, war made generall processions at  
Parys, for the delyvery of the Pope.<sup>1</sup>

(Signed) Jo. T. M<sup>r</sup> of the Roll(.

(Superscribed)

To my Lord Legates good Grace.

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## CXCHI. SIR ROBERT JERNIGAM to KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASE it Your Highnes to be advertised. We be now entred into the realme  
of Naples<sup>2</sup>, and have within 20 myles compasse the townes and castelles unto  
us delyvered; not doubting but that the residue woll in like wise, at our nere  
approche unto theym, folowe the same, so as (God willing) for our exploicte  
here we shall shortly be at an ende. The Counte Pier de Naver is now gone  
towardes a towne named Laquela, one of the gretist townes in that parties  
of the countrey, within the whiche be 200 light horses, 80 men of armes, and  
1000 fotemen. How be it, I thinke of treuthe that shortely upon the arryvall  
of the same Pier de Naver, they woll rendre the saide towne. The Spanyardes  
and launceknighthes be still within Rome, at discension and debate bitwen theym  
selfes, unto whome the Prince of Orenge hathe promised payment, whiche  
shoulde be levied within this countrey of Naples. Nevertheles Mouns<sup>r</sup> Lautrec  
intendeth to disapoyn特 their purpose in that bihalf. Other newes here be  
none occuraunt. As knoweth thineffable Trynyte, who ever preserve Your  
saide Highnes in honour and longe lyfe. At Aschulio, the 10<sup>th</sup> daye of  
February.

Your humble subgiet and servaunte,

(Signed) ROBART JERNIGAM.

(Superscribed)

To the Kinges Highnes.

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<sup>1</sup> From a paper in the Museum (Vitellius, B. X. leaf 6) it appears that Wolsey had on the 5th of January made a procession to Saint Paul's for this purpose.

<sup>2</sup> On the 6th Jernigam informed Wolsey that Lautrec had arrived with his army on the borders of the kingdom of Naples, and that Civitella had surrendered. Ibid. leaf 72.

## CXCIII. WOLSEY TO SIR GREGORY DA CASALE.

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori, Salutem et Commendationem. Ita vestra fide prudentia ac diligentia in ea, quæ vobis peragenda commissa sunt, vel quæ putatis publicis actionibus expedire, aut Regiæ Majestati et mihi grata esse, incumbitis, ut gratiam, quam nunc vobis ex animo habemus, speremus nos brevi cumulatius esse relatuos; opera vero, quam tam strenue, tum apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, tum apud Reverendissimum Sanctorum Quatuor, in Regiæ Majestatis causa omnium gravissima procuranda prestitis, utriusque nostrum fuit acceptissima; et illud imprimis, quod de propensa Sanctissimi Domini nostri regio voto justo, sancto, ac necessario gratificandi voluntate, deque optimo ejusdem Reverendissimi Sanctorum Quatuor in hanc rem animo, distinete et copiose vestris literis ad me scripsistis, quarum novissime die 6 Januarij Bononiae sunt date.<sup>1</sup> Nam et si dispensatio et commissio a Sanctissimo Domino nostro jam concessa, pro re tanta definienda, nullius sit roboris vel effectus, ex ea tamen, et ex his, quæ tam asseveranter vos scripsistis, et quæ Reverendus Dominus Episcopus Terdonensis de Ejus Sanctitate constanter promisit, Regia hec Majestas, quæ nulli unquam devotissimi erga Sedem Apostolicam Principis officio defuit, aut posthac deerit, spem ac fiduciam certissimam concepit, omnino fore, ut hujus cause, in qua, preter multa gravissima, suæ imprimis animæ salus agitur, compos efficiatur, omnisque mora et scrupulus tunc prorsus tollatur; et omnia, ex ejusdem Majestatis sententia, concedantur, postquam dicta Sanctitas gravissimum cause momentum, justitiam, rectitudinem, ac necessitatem distinctius cognoverit: alioquin quod nunquam sibi persuadet Regia Majestas de Sanctissimo Domino nostro conqueri posset, jam indultam dispensationem et commissionem, vel per fraudem, vel derisionem, fuisse concessam; sed ob filialem suum erga Ejus Sanctitatem affectum, non dubitat quin ab ea sincere et ingenuo secum agatur; confiditque suas preces apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, apud Christi Vicarium, in re presertim æquissima ac sanctissima, plus esse ponderis habituras, quam vanus alicujus Principis metus ac respectus.

Proinde, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster et Reverendissimus Sanctorum Quatuor rem omnem apertius intelligent, perspiciantque nihil a Regia

<sup>1</sup> This letter of the 6th has not been found.

Majestate fuisse in hac re stulte precipitanter aut temere petitum, vel quod cum Deo et Christiano pectore non conveniat, ad Ejus Sanctitatem impresentia mittit Dominum Stefanum Gardinerum, Secretarium meum, cui Sua Regia Majestas intima omnia consilia libere credit; et quo in loco ego eum habeam, vos scitis: mittit etiam Dominum Edwardum Foxum, dilectissimum suum familiarem: qui Regium pectus et meum secum afferunt, causamque habent compertissimam; ex eorumque sermone eadem Sanctitas percipiet causam hanc, non in affectu vel appetitu, sed in divinis humanisque legibus, esse fundatam; et excellentissimorum eruditissimorumque virorum judicio, quos sola veritas rectitudo et conscientia dicit, adeo esse confirmatam, ut in alicujus gratiam illi repugnare, vel ab optimi pastoris officio deflectere, impium queat haberri. Poterit Reverendus Dominus Terdonensis se testem veritatis prebere; qui omnia presens pressius ad vivum perpendit, examinavitque, apertissimeque vidi potentissimum hunc Principem nullam aliam ob causam ad hoc moveri, quam ut sui regni quieti, sue successionis conservationi, prospiciat, imminentia discrimina mature propulset, et sue imprimis anime saluti consulat. Quibus optimis et necessarijs consilijs ad consequutum usque finem, in Sanctissimi Domini nostri benignitate, Apostoliceque Sedis clementia, quæ pectore tam catholico ad se confugientes, amanter debet amplecti, hec Regia Majestas freta, quoecunque modo cum Deo poterit, omnino inniti decrevit. Sed ipsius ac meum animum omnem, tum super hac re, tum super alijs omnibus, ex eodem Domino Stefano, et Domino Foxo uberrime cognoscetis: quibus non aliter vestro consilio, fide, diligentia, et industria aderitis, nec aliam fidem habebitis, quam si ego presens adessem. Et bene valete. Londini, die 12 Februarij, 1527.

Vester tanquam frater et bonus amicus,

(*Signatur*) T. CAR<sup>IS</sup> EBOꝝ.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Gregorio, Equiti Casalio, ac  
Serenissimi Domini Angliae et Franciae Regis  
Oratori &c, amico nostro carissimo.

## CXIV. GARDYNER and FOXE to KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASITH it Your Highnes to understande that, after asmoche difficultie and harde chaunce as hath been seen in passing the Narowe Sees, we arryved here, at Your Graces towne of Calais, upon Sunday last past, at eight of the clocke in the night, where we conforte and refreshe ourselfes, to be able to make diligent spedē in passing by post from hens, for execution and accomplishment of Your Highnes message, as, God willing, we entende to doo with spedē wee possibly maye.

And to shewe unto Your Grace the specialties of our travaile and daungerous passage; firste, taking our shipp at Dover, the 13<sup>th</sup> daye of this moneth, after we had passed half the sees, we wer compelled by contrarious winde to retourne to Dover<sup>1</sup>, and soo there to contynue till Saturday in the mornynge last passed; at whiche tyme, being advised by the Baylye of Dover soo to doo, who sayde, althowē the passage sholde be somewhat longe, yet of lykelywoode it sholde be sure, and we sholde that night comme to Calais, we entred shipp again, and for want of wynde travailed the sees all that day and night following, till Sondaye in the mornynge; and, or we werr ware, came afore this Your Graces towne of Calais. Nevertheles, the wynde and tempestious wethir soo sodinly did arise, and in suche maner, as we coulde neyther approche the haven or roode of this towne, by two myles, ne yet towche lande in any other cost, by reason wherof we werr compelled there to cast anker, and to abyde the gretteste tempeste, contynuyng till night, that hath been seen, as the marynours sayde, who wer all brought in utter desperacyon of our lyfes, and trusted more to prayour then to mannys helpe. After whiche trowble, the maryners, perceyving that the ankerholde sholde fayle, determyned to trye the sees, as winde and wether wolde dryve. And, forasmuche as we approached the coste of Flaundres, in to whose handes we gretly feared to come, dowbting howe they wolde entreate us; after long debating howe to doo and use ourself in such cace, we at the laste concluded rather to make somme adventure to get to lande with our letters by the shipp bote, thenne to abyde further mysadventure and trowble. And fynally,

<sup>1</sup> Among Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. V. leaf 107, is a letter from them written after their return to Dover on the 13th of February. It shows that Foxe, as the King's counsellor, was first named in their commission, but that they had agreed that pre-eminence in place and speech should be given to Gardyner.

DIII. VAUGHAN TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

AFTER myne humble commendations to Your Lordship. The 26 daye of this monethe of September I came to Bruxelles at nyght, where the Quene of Hungary then helde her Courte; and the 27 daye, whiche was Frydaye, I was brought to her by 8 of the clocke in the mornyng of the same daye. Unto whome I declaryd suche matter, as yow gave me in charge to be sayde unto Her. Whose answer therunto (after her thankfull acceptation of your letters, and my comyng hether from yow) briefly was this, that whatsoever bruyte the Frenchmen reyse of the sendyng forthe of the commyssion from thEmperour to Her Grace, for the forther intreatie and conclusion of a mariage to be had bytwen the Kinges Majeste and the Duches of Mylan, or whatsoever other practise they use to bryng us in a colde hope therof, thEmperour never ment, ne yet She, but that the same shulde be sett foorth with all convenient sped. Neverthelesse, She sayd, She harde that the Kinges Highnes, as one that semyd to shew a colde disposition towardes a further procedyng in this matter on his parte, went aboute to mary in Fraunce and other places, whiche in dede made them here not somuche to hast the matter, as they wolde have done, had that not byn. And now, in asmuche as She hathe apperceyvyd by my relacion from yow, that the Kinges Hieghnes contynueythe in one mynde towardes the sayde maryage, She will agayn, as She hathe alredy, dyrect her letters to thEmperour for the more speedy despechement therof; not doubtyng but shortly to receyve answer from His Majeste, by the whiche She thinkithe some order will be taken, that certeyn personages, appoynted by the Prynces, maye mete for a fynall determinyation and conclusion to be takyn therin. She, havyng thus farr sayde, prayed me to have a letle pacience, till She, upon a farther advysement therin taken, made me a larger answer to this matter, which She promysed me shuld be bifore her departure from hense, whiche shalbe the fyrst daye of October next, towardes Com-

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which attacked him at Dover; asks Crumwell to speak two words to my Lord Mayor (Sir Richard Gresham), Sir John Gresham, and Mr. Kitson, respecting the discharge of Hutton's debts, which he thinks they will help well forwards; and speaks highly of the entertainment he has received from the Lord Deputy of Calais (Arthur Lord Lisle). The second is dated at Nieuport on the 1st of October, in which he states that between Dunkirk and that town he had relapsed, but by "going to bedde and forcing himself into a great sweate, he had become an hole man," and meant to be with the Queen within two days.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

peigne; for such was my desyre. Here I restyd, and saye no more to Her, till I know farther of her answer; whiche I doubt not shalbe to the Kynges expectation. This, albeyt be but a pece of her answer, and no full answer in dede, as it is, I thought good with all possible diligence to certifie you by this berer, M<sup>r</sup> Palmer. The same shall I use, havyng her full answer.

My Lorde, I must evyn now humbly desyre your good Lordshipe to be good unto me; and where as yow have commandyd me, by your memoriall, for the more parte to remayn aboutes the Courte, whiche I perceyve I must nedes do, that inasmuche as I cannot do the same in dede, oneles I have horsses, sythen the Quene hath with her a veray great trayne, and in so great a rowte and company, wagons ar not likely to be alwayse had, that the Kynges sklender allowance remembryd, specially where yow wolde I shulde be able to certifie yow such occurrentes as here happen, whiche cannot be had without an honest liberalyte usyd, wher I shall thynke goode, that remembryng how poore a man I am, and how my wyfe is putto the shyfte, to my shame and rebuke, with her great travayle, to gett bothe our lyvynge, yow wyll healpe to increace my dyettes; whiche I asserteyn yow will not serve in these parties, oneles yow wolde I shulde not be able to serve your expectation. In conclusion, my small stock is sone spent, and I sone rebukyd, if yow loke not to me. Wherfore agayn I praye yow remember me, as yow woll have me couraged to serve and sped the Kynges affeyres. And thus the Holy Trynyte preserve your good Lordeship. From Bruxelles, the 27 of September.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutton is so farr in debte, that if I sende yow his horses, his credytours here, beyng Douchemen, wyll thynke we intende to ronne awaye with all, whiche will surely move them to arrest the resydue of all his goodes, to the Kynges dishonour, and the shame of me and his subjectes in these parties. Here he hathe nothyng but his horsses and rayment, whiche all together I judge not worthe 200£., and he owythe here 400 to Dowchemen, whiche must nedes be paid. What he owythe to Englisshe men besides, M<sup>r</sup> Wrythesley can farther enfourm yow.

Your olde servant,

S. VAUGHAN.

(Superscribed)

To the right wourshipfull and his synguler good Lorde,

My Lorde Pryvy Seale.

Hast, hast, hast.

as might ensue in the waye : and finding the saide Staphileus at Parys , after delyverance of my Lorde Legates letters for his acceleracion to Rome, we entred communication with hym of Your Graces matier, desiring hym to knowe howe and in what sorte the Frenche King regarded the same. Herunto he saide that the Frenche King had dispached hym to Rome cum optima gracia, and both He and my Lady commended the spedie expedicion of that Your Graces matier, in as effectuall maner unto hym, as it had been ther owne ; desiring him in any wise to be diligent and faithfull therin to the uttermost of his power, whiche he saide, being soo moche astringed and bownden to Your Highnes, he wolde not faile to doo, and entended within a day to take his journaye towardes the Popes Holynes ; lyke as we also exhorted and moved to doo, shewing unto him also, that besides our instructions wryten, it was specyally repeated unto us by Your Graces mowthe oones or twyes, that we sholde, on Your Majesties behaulf, desire the Frenche King and my Lady to remember him, and to provide of a good Bisshoprike in accomplisshement of suche promyse as Your Highnes had made on ther behaulf; soo as, having suche good wordes unto him with other like, we induced him to take his journaye and departe this day from Parys, passing in as gret diligence as he possibly maye.

Upon Sonday last past we came by post to Poyses, wher the Maister of the Rolles lieth, beyng distaunt from Saynte Jermaynes, where the Kinge lieth, oone lege, and communicating unto him our charge, this daye repared to the Courte, where at, after dyner, we were admytted to the Kinges presence ; Whom we founde in veray good health, thanked be God, and of the siknes, He hath had, nothing empaired, buto only in the impedimente of his speche, whiche is somewhat notable at this tyme, but not withowte hope of recoverye and amendment. After delyveraunce of Your Graces letters, with commendacions and congratulacions of his recoverye, wherof to here and understande we saide Your Highnes asmoche delited and rejoysed as in the healthe of your owne Parsone, He saide He knewe that right well, demaunding

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Stafffileo was accredited to the Pope by Henry in his letter to Clement VII. dated on the 5th of January, referred to in p. 44. The instructions for his proceedings at the Court of Rome, given to him by Wolsey, are in Vitellius, B. X. leaf 24. In Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XIV. leaf 21, is a letter from Sir Robert Wyngfeld to Wolsey, dated at Calais on the 24th of January, notifying the arrival of Stafffileo on Saturday the 18th at Calais, and his departure on the following Monday for Boulogne. On that day Stafffileo wrote to Wolsey from Boulogne, stating that he and the Bishop of Rochester (Fisher) during their voyage had strenuously argued on various points of the affair then in hand. Vitellius, B. X. leaf 42, printed by Burnet, Vol. I. Collection, p. 37.

likewise

likewise of Your Graces prosperite and welfare, desiring us to write in what cace we founde Him. And thus enterchaunging many wordes to that purpose, with rehersall wherof we thinke good not encomber Your Grace at this tyme, we entred to the openyng of our charge, and had of Him very good aunswer in all thinges : the specialties wherof we nowe wryte<sup>1</sup> unto my Lord Legates good Grace ; and chiefly in Your Graces matier, for the avauncement wherof He saide He wolde doo noo lesse, thenne if it were his owne propre cause, like as, Your Highnes and He beyng thus fermely conjoyned and knit, He esteemed it to be ; and howe for the settingforthe and furtheraunce thereof He had depeched Bishop Staphileus towards Rome, and desired him as instantly to procure and sollicite the speedy expedicion of that matier, as he possibly mighte. And, as concernyng letters to the Popes Holynes and Monsieur de Lautrek for that purpose, He wolde gladly write in such sentence and forme as we cowlde devise<sup>2</sup>; with many other like wordes in declaracion of his intent and desire of the bringing to passe of Your Graces intended purpose. As yet we coulde not speke with my Lady, but have promise that we shalbe admytted to morowe at afternone, myndyng not to tarye here long after that ; but in accomplisemente Your Highnes commaundemente to departe hens to the Popes Holynes ; in whiche journaye, passing by post, we shall use asmoche diligence as our bodyes maye susteyn and suffre, whiche with owre poore witt and studie, we shall gladly expone to the uttermoste, to doo that maye be to the contentacion and pleasoure of Your Highnes, according to oure mooste bounden duties, praying Almighty God to preserve Your moost nooble and royal astate. From Poysey, this Monday at night, beyng the 24<sup>th</sup> daye of Februarye.

Your Highnes most humble subgettes,  
servauntes and dayly Oratours,  
(Signed) STEVEN GARDYNER.  
EDWARDE FOXE.

*(Superscribed)*  
To the Kinges Highnes.

<sup>1</sup> Their letter to Wolsey seems not to be extant ; but the document in the Harleian, 419. 68 b., is probably a copy of the postscript to that letter.

<sup>2</sup> In pursuance of this promise both Francis I. and his mother, the Duchess of Angoulême, wrote to Lautrec on the 28th of February, desiring him to use his best exertions in favour of Henry's suit at Rome. Contemporary copies of these letters are in Vitellius, B. X. leaf 81., and in the same volume, leaf 80 b., is another letter from the Duchess to the Pope Himself on the same subject.

## CXCVII. WALLOP TO KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASE Your Highnes. The 27<sup>th</sup> day of this moneth I arryved at Poissie, whiche is but a leeg from the Courte, and where as all the Ambassadours ar lodged; and incontinent after myne arryal I sent to know the Kinges pleasure, Who wylled that I shulde come to Hym the next morowe folowing: and att my commyng I delyvered Your Highnesses letter, shewing the grete regrete and sorow that Your Grace toke for his sykenes, and agayn the rejoysse conceyved now for his recoverey, beseching Hym, on Your Highnesses behalfe, to have respect above all oother erthely thinges to his healthe, whiche Your Grace no lesse tendreth than your own; adding that, if ther were any thing in Your Highnesses Realme or domynions that myght do Hym pleasure, Your Grace wolde nott fayle to send it Hym.

To the whiche He answered, He thanked Your Grace most hartely that it wolde please Your Highnes to sende Hym any of your servantes to visite Hym, and in especiall of your Prevy Chamber, whiche He saied was to Hym a singuler conforte and rejoysse; certifieng Your Highnes that He is right well amended, and in case to go abrode. How be it, to be playn to Your Grace, I had moche care to understand Hym by reason of the impediment of his siknes, for he hathe loste the moste part of his over tethe.

And, as towching that Your Grace offred Hym any thing in your domynions that myght do Hym pleasur, He thanked Your Highnes most hartely; saying, that lyke wise ther is nothing in his realme that may do Your Grace pleasure, but it shalbe at your commaundement, as He saieth Your Grace knoweth right well.

As concerning the affaires of Italie and Spayne, Your Highnes is advertised by the Master of the Rolles and Doctour Stevyns, better then I can certifie you now, for they have harde more therof then I yet hitherto.

Oother thinges have I not to write att this present tyme, but that I tary upon Your Highnesses pleasure and for myne instruccions, whiche the Frenche King hathe sent Your Highnes by Chatillion. And thus I beseche the blessed Trinite to sende Your most noble Grace moste long and prosperous life. Written att Poissie, the laste day of Februarij.

By Your Highnesses most humble subgett,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Highnesse.

(Signed) JOHN WALLOP.

## CXCVIII. TAYLER TO WOLSEY.

PLEAS hit Your Grace to understande, that, when I perceyved that Mons<sup>r</sup> Morret is commyng in to Englond was deferred from day to day, and Mons<sup>r</sup> Gregory de Casalis wrote to me that his letters required hast, I sped a post unto Cales with a greate pacquiet, wherin was letters both from Mons<sup>r</sup> Gregory and Maister Jernyngham<sup>1</sup>; and this day I receyved oon letter to your Grace from Mons<sup>r</sup> Gregory, the which the Cardinall de Salviatis delivered unto me, and shewed me that he and the Busshop Pistoriensis wold send a post in all hast in to Englond to knowe the Kynges and your gracioux pleasures concernyng his going in to Spayne to the Emperour.<sup>2</sup> Wherfor I went to the Courte, and spake with the Kyng and with the Graunde Maister, to knowe yf they had writte unto your Grace in this mater. The Kyng shewed me He had certified your Grace in all thinges. And, as far as I can perceyve, the Kyng is not willyng that the said Busshop shuld goo in to Spayne, seyng that warr is intymate<sup>3</sup>, for the Kyng said he shuld rather doo greate hinderance than fartherans in suche thinges as be nowe in good treyne. And, as I perceyve, here be so comfortable newes from Mons<sup>r</sup> Lotreck, that the Kyng wold first see the expedicion of the viage of Naples, or the Popes messenger shuld goo in to Spayne; and on the Popes partye they be moche desirous to goo to the Emperour, wherfor they be the more suspecte here. And, by cause the Kyng hath playnly writte unto your Grace in this mater, hit becommeth not me to trouble your Grace with long writyng. Howebehyt the Cardinall De Salviates and the said Bussop instantly required me to write unto your Grace in the favour of the Popes desire. Your Grace shalbe a good juge, for ye shall see and here the persuasions of both partyes. Hit was shewed me in the Courte that the Busshop Pistoriensis, commyng by Florence, shuld persuade the Florentynes to be of the Emperours parte, the which yf hit be trewe, hit is noo good taken that he wold doo any good with the Emperour. Newes here be that Mons<sup>r</sup> Lotrek prosperously goth forward, and good hope there is of victory. All the Spanyards and lanche knyghtes, to the noumbr of 9000, be gonue from Rome in to Naples. Suche as

<sup>1</sup> Gardyner and Foxe, in a letter of the 2d of March from Roanne, state that they had opened Jernigan's despatch.

<sup>2</sup> There is in the State Paper Office a letter of the 12th of March from Salviati to Henry VIII. assuring HIm of the Pope's regard.

<sup>3</sup> The declaration of war by Clarenceux and Guienne, heralds, on the part of Francis I. against the Emperor is in Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 231. It is dated at Bayonne on the 18th of February.

remayned

remayned in Rome be all sleyne by oon of the Ursinis. The Spanyardes had charched a greate shippe with artillary out of Castell Angell, to have be conveyed to Naples; but they of Rome have bowged the shipp, and sounke all the ordinance in to the water. The Cardinall Columna is goon to Naples to the Viceroy Don Hugo. This day the Graunde Maister tolde me that worde is comme out of Spayne, that the Ambassadours there shall not departe, tyll that the Emperours Ambassadours be comme to Baiona. Thus Jhesu preserve your Grace. From Poissy, the 13 day of Marche, by your chapelen and daily bedeman,

(Signed)      Jo. T. M<sup>r</sup> of the Roll<sup>e</sup>.

*(Superscribed)*

To my Lord Legates good Grace.

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#### CXCI. GARDYNER and FOXE to KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASITH it Your Highnes to understande, that passing from Lyones the 4<sup>th</sup> daye of this moneth towarde Orviet, and taking our journay by Jeanes, lyke as by our letters sent from Lyones<sup>1</sup>, whiche we trust be comme are this tyme to Your Graces handes, did purporte, we arryved this daye at the citie of Luke, using suche dylygence as we possibly might, without any taryng in one place, either at Jeane or elleswhere, more thenne of necessite we wer compelled to, and never lying two nightes in oon place from Lyones hither, travaling evermore from bifore the daye tyl it was within the night, doyng asmoche as in us was, according to our most bounden duties, without sparyng any payne or labour of our bodyes, to accelerate the accomplisshement of Your Graces mynde and desire; not dowbting but Your Majestie will accepte and take in good parte our mynde and intent in that behaulf, whiche is, hath been, and alwayes shalbe, truely, faythfully, and syncerely, to serve Your Highnes to the uttermost of our powres. Nevertheles, in passing by the waye of Jeane, have happened soo many lettes, sometyme for want of horses, sometyme the difficultie of the waye and disappointmente in our passage by

<sup>1</sup> Besides their letter from Roanne of the 2d, there is another dated at Lyons on the 4th of March. From these it appears that Gambara and Staffileo were on the same route. They are both alluded to in the despatch from Orvieto of the 31st of March, hereafter mentioned in the note to p. 63, the first as having reached Orvieto, and the last as being shortly expected; and in their subsequent despatch of the 13th of April it is stated that Staffileo reached Orvieto on the night of the 1st.

see, that such spede, as we reckoned to have made, hath not totally succeeded, wherin we assure Your Grace noo blame canne be arrested unto us; lyke as we have ferme hope and confydence Your Highnes wil not, for asmoche as, the tyme of our taryng in the Frenche Courte and of passing the Narowe Sees accompted, we have made as diligent passage by post hither, as any currour coulde, not ridyng the night.

It maye please Your Highnes also to be advertised, that at our being here, where for refreshsing ourself we taryed one daye, the citizens of this citie having understanding of our commyng, presented us with a marvelous goodly and coostly present<sup>1</sup> in a solempne maner and facyon, not as our personnages, but as Your Graces honnour, did requyre, with as good wordes, maner, and facyon, as coulde be devised. They accompte, as they saye, themselves as Your Graces subgettes, and confesse that their citie and citizens, have perceyved noo lesse benefettes and promociions of Your Highnes, thenne if the same had been ther natural Lorde. We thinke it our dutie to advertise Your Highnes herof, to thintent Your Grace maye have the good mynde and observaunce of this citie in Your Gracys remembraunce and consideracion accordynglye.

The citizens of Jeane in a gret nombre repared unto our lodging at our being there; and althowe we wolde nedes departe from thens the next morning, as we dyd in dede, yet, for Your Graces sake, they brought us to Jeronomus Doreas howse, and there prepared for us all thinges necessarye, without

<sup>1</sup> This present is described in a holograph letter of the same date from Gardynier to Sir Brian Tuke:

"The citizens of this citie sent unto us a marvelous goodly preasent, and costly, being soo gret as for the bringing therof I thinke there wer in numbre fyfty personages, with trumpettes of the towne, and al maner of instrumentes. We caused the parcelles to be wryten, and nowe he that wrote them is departed to goo bifore us, being compelled here to divide our company; but to shewe youe that cummith to remembraunce, there were 20<sup>ii</sup> gret pykes, with tenches, and sondry other fyshes, brought on foure mennes hedes in basons of sylver, dekked and trymmmed with laurel, and orenges in ther mowthes; after them, foure basons ful confeytes, moche like to the fartes of Portugale, but godly and garnished with the Kinges armes, and the Crowne Imperial over them, borne likewise on foure mennes hedes; after them came foure basons gret and ful of bred, made in testes, and drye, being a very deynty thing; after them, 6 basons with 6 goodly merchepaynes, garnished after the best sorte, with the Kinges armes, and the armes of the citie, Libertas; after them 20<sup>ii</sup> gret boxes, rownde, and garnished with the Kinges armes, ful of sondry confectiones of cunffettes, and all sortes of them; then wer broughte two doosen torches of white virgine wax and gold, layde over with the Kinges Armes, and also 60 white candelles of virgine wax, which we wished in England; these were notable thinges; and besides these, fourty galon botelles, with sondry wynes, and of all sortes. The presente, when it was set downe, filled a gret chambre. We hartely praye youe to reaporte the specialtes to my Lordes Grace, for we assure youe, the good facion and harty maner exceeded the present."

suffering us to remayne in any commen inne, making us goodly demonstracions of suche honnour and observaunce as they bere to Your Majestie.

Our passage throught these parties is divulged, and canne not be kept secrete, forasmuche as in al these dyverse domynyons, ordre is taken, that the Maister of the Postes shall gyve horses to noo man, oonles the same first have presented themself to the Capytaine, and shewed what they be; in soo moche as the guyde, after we wer a horsbake, led us owt of owr waye to the Capitaine of the towne of Petra Sancta, belonging to the Florentynes, we wening the same to have been our waye, tyl we camme to the Capitaines howse.

To morowe we take our journaye towards Orviet, and have sent our curren bifore to Florence, to obteyne letters of pasporte, whiche, for them that passith the terrytorye of Florence, is necessaryl requysite. As sone as we shall have spoken with the Popes Holines, we shall not faile to depeche oone incontynentlye, with advertisemente of suche answer as we shall have; and all thinges succeding, as we have good hoope and trust they shall, I, Edward Fox, shall with diligence, according to Your Gracys commaundemente, retourne with the commission accordingly. Thus we praye Almighty God to preserve Your moste noble and royal astate. From Luke, the 16<sup>th</sup> day of March.

Your Highnes most humble subgettes,  
servauntes, and dayly Oratours,  
(Signed) STEVEN GARDYNER.  
EDWARDE FOXE.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

CC. SIR ROB. JERNIGAM *to* KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE hit Your Hyghnes to be advertysed, that where as, in my laste letter unto Your Highnes dyrected, I wrote that we were so nere unto our ennemyes camped, that we myght dailly of eche others have sight; so hit ys, on Saterdaye the 15<sup>th</sup> daye of this present monethe we unto theym more nere approached, and camped our selfes within half a myle togythers, (that is to saye) the Spaniardes within the towne of Troy, their launceknighthes on the syde

<sup>1</sup> From the Chapter House Bundle, A'.

therof;

therof, and our hole campe byfore the same; the whiche daye we trusted verailly with theym to have had battail, for that they sett and closed theym selfes accourdingly. And the same hole daye we to gyther skyrmysshed, unto suche tyme as they unto theyr campe retyred, whiche I assure Your Highnes was strongly enyroned. Neverthelas emonges somme hyt ys thought that, yf every man that tyme (all thinges consydred) had theym selfes well endevoured, our said ennemyes that daye had ben overthrownen and vainquisshed, who undoubtedly exceeded not the nombre of 11 or 12000 men at the moste, and without eny piece of ordynaunce or artyllary, whiche should have theym defended. Thus stylly we laye hard by theym, eche with others, dailly skyrmysshing without ressemblaunce of battaill on eyther parte to be gyven (forasmoche as amonges dyvers of us hit was supposed not convenient within theyr owne campe to assayle theym) unto the Frydaye folowing; at whiche tyme by nyght they effuged and escaped. Wherupon Mouns<sup>r</sup> de Lautrec on the daye ensuyng, in theyr journeye forwardes, marched and came the same nyght to a towne called Melfe, wherin were certayn of our sayd ennemyes, whome on the nexte morowe they besieged, and with their ordynaunce battred the sayd towne, so as this daye our men into hyt entred, and putt the same to saccadge, and slew therin above 3000, none being reserved, oneles the Prynce of the same towne, who ys into the handes of the sayd Mouns<sup>r</sup> de Lautrec delyvered. At the sayd sawte were slayne of our men 300 and above.

Please hit Your Highnes the same Mouns<sup>r</sup> de Lautrec intendeth to morow to avaunce in his journey towardes the towne of Naples, and to folowe thennemyes whiche be gone bifore us thytherwardes, who have not only augmented and increased theyr puyssance by strenght of men, but have also recovered 10 or 12 pieces of artyllary. So as I trust we shall within 15 dayes with theym have battayll, or elles the said towne of Naples unto us rendred; whiche ones obtayned, I trust Your Highnes woll lycens me for my retourne. Other newes here be none occuraunte. As knoweth thineffable Trynyte, who ever preserve Your sayd Highnes in honour and prosperous lyfe. At our campe bifore Melfe, the 25 daye of Marche.

Your humble subgyet and servaunte,

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

(*Signed*) ROBART JERNIGAM.

## CCL. GARDYNER AND FOXE TO KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASITH Your Highnes to understande, that we arryved at Orviet the 20<sup>th</sup> daye of this moneth: and keping ourself secret oon daye, aswel to comen at lenght with Maister Gregory of our charge, and to enquire in what condicion the thinges stode here, as also to prepare garmentes<sup>1</sup> meete for us to were; we came to the Popes presence the 22<sup>d</sup> daye, and soo dayly, from that tyme to the depeching of this post, wer with His Holynes every daye, thre or fowre howres, consulting and debating of our charge; the particularities of which conferences, for as moche as in this tyme of wer we thinke not convenient to write them, but oonly in cyfre, we omytte to reherse in these lettres to Your Majestie, and in cyfre write the same at lenght to my Lord Legates Grace<sup>2</sup>; trusting that, whenne Your Highnes shal here the discourses made here, and the resolucion of them, it wilbe to Your Graces good

<sup>1</sup> Their distress for want of clothes is thus described in their letter to Tuke of the 23d:

"Having no garmentes ne apparel oother then the cootes we did ride in, being moch worn and defaced by reason of the fowle wethir, advertising the Popes Holynes of our commyng by Master Gregorie, we were compelled to tary all that day and the next within the howse, whiles our garmentes was at the making, wherin we founde very great difficuite, all thinges here being in such a scarcite and derthe, as we thinke hath not been seen in any place, and that not oonly in viciell, which can not be brought in to the towne in any great quantite, by reason that al thing is conveyed by asses and mules, but also in oother necessaryes, so as that cloth, chamblet, or such like merchaundises, which in England is worth 20s, is here worth 6£. and yet not to be had in any quantite; and had we not made provision for our gownes at Luke, we must of necessite have goon in Spanish clokkes, such as we could have borowed of the Poopes servauntes; wherin peradventure shuld have been found som difficuite, forsomoche as few men here, so farr as we can perceave, have moo garmentes then oone."

Of the city of Orvieto they speak in these terms:

"It may wel be called Urbs Vetus, for every man in al langages, at his entre, wolde gyve it noon other name. We canne not wel tel howe the Pope sholde be noted in libertie, being here, where hunger, skarsite, il favered lodging, il ayre, and many other incommodities, kepe Him and al his, as straitly as he was ever kepe in Castle Angel. It is aliqua mutacio soli sed nulla libertatis: and in maner the Pope cowlde not denye to Mr Gregory, but it wer better to be in captivite at Rome, thenne here at libertie. The Pope lieth in an olde palace of the Bisshopes of this citie, ruynose and decayed, where, or we cumme to his pryvey bed chambre, we passe thre chambres, al naked and onhanged, the rofes falm downe, and, as we canne gesse, thirty personnes, rif raf and other, standing in the chambres for a garnishement. And as for the Popes bed chambre, al the apparel in it was not worth 20 nobles, bed and all."

<sup>2</sup> This despatch from Sir Gregory da Casale, Gardyner, and Foxe to Wolsey is one of great length; printed by Strype, Ecc. Mem., Appendix to Vol. I. p. 46, from the Foxe MSS. A contemporary decypher of its commencement (about one eighth of the whole) is in the State Paper Office. It differs in a few words from Strype.

satisfaction and contentacion, for accomplisemente wherof, as owr instructions purpotith, we shal pretermitte noo Payne labour ne dylygence, having good hooke that I, Edwarde Foxe, according to Your Highnes commaundemente, shal shortly after the depech of this post, retourne towarde Your Majestie, with al expedicions in due fourme, as apperteinith.

It maye like Your Highnes also to be advertised, that we perceyve in Sir Gregory de Cassales, Your Graces Oratour here resident, soo moche hartie good wel to set fourth and further Your Graces matier, aswel with the Popes Holynes, as also the Cardynalles, and other, among whom he is in suche credite and reputacion as we thinke noon other is conversaunt abowte the Popes Holynes, having at al tymes free accesse unto his person and secrete conferences with the same; as we thinke ourself bounde of dutie to signifie it unto Your Majestie, verly thinking, that noon other coulde in this place doo better service unto Your Highnes thenne he doth, ne more to Your Graces honnour, keping here a very sumptuous porte, and in the grett skarsete here, marvelous chargeable.

And to shewe unto Your Majestie his kyndenes and loving maner towarde us, it was in suche sorte, as, the same faylyng, noo monye coulde in this citie have furnisshed us of owre lodging and other necessaryes, during our abode here, where is to moche skarsete for a publicke place, conteyning his Person, unto whom al the worlde sholde have accesse.

Here is good hope that Monsieur de Lautrek shall shortly obteyne al Naples, as apperith by suche lettres as be writen to the Popes Holynes from his Nuncius resident in Monsieur de Lautrekes armye; the abstractes wherof, as they wer delyvered unto us, we sende unto Your Highnes herewith, praying God to sende shorte victorye and long to preserve your most nooble and royal astate, with speedy accheiving of your vertuous desires. From Orviet, the last of Marche.<sup>1</sup>

Your Highnes most humble subgettes  
servauntes and dayly Oratours,  
(Signed) STEVEN GARDINER.  
EDWARDE FOXE.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

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<sup>1</sup> The next despatch from Sir Gregory da Casale Gardyner and Foxe to Wolsey is dated at Orvieto on the 13th of April. It is preserved in the State Paper Office, and is printed at length from Foxe's MSS. by Strype, Vol. I. Appendix, p. 62. It is of great length, and relates almost exclusively to the discussions respecting the terms of the commission to be issued by the Pope touching the King's divorce; which was at length granted, and Foxe immediately prepared to convey it home, and Gardyner to proceed to Rome for the purpose of conferring with Cardinal Campeggio (who was joined with Wolsey in the commission), as to his going to England to act under

CCII. WALLOP TO WOLSEY.<sup>1</sup>

PLEAS it Your Grace. The 30<sup>th</sup> day of Marche I receyved your letter, wherin ye commaunde me, at my Lorde of Bathes commynge, to take my leve of the Frenche King, and to retorne; whiche I wolde right gladly have done accordingly, save that at my saide Lordes arryvale, and yet hitherto, by reason of siknes that hathe vexed me, I am not in case to fulfull the Kinges Highnesses and your Graces commaundemente, nor I shall not be able to take any journey at the sonnest afore Ester.<sup>2</sup> Wherfor I moste humbly beseche Your Grace to have me excused to the Kinges Highnes, that I come not so sone as I cowde be right well contented, if God were so pleased; for I have ben theis daies passed very sore vexed withe the cowghe and murre, the whiche also the inconvenyens of the wether did not a litle augmente, whiche was so utterly disposed to moving of suche humiditees, that it wer sufficient to moleste a right hole man. Notwithstanding, assone as I shall fele my selfe any thing able to ride, I woll no lenger differ to make the moste speedy haste of my retorne according to the tenour of your Graces letter.<sup>3</sup>

Newes I have none to write unto your Grace, but I beseche the blessid Trinite long to preserve the same withe moste prosperous dignitie. Written at Sainct Maure, 2<sup>o</sup> leges oute of Parise the 2<sup>de</sup> day of Aprile,

By your bounden servaunte and dayly bedeman,  
(Signed) JOHN WALLOP.

*(Superscribed)*

To my Lorde Legates goode Grace.

under it. It is briefly mentioned that applications had been made to the Pope respecting the canonization of King Henry VI., a pardon for Windsor College, and some favour for Wolsey's College.

Two other papers connected with this mission are printed by Strype: 1. A letter from Gardynier and Casale to Wolsey, without date, but written shortly after Foxe's departure, p. 72; and 2. Foxe's report to Gardynier of his reception by the King, whom he found at Greenwich on the 3d of May, and of some subsequent conferences on the same subject, p. 75.

<sup>1</sup> From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XIII. leaf 36.

<sup>2</sup> 12th of April.

<sup>3</sup> In the same volume, leaf 38, is another letter from Wallop to Wolsey, dated at Paris on the 26th of April, in which he states that he was then recovered, and would take his leave as soon as he could get audience of the French King, but as no Ambassadors were at that time permitted to speak with the King, it was feared He had been taken ill again; and refers Wolsey to Foxe for further intelligence.

CCIII. SIR ROBERT JERNIGAM *to King Henry VIII.*

PLEASE hit Your Highnes to be advertysed, that ymmediatly after the pryns of the towne of Melf, accourding unto my last letters unto Your Highnes in that bihalf dyrected, Mouns<sup>r</sup> de Lautrec and tharmy in their journey, with asmoche diligence as they convenyently might, avaunced, so as on Thursdaye last they here arryved, and camped within a myle and a half of the towne of Naples, and sythens hathe here contynued, intending, God willing, to morowe to dislodge, and somewhat more nere to approche the said towne, wher ys the hole armye of thennemyes.

Please hit Your Highnes, on Fridaye last passed the chief power and strenght of thennemyes said armye yssued, with whome our men, to the nomber of 4000 fotemen and 500 horses, of good ceason skyrmissched ; insomoche as at the fyne thennemyes retyred, our men still having theym in chase to the gates of Naples aforsaid. At the whiche renountre and skyrmisshe was taken 2 pieces of their artyllarie, and of theim slayne 2 of their hede and premier capitaignes, with dyvers others of bothe parties ; and also at that tyme was taken prisoner one Signour Eggemont, nere kynnesman to thEmperour. And further as yesterdaie then folowing the said ennemyes theym selfes assembled and cam fourthe abrode, wherof Mouns<sup>r</sup> de Lautrec being notefyed sent out Mouns<sup>r</sup> Marques de Saluce, with 500 men of armes and 200 hagbusshes, whiche laye in ambussh, and at the retourne of the saide ennemyes yssued upon theym, and toke 800 of their horses, and slewe 200 fotemen. Wherfore I think that where, like as bifore I wrote unto Your Highnes therof, they at the towne of Troye for feare effuged, now their successes and fortune not veray prosperous consydred, they be moche more discomfyted ; so as we trust shortly to see an ende of this exploite and enterprise.

The sayd Mouns<sup>r</sup> de Lautrec desired me to make his humble recom mendations unto Your Highnes, right cordyally beseching the same that hit may please You to forbere, and not to attempte warres in eny other place, unto suche tyme as thaffaires here be further ended ; whiche he trusteth within shorte ceason shall so be accomplished, that your said Highnes therwith shalbe contented. Other newes here be none occuraunt, as knoweth thineffable Trynyte, who ever preserve Your Highnes in honour  
and

and prosperous lyf. At the Campe, lyeng within a myle and a half of the towne of Naples, on Sonday the 26<sup>th</sup> daye of Apryll.<sup>1</sup>

Your humble subgiet and servaunte,

(Signed) ROBART JERNIGAM.

*(Superscribed)*  
To the Kinges Highnes.

#### CCIV. CAROWE *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASE hit Your Highnes to be advertysed, that sythens M<sup>r</sup> Jernigamis last letters unto Your Highnes dyrected, dated on Sondaye the 26<sup>th</sup> daye of this present moneth of Aprill, none other newes here have happened, but that yesternight hit pleased Allmighty Godd to call from this world unto his infynite mercye the sowle of your servaunte the said Mr Jernigam now deceased; who, trewly to signyfie unto your said Highnes, with sikenes was vysited the space of 8 dayes bifore the tyme of his deathe, all whiche ceason he sojourned at a towne named Versa 7 myles from the campe; how be it, he wold not Your Highnes therof should have ben notefyed, trustyng contynually he shold have well recovered. Nevertheles at the veraye houre of his deathe he had towards Your said Highnes his dutyc well remembred, like as at my retourne I shall more plainlye adverteise you thereof.

Please it Your Highnes, that where as the wyll of Allmighty God had so predestyned, and that by the dethe of your said servaunt dyvers thinges, unto hym by your said Highnes hertofore gyven and graunted, be now vacant, I humbly beseche Your Highnes, my poore service consydred, that hit may eftsones like you, emonges others, to graunte unto me your moste honourable letters patentes of suche landes and tenymentes as Your said Highnes had unto hym by his lyf tyme gyven, lyeng in Suffolk, somtyme apperteyning unto the late Duke of Buckingham, in his ample and large maner as your said servaunte Sir Robert Jernigam hathe injoyed or ever shold have enjoyed the same; whiche had, I shalbe more hable, accourding unto my duetye, to doo my poore service unto Your said Highnes.

Other thinges I knowe none, wherof to wryte unto Your Highnes, but that I woll not faile from tyme to tyme to advertyse Your said Highnes of suche newes as in thies partyes shalbe occurrant. By the grace of

<sup>1</sup> On the same day he wrote to Wolsey nearly a verbatim copy of this despatch, which is in the Chapter House, Bundle A<sup>6</sup>.

thineffable Trynyte, who ever preserve your most royll estate in honour and prosperous lyfe. At the campe within a myle of the towne of Naples, the 28 daye of Apryle.<sup>1</sup>

Your humble subget and servaunte,

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

(*Signed*) JOHN CAROWE.<sup>2</sup>

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CCV. WOLSEY *to SIR GREGORY DA CASALE.*<sup>3</sup>

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori, Salutem et Commendacionem. Alijs meis literis, quas per proprium nuncium ad vos dedi, ita copiose atque distincte de Regiae Majestatis negocio ad vos perscripsi, ut nil quod amplius addam sit relictum, novusque animi cruciatus ex vestris 4 Maij datis literis mihi accessit. Quum enim Reverendissimi Domini Campegii celerem adventum expectarem, statim multis injectis difficultatibus protractum audio, quod quam fuerit Regiae Majestati et mihi molestum, non sinit dolor exprimere; quid autem de ea re ad Reverendissimum Dominum Campegiū scribam, ex literarum ad ipsum exemplo cognoscetis; sed illud me miserrime afflit, quod sic res isthic, qua occasione ignoro, differuntur, et his quae de Sanctissimi Domini nostri, Cardinalis Campegi, aliorumque animo et propensa voluntate scribitis, quum nullus respondeat successus, judico vel vos non vera scribere, vel vos nosque simul in hac re deludi; nec adduci possum ut credam, si vel mediocrem diligentiam adhibuissetis, quin negocium hoc multo jam antea fuisse expeditum. Itaque, Domine Gregori, si vestram fidem Regiae Majestati velitcomprobare, nunc tandem omni industria conatunque efficite, ut Reverendissimus Dominus Campegius se itineri quamprimum accingat; plusque apud eum valeat Serenissimi hujus Regis gratia, quam ulle injecte difficultates; sed si extrema, quod Deus avertat, ægritudo illum premat, vel aliud quippiam remoretur apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, tunc quibusunque precibus poteritis agetis, ut Reverendissimum Dominum Anconitanum, vel aliquem alium qui huic negocio aptus visus fuerit, substituere, et continuo huc mittere velit; sed

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<sup>1</sup> On the same day he wrote a similar letter to Wolsey. Vitellius, B. X. leaf 84.

<sup>2</sup> He is said to have died of the same disease (Negra) which carried off Jernigam and many of the French army. Lautrec himself died of it on the 15th of August. Herbert, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet has printed from Vitellius, B. X. leaf 88, a former letter from Wolsey to Casale, dated the 7th of May, of which there is in the State Paper Office a duplicate, with a few verbal differences, and bearing the date of the 10th instead of the 7th of May. Vol. I. Collections, p. 38.

confido

confido Reverendissimum Dominum Campegium nolle hanc de Regia Majestate bene merendi occasionem recusare, quæ tanta gratitudine illius itineris laborem, molestiam, ac sumptus compensabit, ut nulli Principi in re tam gravi inservire potuisset; qui beneficentiori animo sit ejus operam accepturus: me vero adeo tenaciter sibi obligabit, ut ardenter nihil sim cogitaturus, quam ut vel proprio sanguine, nendum opibus officijsque, gratiam quandoque cumulatam referam; nihilo enim vehementius me salvum cupio, quam Reverendissimi Domini Campepii adventum pro Regis definienda causa maturari, proque definiende securitate et stabilimento, commissionem illam decretalem ad eum modum, quem prescripsimus, expeditam omnino impetrari. Hac in re nisi optato successu operam fidem ministeriumque vestrum demonstretis, video non nisi extrema queque expectanda, in eamque opinionem Regem deventurum esse, ut putet vos nullo in loco gratia vel existimatione a Pontifice haberi, sed potius (quocunque dicitis aut scribitis) Pontificis actionibus ac respectibus secreto favere, quam conari ut Regia Majestas sui voti fiat compos, vel ea concedat Pontifex, quæ tantopere ei sunt cordi. Et bene valete. Londini, die 23 Maij, 1528.

Vester tanquam bonus Frater,

(*Superscribitur*)

(*Signatur*) T. CARLIS EBOZ.

Magnifico Domino Gregorio, Equiti Casalio, ac  
Serenissimi Domini Regis Anglie et Francie  
&c. in Romana Curia Oratori, tanquam  
fratri carissimo.

#### CCVI. CLERK and TAYLER to WOLSEY.<sup>1</sup>

AFTER our most humble recommendation. It may lyke your Grace to understand, that sithens Morrettes departing hens there hath not chauncyd matters of any great moment, saving the confirmation of the conflicte by see bisydes Naples, by a letter sent from Mons<sup>r</sup> de Lotrek, wheroft we shall not now need to make any other rehersall, bycause the originall was sent to your Grace. Mons<sup>r</sup> de Saynt Paule this day or to morowe shold depart, upon whois depeche here hath been some busynes; for the Frenche King wold have had hym Capitayn Generall of this armye in Lombardye; but the Venetians wold in no wise consent therunto, and so finally it is determyned that he shall not, and that he and the Duke of Urbyn shalbe of egall auctoritie.

<sup>1</sup> From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. I. leaf 109.

Here is also evill tydinges that the citie of Pavia is lost, and in thImperialles handes agayn, delyvered unto thaym by treason of a capitayn sett in it by the Venetians. Whiche thing, bycause it is of importance, it is evill takyn, and the King is veray angry withall. How be it, He is so affrayd of losing the Venetians, that He dare not but deale veray sobirly with thaym.

It is also noysyd that Master Jernyngham shold be departyd of the sykenesse.

Here is also arryvyd the Duke of Ferrare is sonne, who shall mary Madame Raynee. He hath in his trayne 300 horsis. Howbeit he came to the Courte in post fasshion, and had not past 10 or 12 horsis. He was mett with the Great Master, the Duke of Longaville, and dyvers other nobilles and gentilmen of the Courte, where he is lodgyd. The King receyvyd hym in his chambre : my Lady upon hir bedde ; how be it, rather sytting, then lying, for she was and yett is troublyd with hir gowte in hir arme. Thus the Almyghty God preserfe your Grace. From Poysy, the 24<sup>th</sup> day of May.

Your Grace is most humbyll chapleyns,

(Signed) Jo. BATONIENS.

Jo. T. M' of the Rollē.

(Superscribed)  
To my Lord Legattes good Grace.

### CCVII. CLERK AND TAYLER TO WOLSEY.<sup>1</sup>

AFTER our most humbyll recommendacion. Lykith your Grace to understand, that yester day we sent to Calays wardis yong Dennam, and 8 or 9 horsys to accompany hym ; and now we have receyvyd letters from the Frenshe Kyng, that we shold send for hym agayn, as ye shall se by the tenor off the same : and so, for to reche hym, and also for the conveyance off certayn letters comme from Rome from Master Doctor Stephynnys and Sir Gregory (which as they sey requyryd hast<sup>2</sup>) we have depeched a post to Calays. The newys heer been only that the lance knyghtes, to the nombyr of 12 mil, been arryvyd in the playn of Lombardy, and thretyn to Jean wardis.

<sup>1</sup> From the Chapter House, Bundle A<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The words within this parenthesis are underlined in the original, and a mark placed in the margin of the passage. These notices were probably made by Wolsey on missing the letters, which were the subject afterwards of anxious inquiry. See pp. 73-75, 81-83.

Corbett, the Master off the Rollys servant, is takyn, and now shalbe sent unto your Grace joynctly with the other.

We understand that ther is a greatt busynes in Paris towardis; and by reaport we understand that this nyght, that the blesyd ymage off our Lady, wyth hyr Sonne in hyr armys, lost bothe off theym ther heedys<sup>1</sup>; and the Chancellor off France satt yesterday all day on the examynation off thatt matter. Thus the Almyghty God preserf Your Grace. From Poysy, the 7 day off June.

Your Grace is humbyll servantes,

(Signed) Jo: BATONIENS<sup>2</sup>.

Jo. T. M<sup>r</sup> of the Rolle.

(*Superscribed*)

To my Lord Legatess good Grace.

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### CCVIII. POPE CLEMENT VII. to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>



CHARISSIME in Christo Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Gratissimum habuimus intelligere quod Majestas Tua cognoverit ex concessione nostra studium, quod habemus, Tibi gratificandi, quod certe sumnum est, et par tuis meritis erga Nos atque hanc Sanctam Sedem, que tanti facimus, ut quamvis arduum ac difficile Nobis videatur, quod per proximas literas a Nobis postulas, tamen inventuri sumus aliquam formam satisfaciendi Majestati Tue, quam certo scimus pro sua prudentia cognoscere, quam considerate conveniat Nos procedere in hoc negocio, sed plus omni humano respectu potest in Nobis amor erga Serenitatem Tuam, quam filiali erga Nos animo, semper cognovimus. Hortamur quod ut ita etiam perseveret ad reintegrationem status ac dignitatis nostre, quod quidem facit cum summa sua laude et satisfactione nostra, pro quibus meritis expectet semper a Nobis paternum amorem, et a Deo omnipotenti majora premia. Datum Viterbij, die 9 Junij. . J.

(*Superscribitur*)

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro, Henricho,  
Angliae Regi illustri, Fidei Defensori.

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<sup>1</sup> See a letter from Tuke to Wolsey, Vol. I. p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph.

## CCIX. WOLSEY TO CLERK, &amp;c.

MY Lord of Bathe and M<sup>r</sup> Taillour, I commende me unto you in my right harty maner. Sens my last writing unto you I have received your letters of the 2<sup>de</sup> daye of this moneth<sup>1</sup>, and sens that 2 others of yours of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of the same. The first were for aunswere to myne of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>th</sup> of the last moneth, concernyng the matiers of truce, and the divices to be proponed to thEmperour; the 2<sup>de</sup> concerned only the maters of yong Denham, and his sending towardes Calais, whom by your other letters of the 7<sup>th</sup> ye write to have ben by you revoked at the Frenche Kinges desire, though ye declare no maner cause or occasion, wherfor, or to what purpose, suche revocation shulde procede. All whiche your saide letters I have shewed unto the Kinges Highnes, Who, for your diligent advertisement, geveth unto you condigne thankes, and I also doo the semblable for my parte; ascertaignyng you that, as to the saide matiers of the truce, it was unto the Kinges Grace grete mervaile, and semblably myne, to here that any advertisement shulde be geven to the Frenche King, that the Lady Mergaretes Secretaryes were agreed and brought unto a conformitie, in the difficulties concernyng either the comprehension of the Duke of Gelders, or also the landes of the subgiettes of either Prince being in the countreys of the other; seing that I coude never reduce or bring theim hitherto unto any other agreement therin, than hath ben notified unto you by former letters. Howbeit, suche plain affirmation made by the Frenche King unto you, was sufficient to put you to silence for the tyme. Ye shal therfore understande that by letters, sens that tyme received by the Frenche Ambassadour from the King his master, he is advertised that the Frenche King is contented with suche reasonable way to be taken towching comprehension of the saide Duke of Gelders, as I trust no further difficultie shalbe made by the Lady Mergaretes Secretaryes therin. Howbeit, as to tharticle touching the landes, the saide Ambassadour, upon his last advertisementes made to the Frenche King, how the said Secretaries were restrayned by the Lady

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<sup>1</sup> In Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. III. leaf 37, is a letter of the 2d of June from Clerk singly to Wolsey. It acknowledges his letters of the 23d of the preceding month, but does not allude to those of the 19th, nor to any matter connected with the Emperor. The letters of the 5th have not been found. In the same Correspondence, Vol. XII. leaf 28, is a letter from Tayler to Wolsey of the 4th of June, mentioning young Denham, but principally relative to John Corbett, another of their train, who was much "infecte with Luthers opynyon," and is mentioned in the letter of the 7th, ante, p. 70.

Margaret to certain lymytes and qualifications, whiche they wol in no wise excede, hath not as yet received aunswere of the Frenche Kinges mynde therin; by reason wherof I see not, they persisting in the same, how this trice may be concluded, til suche tyme as an absolute instruction may be geven to the Bishop of Bayon therin, as I have writhen unto you before this tyme, soo that he may attayne the best and moost commodious clauses and qualifications thereof that maye be had, or to take the thinges offred by the said Lady Margaret concernyng the same. And so, finally exerymenting the best that maye be atteyned, wherin I have not failed ne woll do myn uttermost to comme unto the conclusion of the saide truce; ye shall therfore, on my bihalf, with my moste humble recommendations instantly desire and beseche the Frenche King to considre all thinges, as I doubt not his saide Ambassadours, and also Mons<sup>r</sup> de Moret, have written and shewed unto Hym concernyng this matier; and if He have not alredy geven ordre therunto bifore the recepte herof, it may please Hym to accelerate the same, elles all the labour taken for the saide truce wolbe frustrate, if ther be any lenger tracte or delay, considering that nowe is the uttermost tyme that maye be abyden for the Kinges merchauntes to passe unto the marte in Antwerp, whiche lost, the hoole benefite of the truce for that matier were clierly expired and amytted, wherin noo reasons cannot be alleged or rehersed, than hath ben made to you, and also to the saide Ambassadour and Mons<sup>r</sup> de Morett, whiche I doubte not but they have amply signified unto the Frenche King accordingly, and that ye in lykewise have and woll doo the semblable in suche wise, as every houre I loke to here from you of the Frenche Kinges conformable resolution therin, whiche I require you to procure and accelerate asmoche as to you shalbe possible.

In your letters of the 7<sup>th</sup> of this moneth ye write unto me amonges other thinges that to reche yong Denham, being on his waye towardes Calais, whom the Frenche King by his letters willed you to sende fore again, and for the conveyance of certain letters commen from Rome from Doctour Stephyns and Sir Gregory, whiche as they saye required haste, ye have depeched a pooste to Calais, and semblably ye, my Lorde of Bathe, by letters of the same date wrote to Brian Tuke this clause, "Here bee no matiers of importaunce, but "the revocation of Luthers dissiples, whiche departed hens yestirdaye to "Calais wardes, and the conveyaunce of Mr Stephens letters, for the whiche "two thinges I sente a servaunte of myne to Calais by the poste." Thies two clausis I ensure you have made me to bee, as I yet ame, asmoche perplexed as I have bene of a greate season, and the same hathe brought the Kinges Highnes into no lesse double and mervaile; for with youre said letters, ner sithens, neither the Kingis Grace ner I have received any maner of letters from

Maister Stephens.<sup>1</sup> Albe it that with youre said letters came other, indoed in the Laten tong, from Sir Gregorye, dated at Orviet, and not come from Rome, as ye write, ne subscribed by Maistir Stephens or wrytten in his name, wherin like mencion is made of letters to have bene sente with the same from the said Maistir Stephens; whiche causethe the Kinges Grace and alsoo me to thinke that by some indeue meanes those letters bee interceptid or otherwise myscaried, not knownen what to saye or thinke therin, and being lothe to conceive injuste suspicion in any parson: howe be it, till the defaulte that is herein bee purged, and that the truethe knownen, it is no marvaile though many thinges maye bee conceived feared and doubtid againste those, whiche have had thordre and conveyance of the said letters bitwene Maistir Stephens and this place, seing ye name Maistir Stephens soo expreddely in bothe youre said letters, and that alsoo Sir Gregory letters accordethe with the same. For whiche cause a speciall man is ordeyned to bee sente unto you at this tyme in all diligence, to thentente ye being advertised hereof maye certifie me more at large, and that with all celeritie, what letters they were whiche ye sente in youre pacquet from the said Maistir Stephens, and whiddre they were indoed of his handes, and sealed with his accustumed seale or not, and whiddir they were a pacquet or oon only letter, and in what langage was the superscription, and semblably whiddre he wrote any letter to yow, or ye received any superscription by hym joyntely with Sir Gregory for the spedy conveyaunce of theire letters, as ye in youre said writing doo afferme, and of what date the same bee, and what was theffecte of theire letters to you directid; with all suche circumstaunces as maye lede the Kinges Highenes and me to the better knowelege, howe the defaulte of this matier maye bee deprehendid. For, if there were any suche letters, as it is like to bee, it is mooste apparante that there is some greate crafte and falsed in thembesiling of theym, whiche is a matier requisite with all extremytie to bee investigated and serched, for many dangers that elles in like cace might ensue. If there were none other letters sente from theym, but those in Latene bifore men-

<sup>1</sup> Wolsey appears in the first instance to have caused Thomas Derbye to inquire of Tuke (who was Master of the Posts) respecting these letters. For in the Chapter House (Miscellaneous Letters, Vol. IV. leaf 63,) is an answer from Tuke to Derbye, describing the state in which the packet was delivered to him, "hole and sounde, to my thinking," and how he had disposed of its contents. Tuke likewise wrote a long letter respecting it to the Bishop of Bath (of which a contemporary copy is in the State Paper Office) giving a similar description of the state in which the packet was delivered to him, and calling on the Bishop to investigate the matter rigidly. "For Goddes sake, my Lord, in this mater do, as I knowe ye, like a prelate of honour and con-  
science, wol do, and take such ordre as nygh as possibly may be, that if a default lak or suspicion  
be, in whom so ever it be, let it for no mans excuse be cast on an innocent."

cioned, whiche came oonly from Sir Gregory, and that ye received none subscribed by Maistir Stephens, thenne I ame sure ye wold not have wrytten as ye did, that "they," in the plurell nombre, "saye the letters require haste." I therfore instantlye require you that, with asmoche dyligence as ye maye use, ye will signifie unto me all the specialties of this matier, and whiddir ye youreself sawe the trussing and packing of the said letters or not; enserching by all the pollytique ways ye canne what receipte they had betwene you and Calais, and howe many letters or pacquettes of your owne or of any other parsones ye sente at this tyme, and howe and aftir what forme the said letters of Maistir Stephens were by you trussed and packid, whiddir alone and a parte, or in any other pacquet, or joyned to any other letters, with all the specialties that ye thinke maye concerne this matier; to thentente the truethe maye bee knownen, and all doubtes and scrupules the rather removed, whiche, as youre wisdomes may well considre, maye facilly in this matier of soo greate ymportance arise and chaunce: for surely, till I shal have aunswere from you herein, I shalhave my mynde moche troubled and inquietid, and the Kinges Grace cannot but, as His Highnes hathe cause, in the meane tyme gretely mervaile and doubte, howe or in whose defaulte this thyng is ensuyed, whiche ye maye bee sure shalbee tried to thuttremooste as apperteynethe.

Over this I received with youre said letters, certaine other from M<sup>r</sup> Silvestir Darius, datid at Bayonne the 18<sup>th</sup> daye of Maye, perceiving by tenour of the same that M<sup>r</sup> harrold of the Frenshe Kinges, lately by Hym depeched and sente unto thEmperour with his answere and message before shewed by mouthe to the said Emperours Ambassadour, and other clausies touching indiccionem duelli, and suche like displeasaunte matiers, was thanne alsoo arrived at Bayonne, and had sente to have saveconduyt of thEmperour for his repaire unto his presence, whiche was grauntid, and libertie geven unto hym to repaire unto the same by any of 3 sundry ways. And, forasmoeche as the said M<sup>r</sup> Silvester considred that suche message, to bee nowe shewed to thEmperour on the Frenshe Kingis behalfe, mought commone and irrite Hym, whereby percease the hoole practise set furthe to my Lady Mergate and me for removing of the said difficulties and conduced of peas, might bee disapontid, he therefore by all the wais possible persuadid the delaye and putting of, asmoche as in hym was, for the said message, and had not oonly causid the capteine of Bayonne to wryte unto the Frenche King therein, to move Hym that the same might bee tractid and forbourne, but alsoo desierethe by his said letters that I shuld wryte unto the Frenche King, persuading Him to put over the same, till suche tyme as it myght bee sene to what trayne and ende thaffaires of peas maye, at the repaire of the said M<sup>r</sup> Silvestir to thEmperour,

bee by Hym and the Lady Margaret gentilman conduced. And bicause it is verely to bee supposed that the said Maistir Silvestir, knowing what celerite were requysite to bee used in notifying to the said harrold the Frenche Kynges myende and pleasure in this behalf, hathe alsoo wryttene unto you in the same matier; whereof to [the] Kinges and my greate marvaile ye make no maner of mention in any of youre said letters, ne alsoo of the same M<sup>r</sup> Silvestir letters sent hiddir, or that any suche were in youre pacquet or came to youre handes; for this cause the Kinges pleasure is, that ye with all convenyente diligence advertise the Frenche King and my Ladie his mother, of the good and discrete opynyon of the said Maistir Silvestir in this behalf, desiring and requiring Hym in my name that for the good of peas, and in advoiding the totall dissapointemente thereof as is aforesaid, His Grace wilbee contentid to doo as the Kinges Highnes hathe done in offring to thEmperour like duell, that is to saye, to suspende the shewing of the said message by his harrold, till suche tyme as it maye bee sene what course and trayne the matiers of peas maye take; which oons failling or being in extreme dispiration, thenne the message by his harrold to bee done, as the Kyng shalbee the semblable: and if the peas bee in good apparaunce, thane forbering for the season not to shewe the same, til the peax consented, and than by a good maner, and by thAmbassadours that must in that cace repaire thider, and not by the harrald, thEmperour to be ascerteyned what aunswere the Frenche King had divised to have ben sent in that bihalf. And to thintent the Frenche King may doo this the more commodiously and honourably, ye shal desire Hym to geve ordre, by expresse letters unto his saide harrald, to doo therin as the Kinges Ambassadours and the saide M<sup>r</sup> Sylvester shall avise hym; to the whiche M<sup>r</sup> Sylvester I have written, instructing hym howe he shall ordre hym self therin, and soo to shewe to the haralde that this suspence of his message procedeth by my meanes, and at myne intercession, forasmuche as I am a mediatour for the good of peax; lyke as by myne original letters directed to the saide M<sup>r</sup> Sylvester, whiche, to be shewed to the Frenche King, and therupon with his to his haralde to be sent forthe in all diligence, I sende you herewith, ye shall perceve more at large. Praying you in any wise to use all dexteritie with the saide Frenche King and Lady, that this thing be thus suspended and ordred; for elles ye maye saye unto theim, not only it is evident that al my labour Payne and good intent shalbe frustrate, but also more sharpenes and egrenes of displeasure engendred, and newe replyques and tripliques of suche displeasant messages sent and made, whiche shal al sounde to evil purpose and ende, and to the totall subversion of the good thinges now set forthe being in convenient trayne, wherby maye ensue dammage to all Christendome, and to Almighty God

God high displeasure. I praye you therfore eftsones handle this matier with effecte accordingly.

Fynally, where as in letters of you, my Lord of Bathe, of the 2<sup>o</sup> of this monethe, mention is made that ye lately conveyed a paquet of letters sent from hens to the saide M<sup>r</sup> Stephyns and M<sup>r</sup> Gregory, by the handes of oon being agent unto Anthony Vyvalde; the Kinges Highnes, knowing that matier, mervailed, I assure you, that ye wold soo doo, considering that Anthony Vyvald and his faction dependith totally dedicate unto thEmperour, Who coude not fynde a better waye to atteyne and intercepte the letters commyng to and from the said M<sup>r</sup> Stephens, than to cause suche factours to lye in awayte to have the conveyance of theim. Wherfor the pleasure of His Grace is, that ye in any wise loke substanciallly herunto, and to be well ware in whose handes ye trust suche letters of secrecye and importance; elles maye there arrise therby noo little daungier and dammage to the Kinges good causes and affaires. I praye you therfore, my Lord of Bathe, for Goddes sake, to be in thiese things alwayes circumspecte, according the greate confidence that the Kinges Grace and I have in your experience and wisedom, who soo discretely hath alwaies ordred and conduced the charges to you committed, to your greate laude thanke and prayse.

### CCX. GARDYNER *to KING HENRY VIII.*

PLEASITH yt Your Highnes to understande, that endevoring myself, as far as my poore wit, lernyng, industrie, and diligence coulde extende, I have at the last conduced the setting forwarde of the Cardinal Campegius, as shal appere unto Your Majestie by such letters of the said Campegius as he wrote unto me, and as I sende unto Master Fox to be declared unto Your Highnes at lenght: not doubting but, whenne Your Grace shal have herde the processe of our doinges here, and what we have doon for the diligent and speedy accomplishment of Your Graces commaundementes, I shal appere unto Your Majestie always in good mynde and wil to have been, and to be, of oone sorte; and in Your Highnes causes soo to have conjoyned faith and diligence, grounded upon a sincere mynde and intent, as hitherto I have had them in like consideration, with noo lesse studye and desire of mynde, to declare the oone thenne the other; being to me, in myne opinion, asmoch hevynes to be accused or suspected in the jugement of Your Majestie of my diligence or sincerite

sincerite in this matier, as if it wer doubted de fide, which offense is infamis et capitalis. Wherfor most humbly and upon my knees I desire Your Highnes to here my justificacion in that behaulf, accompting al the poore service I have or maye do to be wel employed and highly rewarded, if it may suffise ad probandum fidem et diligenciam Majestati Vestre.

It may like Your Highnes to be also advertised, that after moch difficulte, many altercations, and other meanes used to compasse and conduce the atteyning of the commission decretal in secrete maner, and finally moch travayling howe to assure the Popes Holynes that the same shuld soo be secretly kepte; at the last, upon difficultie founde of the sure conveying therof to Your Highnes, and chaunces which might fortune in the waye, His Holines coulde oonly satisfie Himself in sending it by the Cardinal Campegius, and soo hath promised us, like as by his letters Your Majestie shal understande. Which, knowing it to be nowe more tyme Your Highnes had dedes then promises, and wolde therfor not somoch regarde our relation, we caused, with moch difficultie, His Holynes to wryte; in which letters we wold have had His Holines to expresse the matier in special termes, but for feare ne litere interciderent, we coulde not obteyne that of Him; but He said Your Majestie shal understande his mynde by these wordes “Inventuri sumus aliquam formam satisfaciendi Majestati Tue &c.” Assuring Your Highnes that His Holynes hath, in myne opinion, a fast and sincere love towardes Your Grace, not grounded upon his necessites, but upon such devucion as He hath perceyved, and doth dayly understande, to be in Your Majestie towardes this See. In the jugement wherof, like as I maye be deceyved, and with protestacion therof write unto Your Highnes, soo I have good matier, outwarde and apparaunt, wherupon to grounde my said opinion, and therfor have thought convenient to signifie the same unto Your Grace. Wherin if I sawe otherwise, I wolde likewise soo write, being of this determination evermore, al other respectes set aparte, to saye and write unto Your Majestie the truth and lightlywodes of truth, as they shal appere unto me, whether the same shal delighte and please for the tyme, or otherwise; knowing wel that to be the oonly thing which shal obteyne solidam veram et perpetuam gratiam a Majestate Vesta, que templum est fidei et veritatis unicum in orbe relictum, in quo certa harum numina esse creduntur. Which thing moved me by myne other letters to expresse such dispayre as I thenne had, being moch more thenne I coulde by wordes in convenient maner expresse; trusting always that in compassing and conducing such thinges as depende upon another mannes acte, Your Highnes wil not conjoyne studium et voluntatem meam cum eventu; but perceyving fidem studium et voluntatem meam to have effectually concurred,

concurred, as it hath and shal ever doo, soo to accepte and repute the same accordingly: as my trust is, and ever hath been, Your Highnes wil graciously doo and esteme me a true and faythful subgiet, and for the benevolence which Your Majestie hath above my merites shewed unto me, as sincerely ernestly and asmoche good wil to the uttermost of my litel power etiam cum jactura vite, being in that cace non jactura sed lucrum, in the execution of Your Highnes commaundementes and accheving of your desires, to proceede and employe pro portione facultatum, as any other.

Thus Your Majestie nowe understandith, howmoche the wordes spoken by Your Grace to Master Tuke doo prik me; and having bifore the receipte of those letters, as this berer canne tel, brought al thinges to conclusion, compelle me to trouble and moleste Your Highnes with moo wordes, thenne wer convenient for me to use unto Your Grace, soo rudely cowched and inelegantly writen. Nevertheles, considering they proceede ex justo dolore meo, I have good hope Your Highnes wil soo accepte and take them in good parte accordingly. Thus I praye Almighty God long to preserve your most noble and royal astate. At Viterbe, the 11<sup>th</sup> day of June.

Your Highnes most humble subget  
servaunt and dayly oratour,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

(Signed) STEVEN GARDYNER.

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### CCXI. CLERK *to Wolsey*.<sup>1</sup>

AFTER my most humble recommendation. It may like Your Grace to understand, that upon Corpus Cristi daye<sup>2</sup>, att procession, amongst other our communycations, I thankyd the King for the labors, that He had wyttaff to take, in writing unto the Pope for the Kinges Highnessis matter, at your request. He sayd He dyd it gladly, and wold do as gladly any other thing, that myght be to the furtherance of that matter; and of Hymself sayd that the Pope shold do it, and that He had ben in hand alredye with the Venetians for the restitucion of Servia and Ravenna<sup>3</sup>; the whiche Venetians had sent ther Orators unto the Pope for that matter; and finally He sayd that they wold, and precisely that they shold restore the sayd cities agayn unto the

<sup>1</sup> From the Chapter House, Bundle, A<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> 11th of June 1528.

<sup>3</sup> See Henry VIII.'s sentiments on this subject, Vol. I. p. 300.

Pope;

Pope; and that He wold preace the Venetians herunto for the King his brothers saake, so that the Pope shold be to unkynde, if He shold make any more styking, or any lenger delaye, in the matter; offeryng Hymself to make all possible demonstrations unto the Pope, wherby He myght well knowe, that He takith the Kinges matter at hart, as though it were his owne; assuryng your Grace that He spake as fervently in the matter, as any man cowd do. Albeit, I wissyd that He had somewhat more earnestly preacyd the Pope in his letter, though I durst not saye somoche, for He had taken tomoche labour in writing so long a letter, for me to fynde any faulfe therin. And, to say the trouth, if any faulfe were, it was in the Secretary, that made the mynuyt; for the Frenche King Hymself caryd not, what He had writton, so the Kinges Highnessis matter myght have ben avancyd therby. The letter is not moche amysse, as Your Grace shall se by the copie<sup>1</sup> therof; the originall wherof I sent unto Master Doctor Stephyns yesterday, as I dyd also a nother veray good letter<sup>1</sup> unto Mons<sup>r</sup> de Turayn the Frenche Kinges Ambassadour there, to sollicite the same matter, with advise unto the sayd Master Doctor Stephyns to use the sayd letters, as he should se the necessitie of the Kinges affaires to require.

The matters goyng now pleasantly, I caused Master Dean<sup>2</sup> to com unto the Great Master; assuryng Your Grace that aswell the sayd Great Master, as the Primier President, and divers other, made veray moche of hym, with as great humanytie, and a large offers, as cowd be.

The 2 yong men<sup>3</sup> attachyd, by Your Gracys commaundement, here for Luthers matters, departyd hens towardes Calais this daye. Thus the Almyghty God preserve Your Grace. From Poyssye, the 14 day of Juyn.

(Signed) Your Grace is most humbyll  
and faythfull Chapleyn,

(Superscribed)  
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

Jo. CLERKE, Preest.

<sup>1</sup> Neither of these letters has been found.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wynter, Dean of Wells. See before, Vol. VI. p. 547.

<sup>3</sup> Denham and Corbett.

CCXII. CLERK TO WOLSEY.<sup>1</sup>

AFTER my most humble recomendation, like it your Grace to understand that, as towching suche letters of Master Doctor Stephyns as be supposyd to be myscaryed, and my liffe shold lye theron, this is asmoche as I can saye in it. At the same tyme when by the Frenche Kinges comaundement I shold send for Denham, ther was a pacquett of letters, directed joyntly unto Master Tayler and me, brought unto me from the Great Master<sup>2</sup>, wherin ther was a letter directyd unto Master Tayler and me, with a letter unto the Great Master, and a small pacquett of letters. And I shold die for it, at this howre I cannott saye, whether this pacquett was directyd unto your Grace, to Master Tuke, or to Master Petir Vannes, or whether this pacquett was of on letter or of moo then one. This I well remembre, that it was butt a small thing. The letter unto us was of feaw wordes, nothing conteyning but that we shold with spedē send forth the pacquett; it was subscribyd with Master Stephyns hand and Sir Gregories. Of Sir Gregories I am sure. Master Stephyns writith 2 or 3 handes, and I have not markyd so moche his hand, ne toke not at that tyme somoche heed (as then appering no matter of importance why I shold); but this I remembre well, that if it wer any of his hands, it was his Italyon hand. I have sought and sought for that letter, butt I cannot fynde it. Lyke it your Grace, as towching this pacquett, I will excuse furst Master Doctor Tayler, who nevir sawe it; for beyng then upon the expedition and writing for the depeche of a corrar, I thought it not greatly materiall to shew hym the sayd pacquett. He myght perceyve by the letter sent unto your Grace, whiche he subscribyd with me, that suche a pacquett ther was sent. This pacquett, after it cam onys unto my handes, it went nevir out of my sight. How it was superscribyd, Englishe or Latyn, or to whom of the 3 affore mentionyd, if I shold dye for it, I remembre nott; but as it was sealyd, and as it was superscrybyd, so dyd I, by no Secretaryes, but with myn own handes, close it in my pacquett; whiche pacquett so closyd and sealyd, I delyveryd unto my servaunt, whom I sent by the postes after Denham, who caryed my sayd pacquett to Abavill, wher he overtoke my steward and 6 more of my servautes, who accompanied the said Denham; and ther my sayd steward having ther a man of Calays with hym in his companye, for lesse busynes and charges, toke my sayd pacquett from my

<sup>1</sup> From the Chapter House, bundle A<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Gouvernor.

servaunt, and sent forth the sayd man of Calays with it by the postis to Master Deputie, from whom the sayd pacquett was sent unto your Grace. Thus your Grace knowith, how the said pacquett cam unto my handes, and what hath ben all my demeanour with the same. And where as I made mention of letters that shold com from Master Stephyns, I assure your Grace I ment noon other letters then but thoy, whiche I thought verayly had ben also from Master Stephyns, bycause the letters, wherwith the sayd pacquett was directyd unto Master Tayler and me, was subscribyd with Master Stephyns name. And as to my wryting, "From Rome," I assure your Grace I ment from the Court of Rome, the whiche is reputyd to be evir where as the Pope kepit his residence. If the matters conteyned in Master Stephyns letters be good, as my trust is that they be, my trust is that your Grace will depose for me, that I wold that the Kinges Highnes shold know thaym rather by me, then by any man elles; assuryng your Grace that I never sent you thing in my liff with gladder hart, then I wold do thaym. And to saye the trowth, what shold it avayll me to concele thaym, if they wer contrary to the Kinges pleasure, as God forfend they shold, when summarily by other mennys letters then, and shortly after more plenaryly, they shold have ben knownen by the same mannys letters? My trust is that the trowth shall com owt, wher this letter is becom, if any soche ther wer. But your Grace, to my great hevynes, writith that, unto suche tyme the matters be otherwyse purgyd, ye cannot butt feare and doubt &c. Alas, Sir, what can your Grace feare? What can your Grace think or suspect in me? Who knoweth bettar, how glad I wold be that the Kynges Highnes shold shortly com to his disyrd intent in his great matter, then your Grace doith? Who hath with bettar mynd and affection studied and divised with your Grace for the conductyng therof to som good and short effect by all possible meanys, more then I have? As for this letter, why, or to what intent shold I embesill it? If I wold have embesillyd it, wold I have sent forth the rest? Wold I have writton tam simpliciter, and tam sine fuco, and have certified you of Master Stephyns letters as I ded? Was I so folisse, that I cowd not considre that Master Stephyns letters in this great matter shold be myssyd, namely when other men dyd write, and by all lykelyhode reaort themself most of all to his letters? Was I of so little witt, that I cowd steale no more craftey? Alas, Sir, have I lost with you bothe my witt, my fayth, and all my credence? Alas, have I lyvyd so long? Wreche that I am! After so long approvyd service, is this my fortune? I beseche Almyghty God, that I nevir com saulf home, that I nevir eat bread that may do me good, that I never se God in the face, if I sawe any other pacquett or letter from Master Stevyns, then before is men-  
cionyd,

cionyd, and such as then I sent forth; or if I have nott delt in this thing as a trew and feithfull subgett towards his Prince ought for to do. Beseeching in my most humble maner your Grace therfor to debate and pondre this matter with circumstances, and to make myn excuse and purgation unto the Kinges Highnes, Who, as I perceyve by your Graces letters, myght percease take som occasion upon myn own letters to thynke the contrary; whiche surely is as pensyf and sorowful a thing unto me, as evir by-chauncyd me.<sup>1</sup>

Where as your Grace is not contentyd, that I sent your letters unto Master Doctor Stephyns by the handes of Petir Spyna, bycause he answerith Anthony Vyvald; I assure your Grace, though he be Anthony Vyvaldes agent here, and answerith for hym in exchanges made by his handes, he settith as litle by Anthony Vyvald for all that, as I do; ne answering in exchange is any great signe or tokyn of great affynytie betwen marchauntes, for marchauntes sondry answerith on another, and yet the on never knewe the other but by letters and messangiers. And as for this man, he is a Florentyn, on that hath contynuyd and folowyd the Frenche Courte many yerys, and on that hath made and makith contynually all the great exchanges that hath ben by the King for his affayres of Italy, whither the Frenche King hath not always sent redy monay; as your Grace can right well considre, if he wer imperyll, the Frenche King and other of the Counsaill here wold not use hym, and trust hym with ther monay, as they have don and dayly doo. I dyd know for a suertye that he was not imperiall, but rather clene affectionatyd to the contrary, elles I wold not have putt your Graces sayd letters in his handes, ne yett thies last of the Frenche Kinges and my Ladyes; which I trust shall goo well, as I am right well assuryd that the first dyd in 7 dayes from Parys, reconnyng, as we myght make our reconnyng, upon ther departyng from Lions; so that I recon that they wer at Oryveet the 7<sup>th</sup> or the 8<sup>th</sup> day of this monyth, and thies other shalbe I trust shortly and surely. God forbyd but that in the Kinges matters I shold deale circumspectly, specially in His

<sup>1</sup> In Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XII. leaf 67, is a letter from Sir Brian Tuke to Wolsey, dated from Hunsdon on the 22d of June, which seems to close this affair. He transmits letters received from my Lord of Bath and from Calais, and adds: "I have nowe appointed that al that come by " post shalbe sent, by my folkes at London, streight fromthens to your Grace; to whom I send " nowe also my Lorde of Bathes letters to me directed, with a pece of one commen to hym from " Sir Gregory, lapped in a paper, perceyving wel, that in the ende al this besynes shalbe founde " to procede of Sir Gregoris lightnes, whiche I trust in Almyghty God the Kinges Highnes and " your good Grace wol soner suspecte, then either the fidelite of my Lorde of Bathe or of me."

Highnessis high and weightye matter, wherin (I assure your Grace) it is deth to me to be, without cause, suspectyd. Notwithstanding, upon your Graces advertisement I shall herafter be the more ware how I deale, and to whom I shall delyver your Graces letters, specially in this the Kinges great causys, whiche surely cannot be to warely handelyd. If I wer worthye to gyve your Grace counsaill, ther shold no letters be sent in this matter, but by expresse messangiers sent in post by the Kinges own subiectes; so shold His Highnes be owt of doubt to be assurydly servyd, whiche is the greatest comfort to any man in weyghtye busynes that can be. And doubtles there be meane personages that in matters of ther own, beyng of any importance, will send evir of ther own, and trust as litle as they may strangiers. Assuryng your Grace that in soche a great matter as this is, the King of good reason shold have his postes to and from the Pope wekely ronnyng; ne the charges of 300 or 400 markes more or less ought to be had, in soche a great matter as this is, in so great consideration, that for saving therof any lyke thing shold be lettyd. There be mean Prynces that recon the charges of ther postes to be the most necessarye charges that they be att. I doubt not but that your Grace, seeyng now the dangiers, will provide for it in tyme to com accordingly. Thus the Almyghty God preserf your Grace. At Paris, the 18 day of June.

(Signed) Your Grace is most humbyll and  
faythfull Chapleyn,

(Superscribed)  
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

JO. CLERK.

### CCXIII. LEE TO KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASE it Your Highnes. The 16<sup>th</sup> of Maye I advertised the same of our deliverance<sup>1</sup>, by letters sent by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Tarbes, and bothe afor and after ooder wiese of the same. Sithen that tyme we have remaigned in Valeolite at the Emperours commawndement, unto suche tyme as Your Highnes most honorable letters come with the gentleman, wiche, as the Emperour writethe, commethe from Your Highnes. Echyngham, wiche sholde have browght the letters, departed from Burdeaulx backe, the same that the Popes

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been discovered, nor any other trace of the transaction alluded to, beyond what is disclosed in the conclusion of this despatch.

Collectour<sup>1</sup> came to Burdeaulx, sieke, as it is told me, albeit the Collectour sent a post after hym, but he could not bee found. After his departure from Burdeaulx he delivered the letters to a Frenshman to bring them to us, wiche Frenshman came to Fountrabie the 17<sup>th</sup> of Maye, as our merchantes on the cost hathe writen to us, and the last of Maye he was ther tarieng for saveconduct, as a merchante wiche came to us with my Lorde Cardinalles letters avowethe. Lickwiese the same last of Maye the Collectour was in Bayon tarieng for saveconducte, wiche the Emperours Oratour, wiche is commen from the Courte of Frawnce, promysed to send to hym, and wold have had hym entre opon his worde: but yet we noder heer word of saveconduct for the tone ne for the tooder. We mervaile that it is so long in commeng; for we accompt that the Oratour, who departed in post the last of Maye, myght bee with the Emperour the third of June, and nowe 13 moo be past.

We undrestond that Your Highnes subgiettes, wiche trade in Andelozie, bee all in libertie, and have their goodes restored, with leave to occupie wher they woll in anye parte of the Emperours landes, and the Emperatrice with the Counsell (wiche nowe governethe all, the Emperour yet beeing in Aragon) gave a provision to a merchaunte, your subgiett, whose shippe and goodes were taken, that, payne of deathe, the shippe and goodes shold be hole restored to the merchantes agayne. But yet we heer no worde of the libertie of your subgiettes beeing in Biskaye, ne in Guipusqua. We knowe by their letters, that the daye of deliveraunce of them in Andolozie they were not delivered, ne hard anye wordes of provision geven for them. Wherfore we mervail, seeing that they bee mutche nyar Madril, than they of Andolozia.

Ooder thinges bee in the cyphers of our commen letter to my Lorde Cardinalles Grace.<sup>2</sup>

We have nowe received letters from Madril, wher the Imperatrice and the Cownsell geveth forthe all maner provisions for tyme of the Emperours absence. The generall provision is sent ought long afore, as well to put at libertie all Your Highnes subgiettes, as also to restore to them everie penie worthe of anye goodes taken sithen the intimation of the warr. But as yet we have no letters from the cost of Biscaye of their deliveraunce.

As yet we have noder received Echyngames dispatche, ne heer of anye saveconduct sent to the Popes Collectour.

By rayson of certayne wordes in the Emperours answer to the intimation of the Frenshe herald, I thinke also by occasion of certayne wordes comprised in a letter wiche the Emperour sent to the President of Burdeaulx,

<sup>1</sup> Silvester Darius.

<sup>2</sup> This has not been found.

whan we were in custodie at Posa, the Frensh Kynge hathen writen by the said herald againe an answer to the Emperour, the copie wherof, wiche nowe came to my handes writen in Spaynishe<sup>1</sup>, Your Highnes shall receive with theis letters.

Our Lord send good concord amonges christen Princesse, and generall peax and tranquillite to Christendome, and evermore have Your Highnes in His continuall tuition. At Valolite, the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, 1528.

Your Highnes most bownden Prest,

EDOUARDE LEE,

Almosinar.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

#### CCXIV. WOLSEY TO SIR GREGORY DA CASALE.

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori &c. Salutem et Commendationem. Ex literis, quas a Domino Stefano et vobis, tum conjunctim, tum seorsum, 11 hujus mensis, Viterbij datas, nuper accepi, eam fidem prudentiam industriam ac diligentiam in gravi Regiae Majestatis isthic promovenda causa, a vobis adhibitam esse, cognovi, quae eidem Regiae Majestati et mihi omnium gratissima extitit, et me, propemodum examinem, sic recreavit, ut novam quandam et felicem vitam mihi contigisse putem. Id enim, quod expectabamus maxime, et quod regio confiendo negocio summe necessarium habebatur, Bullam nempe illam, et Reverendissimi Domini Campegij legationem, impletatum esse scribitis. Hoc, etsi ingenti et paterno Sanctissimi Domini nostri erga potentissimum hunc Regem et me affectui tribuendum sit, non ignoramus, tum quanta pars impetrare rei opere industrieque vestre debeatur, qui tanta sedulitate commissam vobis causam tractavistis, ut nemo quam vos cumulatius nostre expectationi satisfacere potuisset. Ingentem itaque gratiam, tum Regiae Majestatis nomine, tum meo, qui nil unquam quam hoc negocium ardenter cure habui, vobis nunc ago, eo quidem animo, ut non multo posthac rebus ipsis percipiatis vestra officia grato memorique pectore hic haberi. Nil nunc aliud cupimus, quam Reverendissimi Domini Campegij adventum maturari, eaque in re confidimus, ob amorem ac studium quod Regiae Majestati gratificandi nunquam non exhibuit, nihil ab eo omissum, nullos itineris labores recusatos iri, ut in tanta nunc occasione hunc Regem sibi suisque perpetuo

<sup>1</sup> This has not been found.

lucrificiat,

lucrifaciat, ac me tenacissime devinciat. Sanctissimus autem Dominus noster tam grande beneficium Regiae Majestati contulit, ut eam, ejusque regnum, non minus quam quæ sua sunt, sui fecerit arbitrij; brevique Regia Majestas suis literis declarabit, quantopere ob hanc paterne voluntatis significationem, Se putet Ejus Sanctitati obnoxiam. Quod deinde Dominus Stefanus, ut regijs istic negocijs expeditis, Venetas usque se conferat, quo Sanctissimi Domini nostri de civitatum restitutione causam regio nomine strenue agat, consilium initit, Regiæ Majestati et mihi summopere probatur. Nihil enim majori voto exoptamus, quam ut, quibusunque possumus officijs, declaremus, nos esse Sanctissimi Domini nostri Sedisque Apostolice quam maxime studiosos. De eademque re effecimus, ut Rex Christianissimus propria manu vehementissimas literas ad Dominium scripserit; peroportuneque literas eo allatas esse spero; utinamque tantum in eo negocio, in quo juvando, non nisi ex Sanctissimi Domini nostri sententia, consequuto exitu, conquieturi sumus, proficiamus quantum devotio nostra maxime cupit. Interim Sanctissimo Domino nostro me iterum atque iterum humillime commendabitis; affirmabitisque tantum Ejus Sanctitati debere quod vivam. Et bene valete. Ex meis edibus, apud Morum. Die 28 Junij, 1528.

Vester tanquam frater,  
(*Signatur*) T. CAR<sup>IS</sup> EBO<sup>Z</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Equiti, Domino Gregorio Casalio,  
Serenissimi Domini Angliae et Francie Regis  
apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Oratori,  
nostro tanquam fratri amantissimo.

## CCXV. POPE CLEMENT VII. to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

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CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Ex dilecto filio Stefano Gardinerio, qui Tuus apud Nos Orator fuit, intelliget Majestas Tua, quid egerimus, ut ejus desiderio satisfaceremus; et ut nichil pretermiserimus quod pertineret ad declarandum quam grato animo conservaremus merita Tua erga Nos atque hanc Sanctam Sedem, quæ tanti facimus, ut nichil esse existimemus, quod Tibi denegare possimus. Ad ea merita cupiebamus etiam adjungere receptionem urbium nostrarum, si quantum

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

debebat

debebat valuisset apud Venetos charissimi in Christo Filij nostri Regis Christianissimi ac Serenitatis Tuæ autoritas; sed quam parum apud illos perfecerint Oratores mei, intelliget Majestas Tua ex ipso Stefano, quem amabamus antea ob litteras ac virtutes, amamus nunc eo magis, quod nichil pretermisit neque amoris neque diligentie in procuranda hac restitutione, et tamen etsi nichil perfecerit, Nos tamen speramus hanc pertinaciam Venetorum addituram esse stimulus Serenitati Tuæ, ne deludi etiam se una nobiscum patiatur ab his, qui Nos sua potissimum causa ac culpa afflictos cum summa fraude spoliarunt; et cum agitur de restitutione urbium, quas se bona fide accepisse dixerant, ut Nobis conservarent ac restituerent, postulant ut jura sua cognoscantur: non enim Nos soli contemnimus, sed etiam Majestas Tua, quam Nobis pro fide ac solita virtute sua non defuturum speramus; ut pluribus exponet idem Stefanus, cui fidem plenissimam habebit. Datum Viterbij, 3 Julij, 1528. . J.

(*Superscribitur*)

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico, Angliae  
Regi illustri, Fidei Defensori.

#### CCXVI. CLERK, &c. to WOLSEY.

AFTER our most humble recommendation. Lyke it your Grace, the Kyng is still at Fontayn le Beaw for his recreation, as we wrote unto your Grace by the last. My Ladye is att Saynt Germayns. The Counsaill parte here, parte with my Lady. We be in great exspectation by the first, to have good tydinges of the successis of Naples, and by soche letters, as at sondrye tymes now of late hath commyn from Mons' de Lotrek, they here reconne assurydly that Naples is thers before this tyme.

The Great Master wrott unto us the last day, advertysing us that the Frenche Kinges herald was retornyng from thEmperour, and that at his return he wold advertise us by his letters what he brought. The herald is come, butt as yett the Great Master hath sent us no worde, what tydinges he bringyth. We perceyve otherwise that he hath been honorably entretayned there, and well rewardyd, and had for his rewarde 400 ducattes and a gown of velvet lynyd with cloth of gold. And as for the answer unto his messaige, thEmperour will send it by a herald of his own, and hath requyryd salverconduyete for the same; whiche the King here hath grauntyd conditionally, so that he bryng with hym thEmperours election of the place to fight in, according

according to the lawe of armys, whiche is, that the provoker shall chose the place, and the defendar genus armorum.<sup>1</sup> We shall within a day or twayne have bettar knowlaige, and, if there be any other particularities, certifie you Grace, peraventure byfore the receyt of thies letters, whiche be sent to Calays by on that goith by journays and not by post. In the Great Masters letter unto us was also this clause, “Je vous assure, que le Roy faict tresbonne chere.” The Imperiall Almayns in Lombardye had dekkyd thaymself to the siege of the citie of Lodye, and hath betyn down a great piece of the wall, and so made an assaulte; wheratt they were putt back with great slaughter of there men. What they intende further to do, it is not yet knownen. Mons<sup>r</sup> de Saynt Paul is passid the mountayns, and, as it is here reconnyd, he hath assurydly at this tyme a masse of 9 or 10000 men, or more.

Master Silvester (as it appereth unto us by his letters) was the 28 day of the last monnyth still at Bayona; but we understand now that he is passyd into Spayne. The Ambassadours of Venyce Mylan and Florence, whiche were in the Emperours Courte, ben retornyd, and arryvyd here in Parys; there is noon of thaym that hath any hope that the Emperour will fall to peax. They commende moche the Emperour, and laye all the fault in the Chancellar.<sup>2</sup>

The Great Master of the Roodys departith to Nyece in Savoye, where lieth his galees. He had us yesterdale to dyner, and entertaynyd us honourably, and made us a great feast. We assure your Grace that we have nott seen many better in France. He had veray good wordes unto us in offeryng his service to the Kinges Highnes, and also unto your Grace, for your goodnes towrdes the religion, and for the honorable entreteynement he had whille he was in Englond; and spekith asmoche honour of the Kinges Highnes, as may be spoken of any Prynce.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Almyghtye God preserve your Grace. From Parys, the 15 day of July.

Your Grace is most assuryd Chapleyns  
and faythfull servantes,

(Signed)      Jo. BATONIENS.

Jo. T. M<sup>r</sup> of the Roll<sup>r</sup>.

(Superscribed)

To my Lord Legattes good Grace.

<sup>1</sup> See Wolsey's comment on this challenge, Vol. I. p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> L'Alemand.

<sup>3</sup> Among the Vatican Papers is a letter, dated the 31st of May 1528, from Henry VIII. to the Pope, in favour of the Great Master of Rhodes (Philip de Villiers de Lisle Adam), earnestly recommending the restitution of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem. And among the same papers is another letter, dated the 25th of February 1528–9, communicating Henry's determination to give £20000 towards this object.

CCXVII. CLERK and TAYLER to WOLSEY.<sup>1</sup>

AFTER our most humbyll recommendacion. Lykith your Grace to understand, that at this present hour I, Bushope of Bathe, have receyvyd a short letter from Master Doctor Stephyns from Venyce, bearingg datte the 8 day off this monyth, whiche he wrott unto me in hast, haffyng no layson to advertise your Grace, for the short departyng of the corrar. He writyth unto me that in the Popis matters he canne gett nothyng ther butt fayr wordys, albe it he hath usyd very greatt instance in the Kynges name, and also in your Grace is, with soche good reasons as myght be made for to have inducyd theym to reason; butt in effect he hath litil or nothyng avaylyd. He writith also that he hath been sor syke in a fluxe, and all his servantes, and that wythin 2 days he shold depart from thens homwardis, and reconnyd to mett my Lord Cardynall Campegius at Lyons, whom he left att Rome in maner rydye to take shyppyng. This is as moche in effect as Master Doctor Stephyns wrytith unto me.

This day also I have receyvyd a letter from Syr Gregory Casalys to Master Peter. And by cause now off a long season we have receyvyd non other letters from the parsons aboffyn namyd, and fearyng that your Grace hath been also long from heryng from theym, knowyng how desirose your Grace is from tyme to tyme to know how thos matters gothe forwardis, therfor immediatly dispachyd a post to Calays with thes letters.

Other matter or newys heer be noon off any substance or certayne, saffyng that the Imperiall lance knyghtes have maad 3 assaultes at Lody, and hath been bettyn off with losse; so thatt now beyng in desperation theroff, as it is reaportyd and jugyd, they wyll take ther jornay to Naples. Wys men thynk that ther taryng in Lombardy hath been only to vitayll soche place is and townys as thEmperor hath in Lombardy; for they, beyng lordis off the fyld, hatt takyn in corne and other vitayll att ther pleasure. It is reconnyd that the have viteylyd theym for on or 2 yeris.

Her is on Monford in the Coorte, sent from my Lady Margett, and as we onderstand shall have saulff conduyct to go to thEmperor. The Kyng is yett att Fontayn le Beaue, butt this next weke it is sayd He wylbe

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<sup>1</sup> In the handwriting of Clerk. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. I. No. 110.

att Saynet Germayns. Thus the Almyghty God preserfe your Grace. At Paris, the 25 day off July.

Your Grace is most humbyll Chapleyns,

(Signed) Jo. BATONIENS.

(*Superscribed*)

J. T. M<sup>r</sup> of the Roll<sup>c</sup>.

To my Lord Legattes good Grace.

My Lady made moche off the reaport of the Prynce of Orange is man made of the Popis Holynes in delayng the Kynges matter; greatly chargyng the Pope therwith. They be also right sore discontentyd wyth the Pope, and have Hym in no small jelosy heer: apon whatt grownd, we cannott tell. As for Monford is reaportis heer, off soche favors as thEmperor, and specially they off Flandres, shold have off the Kynges Highnes and off your Grace, my Lady saith she knowith well inowhe, that the sayd Monfort hath made thos reaportis only to make suspition, and to bryng men in to some jelosy; whiche ne he, ne 10 soche as he is, shall be habyll to do; with many wordis off the great and assuryd hope and trust they have off the contynuance off this stedfast and unfaynyd frendshipe and amyte, that is betwen the Kynges Highnes and the Kyng hyr sonne.

### CCXVIII. CLERK to WOLSEY.<sup>1</sup>

MASTER Doctor Stephyns writyth to me that your Grace wyll comand me to send my hors to Lyons, so to bryng the Cardynall Compegius and his company to Calays. By cause myn nawn horsis be not habill to make the jornay, and by cause I canne nott be withoutt theym, I have sent Master Doctor Stephyns 200 cronyls owt off my porse wyth some advyce for the orderyng off his journay as is conteynyd in the copie off a letter sent by me unto Master Doctor Stephyns, whiche I sende your Grace herwyth.<sup>2</sup> The whiche 200 cronyls I send hym withoutt comandment from your Grace, for iff I shold tary your commandment, it shold come to latte, for I reconne thatt the Cardynall Campegius is by this tyme at Lyons; for iff he toke shippynge the 23 day off

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. III. leaf 50.

<sup>2</sup> This is not found.

the last monyth<sup>1</sup>, it must neadys be (wynd and wether servyng, wheroff ther canne be no great skarcite now in somer) that he is now att Lyons or very nyghe.<sup>2</sup> Lyons is hens 10 good days journay, and thowhe they have right good horsis, they shalbe wary att ther comyng hither and be gladde to chaunge; therfor my hors shalbe heer redy to convey theym to Calays. It may lyke your Grace also to wryght unto Master Doctor Tayler that his horsys may helpe unto the same, for he is well horsyd; and also unto Calays, for they have ther horses lyyng ther att rest, and may spare theym. They may send ther horses to Motrell or to Abavyll, thatt so fynding horses freshe and freshe from day to day, thes meen may passe ther jornay the shortlyar and the more easlyar; for I assure your Grace it is a dobyll payn to ryd longe apon weryd hors. Thus the Almyghty God preserff your Grace. From Fontayn le Bleauxe, the 7 day off August.

Your Grace most humbyll  
servant and chapleyn,  
Jo. CLERK.

(*Superscribed*)

To my Lord Legates good Grace.

<sup>1</sup> This Clerk states in a letter to Tuke of the same date as the above. *Miscellaneous Letters*, (3d Series), Vol. II. No. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding these unusual precautions to expedite the journey of Campeggio, he appears to have experienced considerable delay in his progress; for in the same series, Vol. III. leaf 47, is another letter from Clerk to Wolsey, dated at Paris on the 26th of August, stating that he had received word from Lyons of a certainty that the Cardinal had arrived there upon the Saturday last past. As Saturday fell upon the 22d of the month, the intelligence must have reached Paris within four days, which is at variance with Clerk's previous idea of the length of the journey from Lyons. In the same volume, leaf 43, is a postscript of another letter, which is in Vol. I. p. 114, from Clerk and Tayler, dated the 31st of August, stating, "As we heer the Cardynall settyth forwardis in his jornay from Lyons this day or tomorrow, I have borowyd for hym off the Popis Legatt a fayr well trymmyd and fornyshed moyll, and 4 cariage moylis; the whiche, with 20 horsis off myn awn and 4 cariage moylys also off myn nawn, and 10 horsis off the Master off the Roleys, I shall send forwardis tomorrow towardys Orleance." On the 18th of September Clerk wrote from Paris to Gardyner, who accompanied Campeggio, complaining that the latter was to be lodged in Clerk's house, and desiring Gardyner to say where he (Clerk) was to be provided for. *Ibid.* Vol. II. No. 84.

CCIX. SIR FRANCIS BRYAN *to Wolsey*.<sup>1</sup>

PLESSE ytt your Grace. Acordyng to your commandment I am soo bolde to wrytte un to your Grace; sertefyng your Grace that I hade never a worsse passage, for I was 10 howrs on the see, wyche was very rude, as my thowght, for a botte of 6 towne. We hade thowght to have wone the haven at Callys, but the wynd came so straynably at Est North Est, that we ware fayne to rone owr botte a growne at Sandgatte, were we ware very ny lost. Yff the botte hade be olde, as sche was newe, your Grace must a dyspachyd a new post for me. And whan I gotte lande, wyche was at 10 of the cloke at nyght, I was fayne to hyer a waggon to bryng me to Callys, and thyder came at mydnyght; and in the mornynge at the furst oppenyng I mett wyth Master Depputy<sup>2</sup>, to whom I delyveryd your Gracys letter. That redee and persavyd, he and I, wyth the Porter and Controler, have taken schuche order consernyng the speedy sendyng after me the horsses, as many as may be possyble hade, as also for the settynge forward off the speres, whan tyme shall requyer. That don, I departyd to Bollayne, where I fownde nott Mons' Dew Bees<sup>3</sup>, but his depputy. He mett me at the gatte, sayyng he was comandyd to obbay me as captayn off the towne, and so browght me to my loggyng, wyth many gentyllmen in hys company; and after, the Mayre off the towne sent me a pressent off wyne; and the sayd depputy wyth others toke the payne to suppe wyt me, and after supper offerd me to command what I would, the keys at my commandment, wyt all other thynge that belongyd to the towne, and the gatess to be opponyd at all ours whan I lyst to comand; so that, God wyllyng, I porpos to departe hence to morrow be 3 of the cloke in mornynge, so that by the grace of Gode I trust to be att Parrys on Weddonsday at nyght, or elles on Thursday be tymys. Your Graces commandement hath gyven me boldnes to wrytte un to your Grace, becheyng your Grace to

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. I. No. 140. In the same volume, No. 139, is a previous letter from Bryan to Wolsey, dated at London on the 21st of August, alluding to directions that had been given him to cause the horsemen of Calais to meet with the Cardinal (Campoggio) at Montreuil, and suggesting that Sir John Wallop, who was of the King's Privy Chamber and Marshal of Calais, would be the fittest person to meet the Cardinal, as all the spears and horsemen were under his command, which would be doing more honour to the Cardinal, as he (Bryan) would have previously met him at Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Bourchier.

<sup>3</sup> Du Biez, the Governor.

pardon my rude hande, for my Secretary fell syke by the way. Thus I commytt yow to Gode, ho send your Grace muche honor and long lyffe. At Bollayne, thys 24 day off August.

By your most bowndon servant,

(*Superscribed*)

To my Lorde Legattes Grace.

FRANSSYS BRYAN.

## CCXX. CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO to KING HENRY VIII.

Potentissime Rex, Domine ac Benefactor mihi colendissime.

HUMILLIME commendo. Ad penultimum mensis elapsi diem ex Caleto trajecimus, prospera quidem et secunda admodum navigatione, Doverium, unde debueram et volui premittere aliquem ex meis Majestati Vestræ; sed quum ex comitatu meo aliquot in ipso itinere laborantes dimiserim, aliquot etiam non satis firmos mecum habeam, difficile mihi fuit eligere huic officio aliquem non ineptum. Interea occurrit mihi istinc Jacobus, hic mihi a cubiculo, qui me statim hac cura liberavit: propterea eum statim ad Majestatem Vestram recurrere volui, ut meis verbis eam humillime salutet; nuncietque me paulo post hoc itidem coram jacturum: et quoniam id nequeo, ut aveo, celerius, propterea hac etiam causa podagram, quæ me male habet, male odi. Et felicissime valeat Majestas Vesta. Ex Cantuaria, prima Octobris, 1528.

Excellentissime Majestatis Vestre

(*Signatur*)      Humill' svus, L. CAR. CAMPEGI<sup>9.1</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Potentissimo Angliae et Franciae Regi, Fidei  
Defensori, Domino et Benefactori colendissimo.

<sup>1</sup> The slowness of the approach of Campeggio is singularly contrasted with the precipitancy with which Wolsey at first urged his journey forward. The following letter of the 5th of October to Wolsey from Bishop Clerk, who accompanied the Cardinal to England, details his further progress towards London, and is still more indicative of delay, and corroborates the statement of Herbert, p. 253, that Campeggio purposely protracted all things, being so instructed by direct messages from the Pope "that he should make easie journeys." The movements of the King and Wolsey on his approach towards London have already been given in the first volume, pp. 326, 327.

"This shalbe to advertise your Grace that this Monday att 10 off cloke in the fornoon my  
" Lord Legat arryvyd heer in Dartford, and albe it he had preparyd hym self to have mett your  
" Grace

## CCXXI. WOLSEY TO SIR G. DA CASALE.

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori, tanquam frater amantissime, salutem et commendationem. Semper hec Regia Majestas et ego optimum judicium fecimus de prudentia, industria, summaque vestra in rebus arduis tractandis diligentia, et ingenti erga nos fide; licetque nostre semper expectationi cumulatissime responderitis, sic tamen vestras quodammodo vires in magno hoc negocio Regis promovendo, in Legatique profectione maturanda, nunc superastis, ut recenti hoc et omnium prestantissimo officio, Regiam Majestatem effeceritis vestri vestrorumque omnium commodi et ornamenti studiosissimam, quem memorem ac benevolum suum erga vos animum sic rebus ipsis brevi comprobabit, ut susceptorum laborum nunquam vos pœniteat, et his quandoque dulcissima requies sit futura. Ego vero, qui hoc nomine me vobis perpetuo adstrictum fateor, et quem, summa Sanctissimi Domini nostri in me beneficentia, incredibili studio et vestra dexteritate ab extrema animi sollicitudine liberatum esse sentio, non prius conquiescam, quam argumento aliquo non vulgari meam erga vos familiamque vestram gratitudinem testatus fuero, et quod totiens me facturum recepi, rebus ipsis quam literis multo uberius quandoque prestem; fiduciam itaque omnem vestram in me reponite, vestrorumque meritorum haud immemorem me credite. Efficiam equidem ut nullas existimetis a vobis horas melius his potuisse collocari, quas in hujus optimi Principis ministerio impendistis. Velim igitur bono animo sitis, curas omnes molestiores deponatis, imprimisque valetudinem curetis, quam brevi Regia Majestas ingenti liberalitate exornabit; hocque omnino statutum habet, ut ad primam occasionem, quam in horas expectat,

" Grace to morow accordyng unto your former appoynment, yett beyng advertisyd off your  
 " pleasur sent unto Master Controller from Master Bryan, hath now resolvyd hym selff not to  
 " passe Lewsam for to morow, wher he intendith to be by 10 off the cloke; for he camme in ne  
 " wyse labor after his dyner. From thens apon Wedynsday he wyll gladly ordyr hym selff as  
 " from your Grace he shall be advertisyd. Therfor it may lyke your Grace to giff commandment  
 " that all this nyght provysion be maad ther in Lewsam for that purpose. We thynk heer  
 " amongst us that seeyng his goyng for to morow shalbe butt to Lewsam, thatt the meetyng off  
 " my Lord off Suffolke myght be sparyd tyll Wedynsday, and thatt the sayd metyng shold be  
 " doon moche more conveniently anon apon his fyrist settynge forthe from Lewsam. As your  
 " Grace wyll have it, so it may lyke your Grace to advertise us. The Legatt is att this present  
 " howr very well; he hath been very sore vexyd synse his departyng from Canterbury." Wolsey  
 Correspondence, Vol. III. leaf 46. The 5th of October in this year fell on Monday.

sacerdotium

sacerdotium aliquod opulentum fratri vestro conferat, quo honorifice se queat sustinere; et vobis nihilominus gratiam sejunctim referat, unde regium suum pectus optime erga vos affectum perspiciatis. Sanctissimo autem Domino nostro, ob tam grande collatum beneficium, ob affectionem vere paternam in gravissima hac causa exhibitam, ob Legatum missum, ob ea denique concessa remedia, que rem tantam juvare possent et absolvere, condignas nullas gracias dicta Regia Majestas agere potest, nedum referre. Sic enim ipsius expectationi satisfactum est, ut quod ego, de paterno studio, de singularique ei gratificandi desiderio, sepius affirmaveram, amplissime nunc prestiterit, Regemque hunc potentissimum tenacissimo sibi vinculo adstrinxerit; qui nihil vigilantius aut ardentius meditatur, quam ut vel proprio sanguine partem aliquam Sanctissimi Domini nostri erga se meritorum assequatur; eo suas cogitationes directas habet, ut Sancte Romane Ecclesie tam diras calamitates pro viribus reparet, Apostolicam dignitatem instauret, et Sacrosanti istius Senatus collapsum decus, indigneque obnoxium servituti, sublevet. In hoc preclarissimo instituto dicta Regia Majestas decrevit opes regnumque suum impendere, ut non minus Ecclesie propugnatoris et instauratoris, quam Fidei Defensoris nomen relictura sit posteris celebrandum. Perspicit enim que petijt a Sanctissimo Domino nostro, et si justissima sanctissimaque sint, non tamen nisi incomparabili Ejus Sanctitatis benevolentia potissimum interveniente, his presertim temporibus, tam facile potuisse ab Apostolica Sede impetrari; unde et beneficium acceptum majus agnoscit, et debitum longe maximum fatetur. Affirmabitis itaque eidem Sanctitati futurum nunquam, ut spe, quam tam ingenue in hoc invictissimo Principe reposuit, fallatur, quam ego, omni mea gratia, ingenio, consilio, et authoritate, sic promovebo, ut mea in Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum observantia, in Apostolicam Sedem devotio, sit universo orbi manifestissima futura. Ad hocque innumeris jam acceptis beneficijs adstringor, vel eo imprimis nomine, quod non obscure perspicio, meæ leniendæ sollicitudinis, meæque salutis conservande, fuisse hac in re precipuam, ab Ipsi Sanctitate rationem habitam, et ut ex devinctissimo nunc sum Sancte Romane Ecclesie et Sanctissimo Domino nostro devinctior factus. Sic incredibili cordis exultatione id sum uberrime consequutus, quod jam multis annis continuo voto, summaque industria, moliebar, ut scilicet solidam aliquam occasionem nansciscerer, qua optimum hunc Regem, opulentissimumque ejus regnum, utcunque locorum sejunctum intervallo, fide tamen et observantia Sancte Romane Ecclesie perpetuo conjunctissimum efficerem; et veluti firmissimam columnam summo Ecclesie tuendo et conservando apici adjicerem. Nunc habet Sanctissimus Dominus noster sui juris Angliam universam; cui benignissime addidit, quod unicum decretat ad solidam

solidam fœlicitatem solamen, futurum quidem brevi, ut inclyta hec regio optimum, prudentissimum, justissimum, omnibusque regijs dotibus absolutum, Principem, Sanctissimi Domini nostri clementie conservatum, regno partam quietem, regieque proli comparatam securitatem, acceptum referat. Ex cuius Beatitudinis tam certis exhibitis argumentis, firmissime nunc confidimus, nihil ab ea omissum iri, quod tam grande opus queat perpetuo stabilire, nihilque denegatum, quod ejus autoritate incepturn negocium celerrime, maturrime, firmissimeque undique possit absolvere.

Nunquam deinde exprimi posse arbitror, quam fuerit potentissimus hic Rex totis precordijs concitatus, ubi primum tum ex Domini Prothonotarij Casalij et vestris literis, tum vero ex Domini Stefani uberrimo relatu, intellexit Venetos ita obduratos esse, sicque in sua pertinacia perstare, ut nulla fœderum sanctissime initorum, nulla devotionis, nulla amicitie, nulla fidei, his Principibus, quorum presidio suum statum conservarunt, date, sepissimeque confirmate, nulla denique Christiane reipublice communisque necessitatis et imminentis discriminis habita ratione, Cerviam ac Ravennam, per dolum et fraudem occupatas, Sanctissimo Domino nostro restituere nolint; quæ injuria in Sedem Apostolicam insigniter illata, ut gravior certe est, quam debeat a Christiano pectore sustineri, ita Regia Majestas, que sue in Ecclesiam observantie vinculum agnoscit, ad eam corrigendam vindicandamque animum habet, et voluntatem intentissimam, ostendetque molestissime tulisse, Oratoribus suis de re tam justa responsum iniquissimum fuisse datum ab illo Dominio, quod innumeris humanissimisque officijs semper antea exornavit. Hanc proinde, sui obtinendi voti, et Sanctissimo Domino nostro illate indignitatis corrigende rationem inivit, ut cum dulces hactenus intercessiones nihil apud Venetos valuerint, experiatur quid sue ac Regis Christianissimi conjuncte vires nunc possint, de restituendis civitatibus, Venetorum animos commovere. Qua in re, procul dubio, operam Sanctissimo Domino nostro et Sedi Apostolice non inutilem prestitum me confido; idque facile apud Serenissimum hunc Regem assequar; qui facultates omnes suas, sanguinemque ipsum Sanctissimo Domino nostro debere se fatetur; adeo quod Ejus Beatitudinem indies magis gavisuram sperem, tam ingenti suo beneficio tantum Regem sibi Apostoliceque Sedi perpetuo devinxisse.

Est preterea publice cause omnium maxime necessarium, imminentiaque pericula, que ex dubio eventu rerum possunt accidere, mature previdenda sunt, et diligentissime amovenda. Intolerabiles jam sumptus hi duo potentissimi Reges sustinuerunt, ea quidem mente, ut pacem tandem Christiano orbi conciliarent, laceram Italiam ab impia servitute liberarent, oppressamque et conculcatam Ecclesiam pristino nitori restituerent. Quæ optima illorum

consilia ad optatum pene exitum sunt deducta, nisi nostra nunc culpa, discordia, et negligentia corrumpantur, irreparabili tot gravissimorum sumptuum jactura, perpetuo totius Christianitatis malo, sempiternaque Sedis Apostolice captivitate. Illud certe expedit, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster, si unquam antea, nunc maxime ingentem induat constantiam, neque ullo modo Cesariorum perfidie, quam, tanto rerum suarum excidio, plus nimio expertus est, amplius se committat; aut aliorum adductus injurijs, et eorum ingratitudine, de quibus est optime meritus, provocatus, in Cesaris factionem inclinet, quod tantum illi audacie furoris et publice existimationis adderet, ut mox statim in interitum omnia vergerent. Hoc igitur Sanctissimus Dominus noster vigilantissime caveat, accurate prospiciat, secumque rei magnitudinem discutiat; apertissime profecto Ejus Sanctitatem cognitaram arbitror, tam crudelium hominum conjunctionem, omni peste et contagione seviorem, omnino fugiendam esse, qui rerum suarum tyrannidem, ac Sedem in solis sceleribus et aliorum calamitate esse volunt.

Preterea, etsi non dubitem quin vestras omnes ingenij vires assidue semper adhibueritis, nilque inexpertum aut intentatum reliqueritis, ut Andream Doriam ob omni cum Cesare amicitia tractatuque revocaretis; quum tamen res hec maximi sit momenti, et ex qua possint gravissimi successus provenire, imprimis expedire arbitror, ut negocium hoc crebro in mentem vobis adducam; presertim quod huc jam ex rumore allatum est, Andream Doriam, suis munitum tritemibus, Genuam occupasse. Sanctissimo itaque Domino nostro dicetis Regiae Majestatis et meum judicium esse (quando Doria nil magis cordi habere videtur, quam ut suum, posteritatisque sue statum dignitatem ac fortunas adaugeat, firmissime stabiliat, et Genuam, suumque natale solum, in quiete et libertate constituat, amplissimaque illi in eo sit authoritas ac existimatio) nullum ideo posse remedium aptius excogitari ad illius animum reflectendum, quam si, Sanctissimi Domini nostri et Regiae Majestatis nomine, constantissime ipsi promittatur, Savonam ei suisque heredibus in perpetuum traditam iri, quodque Genuæ in libertate constitute regimen, et authoritatem ceteris majorem, in ea obtinebit: et hec illi possunt commode in hanc sententiam affirmari, videlicet, quum ex Regis Christianissimi honore non sit, ut de hac re prior cum illo tractet, a quo se offensum dicit; neque Doria velit se aut res suas Christianissimi Regis fidei committere; maxime publicis rebus necessarium et expediens est, ut Pontifex experiatur, an possit Andreas Doriam suo stipendio conducere, supradictis etiam promissis conditionibus; quo casu Regia Majestas ab omni stipendiij onere ac sumptu Ejus Sanctitatem liberabit, ad impensamque omnem subministrandam se obligabit. Ceterum si forsitan dicta Sanctitas neutiquam convenire

convenire putarit, ut tam aperte adversum Cesarem se declaret, tunc vos, Regiae Majestatis nomine, modis omnibus conabimini illum revocare; firmissimeque Regia Majestas ad premissa fideliter prestanda se obligabit, critque Andree Doriae in ipsa et non in Rege Christianissimo fidendum, et *nihilominus obligabitur Regia Majestas ad omnem impensam surtinendam, et in eo remanebit omne onus.*<sup>1</sup> Sieque, bona adhibita dexteritate, Andreas Doria facile adducetur ad hanc rerum suarum conditionem accipiendam; qua in re tractanda utile fuerit, ut Andream Dorianam admoneatis, Cesaris animum et propositum de Italia esse, quamvis interim dulciora policeatur, ut hanc universam suo imperio subdat; et mox, nulla fides antea data, nullum pactum, nulla inita conventio, Cesarem impediet, quo minus arces et loca omnia munitiora et opulentiora in suam solius tyrannidem et ambitionem ac potestatem redigat, eosque omnes deprimat, ac funditus perdat. Quorum ope factione ac viribus, ullo unquam tempore, illius ambitio et tyrranides in discrimen posset adduci. Quumque Genue ac Savone status, locique situs, non minus arte quam natura munitus, precipue considerari debeat, quorum locorum revolutio omnem Cesaris in Italia statum semper potest in manifestum periculum trahere, nemini dubium esse debet, quin Cesar huic imprimis parti prospicere velit, et omnia illinc in summa securitate constituere, eaque loca ex munitissimis munitiora reddere, nullam habere conventionum rationem, eorumque custodie Germanos vel Hispanos preficere, in quorum fide putaverit se posse tutius conquiescere. Quo fieret, ut Andreas Doria, cuius vires, prudentiam ac fortitudinem non posset Cesar non semper suspicari, omnino illinc ejiceretur; libertasque et quies, quam sue patrie tantopere comparare conatur, penitus tolleretur, in durioremque captivitatem, quam hactenus passa sit, deturbaretur; et Andreas Doria, tanta laude, quam in patria conservanda est promeritus, frustraretur, a Cesareque, suorum prestitorum officiorum et meritorum loco, non nisi perpetuum exilium, certum discrimen, sibi sueque familie reportaret. Proinde si nunc, quum eminentissime prudentie vir semper fuerit habitus, vellet rem tam gravem in certo periculo, falsa pellectus spe, periclitari; seque ipsum familiamque omnem suam in preceps dare, quum nunc commodo queat res suas omnes in tuto collocare; adeo quod in summa semper apud omnes esset existimatione, principesque omnes tanti viri amicitiam maximi facerent; merito profecto, si Cesaris blandicijs et pollicitationibus tantam felicitatem amitteret, haberi posset totius Italie et Christianitatis (quod absit) verus perturbator. Nunc igitur virum fortem prudentemque se debet exhibere, obvijsque manibus tantam Sanctissimi Domini

<sup>1</sup> This passage is in cypher.

nostri et Regiae Majestatis benevolentiam complecti, que illi pectore tam amico offertur; quorum opera tam amplum beneficium in Andream Doriā conferri potest, in sumnum ejus honorem gloriam et commodum. Que, omnibus his additis rationibus, quas expedire posse judicaveritis, Regiae Majestatis nomine, Andree Doriæ significabitis et promittetis; idemque ut a Sanctissimo Domino nostro fiat, sedulo curabitis.

Tanta deinde sunt, tamque magna officia, que Reverendissimus Dominus Sanctorum Quatuor, tum erga Regiam Majestatem, tum erga me, nunquam non amantissime exhibuit, ut, dum ea in agendis gratijs assequi conemur, id animo facilius complecti, quam exteriori ullo propense nostre voluntatis testimonio queamus indicare, ad antiquique et summi nostri in eum studij et affectionis cumulum, nunc tantum accessit, quantum vix unquam possit a nobis exvolvi; licetque de ejus Reverendissime Dominationis ingenti Regiae Majestati et mihi gratificandi ardore nunquam dubitaverim, sic tamen pectus suum in hac magna promovenda juvandaque causa declaravit; sic in meis seorsum curandis expediendisque negocijs operam fidem autoritatemque suam sollicite interposuit, ut eo certe nomine utrumque nostrum sui suorumque omnium commodi et ornamenti studiosissimos effecerit; resque indicat, et Dominus Stefanus assidue predicit, quot modis Reverendissimus Dominus Sanctorum Quatuor de nobis sit optime meritus; qui quum munusculum illud, Regiae Majestatis nomine a vobis oblatum, recusaverit, non conquescere potest Ipsa Majestas, nisi, donec uberiorem gratiam retulerit, pignus aliquod memoris animi exhibuerit. Quocirca dexterime agite, ut ex familiari aliquo colloquio eliciatis, quibus ille rebus maxime oblectetur; mihi significate num illi aulea, vasa aurea, aut equi probentur; efficiamque ne putet apud Principem inhumanum aut ingratum sua se officia collocasse. Ex eodem quoque Domino Stefano intellexi, quam ardenter Reverendissimus Sanctorum Quatuor cupiat edificium Sancti Petri excrescere et aliquando absolvi, veluti monumentum illud religionis ac pietatis perpetuo futurum, quod ejus animi consilium, ut sanctum, ita dignissimum, censeo, quod Christianorum Principum liberalitate quam plurimum juvetur. Meo igitur nomine ipsi affirmabis, meam omnem gratiam et autoritatem apud hunc Serenissimum Regem interpositurum esse, adeo quod palam constet omnibus me Ecclesie membrum non inutile aut stupidum extare. De alijs vero rebus, in quibus Sanctissimi Domini nostri benignitate et Reverendissimi Sanctorum Quatuor opera ac patrocinio Regiae Majestati et mihi impresentia est opus, per Dominum Stefanum copiose vos instruo; iterum atque iterum impense rogans, ut solita vestra diligentia et sedulitate eas curare, ex nostraque sententia confidere, velit. Quantopere autem res vestras cordi habeam,

ex Petri Vannis, Secretarij mei, literis cognoscetis. Et bene valete. Londini,  
die iij Octobris, 1528.

Vester tanquam frater et  
bonus amicus,

(*Supseribitur*)

(*Signatur*) T. CARLIS EBOZ.

Magnifico Domino Gregorio, Equiti Casilio, ac  
Serenissimi Angliae et Franciae Regis apud  
Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Oratori,  
nostro tanquam fratri carissimo.

## CCXXII. LEE TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it Your Highnes. Of all thinges, that hidretoo have passed, we have  
from tyme to tyme writhen to my Lorde Cardinalles Grace in the cyphers; and  
sythen the 10<sup>th</sup> daye of September, bothe by sea and by land, and the 30<sup>th</sup> of  
the same<sup>2</sup> we made a recapitulacion of all, and sent in post by Pistorien,  
whiche than passed by Burgos thorowe Frawnce, with whome also we sent the  
Emperours answere geven to the Popes Collectour, and the tenour of the saide  
Collectors letter to us; the answere wherof nowe we send in cyphers with  
certayne communications wiche he had with John Alemayne, and ooder  
thinges toocheng bothe the wordes and writeng of Pistorien, wiche all bee in  
cyphres; and yet, feareng lest anye of our letters maye miscarie, we send  
nowe againe the saied Emperours answere<sup>3</sup> with tenour of Collectours letter,  
wiche we sente by Pistorien, and also by sea in 2 diverse shippes. Besids this  
forsaide thinges being in the cyphers, we have no thing toocheng thes affaires  
worthie the writeng. The affaires of Italie howe they passe, it can not bee  
but that Your Highnes dooth profictelie than we can. Neverthelesse, that  
Your Highnes maye undrestond what reaporte of them is heer, albeit in the  
begynneng I durst not write them, beeing than newe and uncertayne, yet  
nowe daylie beeing confirmed, I thinke convenient to write them, that Your  
Highnes maye see, whider they agre with thos ther reaported, or with the

<sup>1</sup> This letter is wholly in Lee's handwriting.

<sup>2</sup> None of the letters here mentioned have been discovered.

<sup>3</sup> Contemporary copies in French and Latin of the Emperor's answer to certain articles exhibited to His Majesty in the name of Cardinal Wolsey by the Sub-Collector, Silvester Darius, are extant in the Cottonian Collection, Vespasian, C. IV. leaves 204 and 257. A copy in French is in the Harlcan, Vol. 296. leaf 134.

trowthe,

trowthe, wiche I can not thinke but that Your Highnes knowethe. They saye first, and that is common, that the Frenshe ost, that was at Napulles, is uttrely venquesshed, in so mutche that verie fewe or none bee escaped, but oder ded or prisoner. It is also common that Janua and all the river of the same hathe chased aweye the Frenshmen, and that Janua is restored to libertie by the capitulacion of Andrea Dauria; and somme saye that Trivulcius, wiche was ther for the Frenshe Kynge, is retreated in to the castell of Jeane, and that Jenovoies hope sone to have hym in their handes. Somme saye also that the Frenshmen wold have entered Saona and have defended that, but the Saonenses wold not suffre them. The commen voix is of manye greate men taken prisoners, the Kynge of Navers brodr, the Marquis of Saluces, Peter de Naverra the Emperours subgiett, with many [other]. It is heer also sayd [*that the*] Jenevoies have bownd them self to geve the Emperour 200000 ducates towardes his warres, whan so ever He shall anye make againe in Italie. Bothe sithen thees newes and afor, they have heer gatherd men to goo in to Italie, and geve the conduct of them to the greate mennes sonnes of this contre.  
<sup>1</sup> *And they whisper that the Emperor will into Italie, wheroft this countrees be not gladde, wisshing that He hade no foote in Italie, accompteng them selfe almoste undon by the war in Italie. Heer is mutche grutcheng, and nowe they repent with open mouth that they maryed not with Englond, and nothinge so mutche as peax with Englonde, whiche Owre Lorde sende, who evermore have Your Highness in His contynuall keepinge.* At Valolite, the 6 of October, 1528.

*They saye they make men heer secreathie.*

Your Highnes most bownden Prest,

(Superscribed)

EDOUARDE LEE.

To the Kynges Highnes.

### CCXXIII. WOLSEY to SIR G. DA CASALE.

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori. Post plurimam salutem et commendationem. Post multas tum maris tum terre superatas molestias, graviter interim sua affectus egritudine, reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis Campegius, Legatus ad Regiam Majestatem destinatus, huc tandem pervenit: qui, quoad ejus

<sup>1</sup> This passage is in cypher.

morbus passus est, quam honorifice exceptus, benigneque et humaniter nusquam non tractatus fuerit. Id malo ejus literis distinctius perscribi, quam meis; facileque arbitror posse a vobis judicari, perpetuam nostram erga Sedem Apostolicam observantiam tantam esse, ut nil unquam hinc omittetur, quod in ejusdem reverendissimi Domini Legati honorem et gratiam effici queat; qui Regiae Majestati, mihi, nobilibus, universoque huic regno, omnium gratissimus optatissimusque advenit. Quem, post suum huc accessum, priusquam Regem adiret, quum id, sua egritudine retardatus, non tam primo posset, sepius visitavi, et amantissime sum complexus; moxque post primum cum Rege congressum, Regia Majestas et ego ad eum crebro accessimus; nihilque scienter a nobis est omissum, quod amicum nostrum in ejus studium testari potuerit. Utque Sanctissimus Dominus noster, a quo in eam causam, quam non ignoratis, Legatus hic missus est, certior fiat de negocij hactenus progressu, expressum hunc tabellarium his literis ad vos misi; ex quibus abunde percepitis, quid Regia Majestas velit, suo nomine, a vobis Sanctissimo Domino nostro exponi. Primo itaque Ejus Sanctitati dicetis, quod quum dicta Regia Majestas, quemadmodum sepe antea scriptum fuit, videret suam conscientiam gravissime affligi, ex aborto illo scrupulo et controversia contracti et consumati cum Regina matrimonij, in animo habens, veluti optimus et Christianus Princeps, a tam gravi onere suam conscientiam purgare, matureque innumeris periculis occurrere, que alioquin ejus successioni ac posteris imminere videntur; unde irreparabile mox discriben et excidium toti huic regno manifeste accideret, si causa tam gravis in ambiguo et in suspenso diutius esse permetteretur, ad omnis remedij caput, omnisque auxilij et sublevaminis fontem, Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, Sedemque Apostolicam confugit, eique declarari fecit, dubiorum omnium causas et circumstantias uberrime atque distinete, rationesque addidit, quæ pro re tanta, a Sua Regia Majestate suique Regni doctioribus clarioribusque viris add[uci] potuerunt; instantissimeque petijt sanum Ecclesie judicium, determinationem, sententiamque hac in re proferri; adeo quod ex Ecclesie doctrina ac decreto doceretur, quibus modis suam conscientiam posset exonerare; sueque proliis securitati et stabilimento, suique regni et subditorum commodo quietique, prospicere. Tandem Pontifex, post complures injectas difficultates, que cum Ejus Beatiudini et vobis sint cognitissime, superfluum esset eas velle referre, in hoc devenit et assen[sit], ut omnimodam totius hujus cause cognitionem, examinationem, ac definitionem reverendissimo Domino Campegio et mihi, de Latere Legatis, prorsus committeret; ejusque rei gratia commissionem concessit idoneam ac sufficientem, ad cognoscendum et definiendum. Quoque omne negotium melius conficeretur, Cardinalem Campegium ad Regiam Majestatem

Legatum

Legatum destinavit, de omnibus instructissimum, que tam gravis cause finem et conclusionem absolvere et maturare possent; quam Sanctissimus Dominus noster semper presetulit, maxime cordi habere, nihilque ea vehementius curare; ideoque contentus fuit in amplissimam formam commissionem concedere, qua frivole queque omnes exceptiones appellations provocaciones et dilationes, que quovismodo possent adduci, e medio tollerentur; Ejusque Sanctitas ferendam sententiam ratificaturam confirmaturamque Se promisit; quæ in hac re a nobis, vel nostrorum altero, ferretur, inhibitionemque nullam unquam concessuram, aliudve quicquam indulturam esse, quod sententie posset prejudicare seu adversari.

Ad hec dicta Sanctitas, ad vehementem nostram instantiam petitionemque adducta, tum ut nostri sui Legatorum animum conscientiamque securius instrueret, tum etiam ut Secretiores Regiae Majestatis Consiliarios, qui ad ejus rei cognitionem admitterentur, informaret, contenta fuit commissionem decretalem concedere; non ut ea uteremur, veluti in qua cause processus consisteret, sed ut secreto haberetur, ad solam (ut dictum est) informationem, ob quam decretalem commissionem indultam, putavit Regia Majestas Se mirifice fuisse recreatam, magnamque fiduciam conceperat, omnino futurum ut ejus virtute ac vigore, absque temporis tractu et dilatione, remedium levamenque afflito oppresseque conscientie conquereretur. Eoque nomine putavit eadem Regia Majestas se esse Sanctissimo Domino nostro perpetuo devinctissimam, illud existimans quicquid unquam a se effici aut excogitari posset, in commodum, decus, honorem, dignitatem, et conservationem Sedis Apostolice longe imparem compensationem futuram immense Ipsius Sanctitatis benignitati in hac nunc sua causa exhibite. Ceterum, quod non absque ingenti cruciatu commemorare possum, multo preter Serenissimi Domini mei Regis expectationem, et meam spem, accedit, incredibili utriusque nostrum animi mœrore; reverendissimus enim Cardinalis Campegius, tot sinceritatis ac benevolentie, a Sanctissimo Domino nostro et illo antea demonstratis, indicij neutiquam obstantibus, huc advenit; et ubi de actuali negocij processu agi oportuit, non solum a Sanctissimo Domino nostro copiose instructus jussusque est, aliam mire rationem penitus ab ea diversam, ad quam omnis nostra actio directa est; videlicet, dictus Cardinalis Campegius, Sanctissimi Domini nostri jussu, pro viribus conatus est omne divortium inter Regiam Majestatem et Reginam dissuadere; ad idque omnem ingenij vim, rationes, omneque studium convertit, veluti ad rem in qua magnopere studuisset, animumque confirmatum habuisset. Sed etiam causam Regis perinde differt, ac si nolit ad judicium sententiamque in partem Sue Majestatis ferendam procedere, donec Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum certiorum prius efficerit de his, quæ, hanc causam concernen-

concernentibus, hic vidit et audivit. Et quod majus est, nullo pacto adduci vult, ut mihi, suo college, commissionem hanc decretalem e suis manibus credat, vel alicui ex Secretioribus Regiae Majestatis Consiliarijs, ob eorum informationem, quamvis, ut id secretissime penes se habeant, sanctissimo jurejurando sint adstricti, legendam exhibeat. Adeo quod quum Regia Majestas non solum spem ac fiduciam omnem in Sanetissimi Domini nostri bonitate ac sinceritate reposuerit, sed etiam constantissime affirmasset alijs nonnullis suis Secretioribus Consiliarijs ad hoc juratis, nihil omnino defuturum, quod ab Ejus Sanetitate prestari queat in hujus cause adjumentum et stabilitum, vel per indultam generalem commissionem, specialibus insertis clausulis, qua libere et aperte uti queamus; neque per commissionem decretalem, que secretissime adservetur, solum ad nostri Legatorum conscientiam informandam. Nunc, quum ad articulum et punctum ventum est, non vident optatum ac speratum ullum fructum ex dicta generali commissione provenire; nec ullum verbum, aut mentionem ullam, ad sui informationem de dicta decretali commissione habere queunt; unde Regia Majestas et ego non possumus non existimare nos esse omni hactenus spe et expectatione frustratos, quam in prefata Sanetitate tam ingenue reposueramus; nec eum paternum affectum, quem nobis semper sumus polliciti, nunc in illa reperimus; dictaque illorum nunc plus nimio aperte comprobari cernimus, qui cum antea viderint tam tepide et respective a Sanctissimo Domino nostro in hac re agi, futurum judicaverunt, quam primum ad processum redigeretur causa, ut statim hujusmodi aliisque dilationes in eo excogitarentur. In quo Regiae Majestatis honor tam graviter laeditur, ut jure optimo existimare et affirmare possit Principem nullum, quamvis de Sanctissimo Domino nostro et Sede Apostolica non tam optime meritum, tam inhumaniter unquam fuisse tractatum, quam Regiam dictam Majestatem; quod ceteris Principibus et mortalibus omnibus perpetuo exemplo esse poterit, ut discant quid in gravissimis suis necessitatibus adjutorij queant gratie vel favoris ab Ecclesia expectare; et presertim hij, quibus non contigit in precipua aliqua causa de ea bene meruisse, postquam Rex iste, qui innumeris modis, sue persone discriminine, ingenio, consilio, doctrina, opera, opibus, subditisque suis, modisque tam diversis, tanta fide, constantia et promptitudine Sedem Apostolicam defendidit, juvit, sustinuit, et conservavit, tanta nunc ingratitudine remuneratur. Superfluum profecto, Domine Gregori, esset literis velle exprimere, nec si vellem possem vel minima in parte assequi, quanto animi cruciatu affligor, dum de hoc agendi modo mecum cogito, quod et vigilans, dormiensque, assidue facio; presentibus namque oculis observatur manifestum et ingemiscendum excidium, perpetua infamia, et subversio status,

authoritatis, dignitatis, et existimationis Sedis Apostolice, si in hoc procedendi modo cum Regia Majestate Pontifex perstare voluerit. Non ignorat Sanctissimus Dominus noster (quod certe summe est dolendum) in quanta temporum, hominum, ac rerum omnium iniuitate nunc sit constituta Sedis Apostolice existimatio; veluti res, quae nisi mature in tuto collocetur, a fundamento tam levi incertaque statera pendeat, ut vel exiguo magni Principis conatu in sempiternam ruinam attrahi queat. Adhuc, si Pontifex, ingenti sua divinaque prudentia accurate perpenderit hujus cause gravitatem atque momentum, in qua tantopere agitur de Regiae Majestatis animae corporisque salute, statu, regno, successione, subditis, honore denique, et apud omnes existimatione, unde hujus Regni salus vel excidium pendet, ab eoque itidem alia regna compluresque regiones dependent; apertissime Ejus Sanctitas perspiciet hunc cum Regia Majestate in re tam gravi agendi modum, rectam esse viam ipsam adigendi, ut omnia deplorata videns, omniaque in Pontifice remedia desperata esse, ad ea confugiat remedia, quae a pluribus crebro ipsi in animum sunt insinuata, in magnam quidem Sedis Apostolice autoritatis imminutionem et detrimentum; quem admodum crebris meis ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum literis Ejus Sanctitatem devotissime admonui, et jam video, et doleo intimis precordijs, in manu mea neutiquam esse, nisi dicta Sanctitas adsit, tantam et tam propinquam procellam posse reparare, quamvis dicta Regia Majestas nunquam in animum induxerit, nec tale quicquam hactenus ipsi persuaderi potuerit; egoque nullam industriam aut diligentiam pretermisi unquam, ut ab hujuscemodi consilijs tanti Principis animum continerem; qui quum ad optima queque pectus constitutum habeat, in hoc illud pulcherrime confirmavit, ut Sedem Apostolicam adaugeat, tueatur, atque conservet. In qua observanda et veneranda nulli Christiano Principi cedit; apud seque penitus decretum habet, ut quicquid a Deo acceptum habet, vel posthac accipiet, data occasione, et ita exposcente casu, promptissime effundat, potius quam ulla fiat in Ecclesia vel ejus autoritate mutatio vel imminutio. Qua in re quid jam effecerit, magis expedit necessariumque est, ut istinc consideretur et respiciatur, quam ut hinc amplius enarretur, quum gratissimi animi illud sit proprium, acceptorum meritorum nunquam obliisci. Et quotiens tecum ipse colligo, quo pacto hac in re Sanctissimus Dominus noster se gerat, non possum non vehementer metuere, ne communis humanae nature, Christianeque religionis hostis, Christianarumque animarum depastor, in Regia Majestate perspiciens sanctum hoc et immutabile propositum, conetur omni fraude atque versutia, aliquem in Sanetissimi Domini nostri mentem, terrorem, respectum, vel affectum injicere, quo Regiae Majestatis justissimum,

sanc-

sanctissimum, et honestissimum votum impediatur. Ex qua occasione, facile posset a Sede Apostolica in re aliqua suam devotionem, fidem, et observantiam alienare, quam semper erga illam gessit et gerit constantissimam, Ecclesieque authoritas in deterius semper collaboretur. Etenim si alienatio aliqua, vel levis uteunque declinatio (quod absit) in Regiam Majestatem caderet, is certe modus ceteris regnis atque regionibus aperiretur, qui ex Regiae potissimum Majestatis constantia semper omnibus occlusus extitit, que nullum unquam locum esse permisit his conatibus, qui in Sedis Apostolice prejudicium cedere potuerint, quod nisi ingens vigilansque mature fuisse adhibita cura, in quam rem totis ego viribus insudavi, scintille, quæ in hoc regnum se effuderant, et que summa diligentia restinete fuerunt, hic, si paululum Regia Majestas assensisset vel connivisset, omnem Sedis Apostolice autoritatem dejecissent, que ex hujus regni exemplo, apud complures alias regiones integra conservatur, in summum alioquin discrimen ruitura. Quam ob causam est quam maxime necessarium, ut Pontifex, verum Christi vicarium et optimum parentem nunc Se exhibeat, et ad tantum malum reparandum oculos inflectat; ita suas disponens actiones, ut eos, qui ab Ecclesia defecerunt, ad ejus obedientiam potius revocare queat, quam alios amittere. Cumque Regiae Majestatis integritas, et in Apostolicam Sedem observantia, jam sit magna, debet sua benignitate conari Pontifex; ut eam adaugeat potius et conservet, quam ut ulla in parte imminuat. Potestis itaque Sanctissimo Domino nostro affirmare, ab omni prudentia prorsus alienum esse sperare unquam futurum, ut hoc matrimonium cum Regina, quodecumque Rex fecerit, resarciatur aut confirmetur, quum in Regina nulla amplius suscipiendo prolis spes extet; nec opus est ut super eo quicquam Ejus Sanctitas posthac cogitet. Res namque eo in loco constituta est, ut id nunquam admitti vel sustineri hic possit, hocque, sub mea fide, pro re certissima Sibi polliceatur Pontifex, quum facile Ejus Sanctitas persensura sit, quicquid opere aut studij in eam partem impendetur, non solum id frustra factum iri, sed gravioris forsitan scandali et mali occasionem et fomitem posse inde exoriri. Hujusmodi ideo suasiones omnino sunt seponende, nec ullum amplius verbum de his faciendum, in re presertim quæ fieri nunquam possit; frustraque conabitur, et in vanum laboraverit, quicunque, uteunque prudens vir aut magnus princeps ille fuerit, diversum Sanctissimo Domino nostro suaserit. Quum igitur nullum amplius ea in re remedium supersit, ab omni quidem ratione et judicio discrepat, ut Pontifex, falsa illa spe deceptus, suas in Regiae Majestatis conficienda causa actiones consiliaque suspensa habeat: sed ingenue tandem et amanter progrediatur ad rem petitam absolvendam; ita quod ex hac negocij dilatione eos non adducat in discrimen, quos amicos fidelissimos et constantissimos non obscure Sua Sanctitas experta est; et

interim suis consilijs nihil proficiet, tam firmam amicitiam rescindet, et Regem hunc coget eorum sequi consilia, qui aliam honestissimi sui assequendi desiderij rationem Sue Majestati proponunt atque suadent. Quot vero gravia mala hinc manifeste immineant, jam tempus urget, ut perpendantur; nec eo usque velim vivere, ut quæ animo jam cerno, presentibus oculis intuear. Quam ob rem ad Sanctissimi Domini nostri pedes prostratus, meo nomine Ejus Sanctitatem humillime ac devotissime rogabitis, ut ceremonijs omnibus, difficultatibus, respectibus, dilationibusque posthabitatis, dignetur gravissimum hujus cause momentum pectore suo librare, et quam ingentia mala ex hoc dubio agendi modo immineant, sua innata prudentia previdere, nec velit confidere rationem, quam Cesaris habet, posse has suas dubias actiones justas efficere. Sperandumque est, inter Regiam Majestatem, Cesarem, et Gallorum Regem aliquando amicitiam conciliatam iri, idque brevi, Deo sic favente, hocque divortij negocium in fundamento et causa tam justa peragetur; ut ex eo Cesar nequeat indignari, nilque ex suo honore detractum iri sit, ubi primum optimum Regiae Majestatis ea in re animum cognoverit, perceperitque quam honorifice et magnifice Regine statui consultum sit. Tunc vero si Pontifex in Cesaris gratiam, vel metum, a sua devotione abjecerit, tantum Regem, amicum tam syncerum, difficillimum profecto fuerit adsimilem reperire; a cuius etiam alienatione, alij quam multi pendent, ceterisque omnibus Sanctissimus Dominus noster justam causam prebebit, ut parum ab Ejus Sanctitate expectent, uteunque bene fuerint de ipsa meriti, quod plus damni Ipsi Sedique Apostolice omnino afferet, quam nunc referre opus est; quod aperte dictam Sanctitatem perspecturam puto, nisi prudentissimum Ejus judicium impediverit Cesaris gratia vel timor.

Quod autem ad Italie successus attinet, ac presertim Sanctissimi Domini nostri statum, si omnia prudenti maturoque consilio trutinentur, aperte videbitur, quod (non obstante ingenti illo respectu, quem erga Cesarem Ejus Sanctitas gerit, electa forsan ex adverso Gallorum in Italia successu) felicitas et securitas status Ecclesie neutiquam sic omni ex parte a Cesare pendet, ut multi perperam arbitrantur. Nam quum vestris literis 13 die Septembris<sup>1</sup> datis, mihi significaveritis, de tractatu quodam a Duce Ferrarie cum Rege Christianissimo agi ceptum esse; ut scilicet Ducatus Mediolani sibi conferatur, additis etiam Parma et Placentia, que a Pontifice possidentur, timendumque esse scribitis, ne Ejus Sanctitas videns has duas civitates in discriumen vocari, amissa jam Mutina, et Regio, et detenta Cervia et Ravenna, adducta hujus tractatus rumore, in Cesaris manum et arbitrium Se totam tradat ac rejiciat,

<sup>1</sup> Not foun<sup>l</sup>.

ejusque

eiusque factio[n]i penitus adhereat. Hoc certe, si probe discutiatur, constabit, in longe diversum sensum interpretari debere; videlicet, si Pontifex, nullam eorum amicorum rationem habens, qui in omni eventu Sue Sanctitati constantissime semper adfuerunt, ab eorum nunc conjunctione abscederet, ex eorumque detrimento et periculo, privatas res suas cum Cesare componeret, ea fiducia ut ab illo defendetur et conservaretur; sieque, optimis destitutis amicis, in certissimi hostis manum se traderet, quemadmodum fama fertur tractatum quendam concordiae, jam medio Generalis Fratrum de Observantia, inter Pontificem et Cesarem fuisse initum; cujus vere conditiones hactenus ignorantur, aliquidque forsan de Regio negocio inter eos transactum et conventum est; eo tunc casu Ejus Sanctitas aperte potentissimos hos duos Principes irritaret, aliosque provocaret, ut Ducis Ferrarie et aliorum tractatibus animum apponenterent: de quibus, donec Pontifex in suarum actionum rectis limitibus se continuerit, neutquam dubitandum est; et quum hi principes animo sint constantissimo; ut pro Cervia, Ravenna, Mutina, ac Regio recuperandis, Ecclesieque patrimonio augendo et conservando, Ipsius Sanctitati pro viribus adhereant, tanta nunc tamque insigni accepta injuria, cogerentur, sic tenacissimo vinculo, Duci Ferrariae, Veneti, alijsque se adjungere, ut eorum semel junctis viribus, nequaquam in Cesaris manu esset mox posse resistere, ad easque angustias et calamitates Se Pontifex redigeret, ut, preter dictarum civitatum amissionem, reliquum Ecclesiastici Status in certo discrimine constitueret. Quocirca summae prudentiae fuerit, si Sanctissimus Dominus noster Regiae Majestatis rationem habuerit, et alto secum pectore consideraverit, quanta sit illius apud Regem Christianissimum authoritas et gratia, quancunque in partem illum velit inclinare. Imprimisque Ejus Sanctitas caveat, ne his Principibus occasionem prebeat ad ea suscipienda consilia, quae Ejus Beatitudini damno et perturbationi esse queant; quod non multo labore accideret, quum ad id Veneti et alij Italiæ potentatus sint in rerum suarum beneficium promptissimi; multoque magis ex Sedis Apostolice stabilimento hec previdisse erit, quam si Pontifex Sibi a Cesare metuens, Illi adheserit, et privatas suas res cum eo seorsum composuerit, et eorum amicitiam deseruerit, qui Sedem Apostolicam suis viribus et sanguine semper defenderunt, in omnemque eventum Illi quam multum prodesse et obesse queunt, et in Ejus gratiam hoc faciat Pontifex, qui, ut semper antea, sic assiduo studio nil aliud molitur, quam ut Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Ecclesiamque Apostolicam suo jugo, imperio, et crudelitate perpetuo conculcatam habeat. Quod si, re vera, et ex animo Sanctissimus Dominus noster cupiat Sedis Apostolice statum ac dignitatem instaurare et conservare, si miseram et suo tempore laceram Italianam in quiete ac libertate constituere, si discordias et bella inter Cesarem et Regem Christi-

Christianissimum sedare, si diram heresim ex Christianitate ejicere, ad eos profecto Principes respiciat, qui tam sanctos conatus promovere et juvare queunt et volunt; et qui privatum aliud jus nullum, quo tantum bonum impediatur, Sibi in Italia vendicant; quum omnium maxime perniciosum sit, eorum partes velle sequi, qui ad totius Christianitatis tyrannidem anhelant, qui de suprema authoritate cum Pontifice contendunt, et qui Ejus dignitatem ac statum omni ex parte depresso volunt, nullis interea dolis, blanditijs, aut pollicitationibus parcentes, modo hanc suam animo jam conceptam tyrannidem assequantur. Proinde, si Sanctissimus Dominus noster Ducis Ferrariæ conatus velit impedire, si rebus suis, ut ex officio debet, mature prospicere, ad ea certissima remedia confugiat, quæ ab his Regibus haud dubie expectare potest, et qui facile Mediolani negocium impedire possunt, et uno momento Ecclesie statum omnem in summa tranquillitate constituere. Que omnia statim Sanctissimus Dominus noster consequetur, si hoc omnium tenacissimo et sempiterno gratitudinis vinculo Regiam Majestatem Sibi devinxerit, si in hac sua urgenterissima causa eam, quam debet, benignitatem exhibuerit; quo certe solum beneficio, Regem hunc, et universum regnum, Sibi perpetuo addicet; compertumque habeat in Regiæ Majestatis manu esse, apud Regem Christianissimum et Venetos efficere, ne hujusmodi Ducis Ferrariæ consilia effectum sortiantur, ne Ecclesie patrimonium, quod superest, periclitetur; ne denique ablatis detentisque civitatibus diu careat; tantaque fide hij duo potentissimi Principes Ejus Sanctitati totis viribus aderunt, etiam si eis bellum fuerit indicendum, qui in diversum inniti voluerint, ut non solum brevi queant amisse civitates recuperari, sed etiam in perpetua securitate et quiete Ecclesiæ Status confirmari et stabiliri; et in hunc finem Regia Majestas contenta est, efficietque, ut Rex quoque Christianissimus contentus sit, ne Pontifex ad ullum teneatur eis auxilium adversus Cesarem subministrandum, sed ut se neutralem contineat, indeque Hostiam et Civitatem Veterem, obsidesque Cardinales, recuperet; ea tamen conditione, ne sub harum rerum pretextu et colore, quicquam Ejus Sanctitas agat, quod Regiæ Majestatis causam impedire aut retardare queat; sed ut quam diligentissime, Sanctissimo Domino nostro juvante, ad optatum effectum perducatur. Hoc vero in loco Sanctissimo Domino nostro dicetis, quod ad articulos quosdam et conditiones a Domino Silvestro Dario, meo nomine, Cesari propositas, pro difficultatibus amovendis, quæ in pacis cum Rege Christianissimo componende tractatu suborte erant, Cesar respondit, quod quum, juxta propositos modos, multa debeant in Regiæ Majestatis fide reponi, maxime expedit ut, priusquam ad hanc fidem deveniat, cum eadem Regia Majestate pacem componat; idque ea conditione offert Cesar, ut nisi hanc pacem universalis pax sequatur, prior cum Regia Majestate pacis initus tractatus

tatus pro nullo habeatur, in suo robore et effectu alioquin permansurus; eoque casu offert Cesar, ut Regia Majestas universalis pacis sit mediator, ad Ejusque æquum judicium suas ea in re actiones deferat; adeo quod conjici jam possit futurum brevi, ut, Rege Christianissimo consentiente, bonus aliquis exitus succedat. In quo tractando Sanctissimo Domino nostro dicetis, Regiæ Majestatis animum et determinationem esse, si in sua absolvenda, et ex sua expectatione definienda causa, sincere Se gesserit, ut ad Ejus Sanctitatem tam sanctus honor et tanti conciliati boni gloria deferatur, idque peragi debeat per Reverendissimum Dominum Campegiū et me conjunctim, tanquam Sue Sanctitatis ad id destinatos Legatos, vel per Dominum Campegiū sejunctim, si forsan tanto muneri vacare nequivero, convenienti aliquo prefixo loco, ad quem partium commissarij convenire, et dietam habere queant. In qua facile conciliari et concludi poterit arctissima inter Pontificem, Cesarem, Regiam Majestatem, et Regem Christianissimum, animorum actionumque conjunctio, in perpetuam Sanctissimi Domini nostri et Sedis Apostolice authoritatem, ad idque nullam viam nullumque modum hoc judico aptiorem esse posse; et ex hac semel conjunctione inita, Ejus Sanctitas secura erit ab eorum iniquitate, qui Ecclesie sunt vasalli, vel qui adversus eam aliquid moliri aut aggredi voluerint; rectumque hoc erit iter ad privatas suas causas omnes feliciter componendas, et universalem pacem perpetuo conservandam. Cujus rei gratia rogabitis Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum ut velit amplam atque idoneam commissionem mittere ad eundem Reverendissimum Dominum Campegiū et me conjunctim, alteramque ejusdem sententie ad ipsum solum, pro his omnibus concludendis, que requisita et expedientia visa fuerint. Ita quod Regiæ Majestatis hic confecto negocio, et ad optatum finem perducto, Reverendissimus Dominus Campegius et ego, vel ille solus, proficisci queamus, ad locum dicte habende diete prefigendum, ubi tanquam Ejus Beatitudinis Locumtenentes et Legati, ejus nomine, debitissimis et circumstantijs pacem componere queamus. Hoc quidem opus, ita in Pontificis commodum, quietem, laudem, et honorem redundabit, ut, Regiæ Majestatis semel ex sententia absoluta causa, possit Ipsius Sanctitas reliquum vite in summa tranquillitate, solidō gaudio, et sempiterna Ecclesie felicitate, et exultatione, ducere. Ob tantas igitur tamque graves et necessarias causas, iterum atque iterum eandem Sanctitatem instantissime rogabitis, ut premissa omnia non gravetur oculatissima sua prudentia perpendere, alijsque semotis respectibus, justa trutina librare; atque Regem hunc Serenissimum non aliter tractare, quam ejus dignitas, merita, cause equitas, necessitas, momentum, veritas, atque rectitudo exigit; nec velit dicta Sanctitas Ejus Majestatem vanis his dilationibus diutius protrahere, quas, mihi credite, nec potest nec vult amplius sustinere,

sustinere, sed una vel alia ratione huic tandem rei exitus imponetur. In quo si quicquam forsan aliter committetur, quam ex voluntate sit, et Pontificis honore et expectatione, culpa his adscribatur, qui remedia adhibere potuerunt et noluerunt; nemoque ut hec accidunt, quam ego, gravius indelebit; sed quum omnia viderim desperata, nil aliud prestare possum quam admonere, exclamare, rogare, instare, urgere, pulsare, pericula presentia et futura demonstrare, oportunaque his arcendis remedia adducere. Ac, si demum nulla mihi habetur fides, si mea dicta non admittuntur, si meum judicium nullius est ponderis, si mea consilia negliguntur, si mea sinceritas ac fides in discrimen adducta respuitur, (quamvis aperte ex hoc Regiae Majestati et universo huic Regno Sanctissimus Dominus noster comprobet meas actiones, fidelissimaque officia, nullo in loco apud Eius Sanctitatem esse, omnemque videam meam hic existimationem sublatam iri) utcunque tamen res tandem successerit, toti orbi constabit Regiam hanc nunquam defuisse officio optimi Principis, humillimi, ac obedientissimi Ecclesiæ filij; nec quicquam mee fidei et debiti a me fuisse pretermissum, meamque conscientiam, innocentiam, honorem, et fidelitatem exonerasse, et hanc miseram et iniquam rerum sortem intimis precordijs collachrymans, hoc tantum addam, quod si Pontifex ulli unquam cure habuit suum honorem conservare, bene merentibus gratiam rependere, sinceram suarum rerum actionem orbi palam facere, Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ existimationem retinere, et potentissimum hunc Regem ejus Regnum in Romane Ecclesie observantia et devotione continere, integerimos amicos complecti, huicque Regno salutem et universe Christiane reipublicæ solidam tranquillitatem dare; tempus jam in promptu adest hec insumul omnia conficiendi; neque expedit ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster hoc optimo Principe diutius abutatur, sed ingenue et expresse Cardinali Campegio mandet, ut ad finalem negocij decisionem deveniat, ac, nullis in contrarium instructionibus datis obstantibus, promptum se exhibeat, ad hanc causam ex Regiae Majestatis expectatione, recte, juste, firmiter, ac diligenter definierandam, quemadmodum assidue et constanter, Sanctissimi Domini nostri nomine, Regiae Majestati affirmavi futurum. Facultatem quoque eidem Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali Campegio concedat, ut Regiae Majestati vel mihi decretalem commissionem tradat, in eum duntaxat usum, ut ad uberiorem informationem, his ex Secretiori Regie Majestatis Consilio legenda exhibeatur, qui ejus jam sunt conseij, quibus, quod eam penes se secreto habeant sanctissime adjuratis, nihilo plus erit, quam si ad solius Regis et meam cognitionem devenerit. Sanctissimoque Domino nostro affirmabis, commissionem hanc decretalem a mortalium nemine, preterquam a paucis Secretioribus Regijs Consiliarijs, quorum fidei atque prudentiæ Regia Majestas suum Regnum ac

ac vitam credere auderet, et qui non minori observantia quam ego, et Cardinalis Campegius, vel quivis alias Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum venerantur et colunt, lectam iri; et de hoc, meam fidem atque honorem devotionemque Ejus Sanctitati liberrime adstringite, humillimeque rogate, ut rem hanc tandem velit sua paterna benignitate respicere.

Denique Sanctissimo Domino nostro dicetis, quod, ne modus ullus intentatus aut inexpertus relinqueretur, quo omne hoc negocium quietius transigi posset; nihil omissum est, aut omittetur, per Reverendissimum Dominum Campegium et me, aliosque prudentiores et siores hujus regni Prelatos, ut inducatur Regina ad religionem potius ingrediendam, quam ad negotij extremitatem et determinationem prosequendam; quamvis ex hujusmodi suasionibus nulla successuri effectus aut fructus spes conjecturave propemodum appareat. In continuis nihilominus suasionibus insistetur; ob quam causam, non quod in ea sperandum sit, unde, quæ ad absolvende cause processum requisita sunt et necessaria, protraherentur, sed ut in omnem eventum rebus omnibus quam maturrime provideatur, et omnia presto sint, Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum instantissime rogabitis, ut ad majorem cautelam, eo ordine, modo, ac provisione adhibita, quam Sua Sanctitas magis conducere putaverit ad cause processum celerius absolvendum: mittatur quoque sufficiens commissio et authoritas ad eundem Dominum Cardinalem Campegium et me, conjunctim et divisim, cum clausulis necessarijs et requisitis ad dispensandum quod, Regina ingrediente religionem laxam, vovendo castitatem, Rex possit confugere ad secundas nuptias tute et secure, decernendo prolem, ex primo matrimonio susceptam, et ex secundo suscipiendam, legittimam, sub censuris et alijs clausulis oportunis. Qua in re Reverendissimum Dominum Sanctorum Quatuor, meo nomine, vehementissime rogabitis, ut in Regiae Majestatis gratiam id laboris velit suscipere: ex prudentioribus deinde alijs doctioribus ac peritioribus aliquos consulite, ut hujusmodi commissio securius ac firmius dictetur et expediatur; adeo quod nil omittatur, quod necessarium expediens aut providendum sit, quo dilatio omnis procul amoveatur: efficiendumque est, ut si forsan Reginae in mentem Deus induxit ut religionem ingrediatur, cetera necessaria et requisita in promptu sint ad celerrimam firmissimamque totius rei perfectionem; utque facilius omnia peragantur, expedientissimum erit, ut licentia et dispensatio pro Regina impetretur, quod non teneatur alicujus religionis habitum gestare, vel in alium commutare quam quo uti consuevit; nec etiam ad alias regulas, normas, constitutiones, aut ordinationes observandas teneatur, sed hec omnia in dicta dispensatione Reginae arbitrio, voluntati, et devotioni remittantur, veluti solum castitatis votum, absque ullo alio ceremoniarum vinculo vovisset. Nam quum ingentes illi facultates et

possessiones sint, multo plus in erogandis elemosinis, et sanctis prestandis operibus, hac via proficiet, quam si arctiori alicui regule, aut religioni, se addiceret, quibus modis ad hoc forsan posset facilius induci. Vos itaque enixissime rogo, ut tanta industria ac dexteritate hanc rem tractare velitis, ne sub hac spe reliqua, que a Sanctissimo Domino nostro pro cause absolvendo processu sunt petita, impediantur retardentur vel differantur; nec tamen hoc, quod nunc petitur, ad majorem cautelam et securitatem in aliquo omittatur aut negligatur. Regia vero Majestas prudentie, dexteritati, fideique vestre, premissa omnia, quam celerrime tractanda, committit, nihil ambigens quin probe videatis quanti momenti hoc negocium extet, et quantopere cordi Illi sit, et quanta in eo diligentia et industria sit opus, in eoque ex sua expectatione confiando, sperat nihil a vobis omissum iri, quod ullo ingenio assequi possit; ad quod vos ego, si quid mee preces apud vos valeant, obsecro et obtistor, ut omnes ingenij vires adhibeatis, et vestras nunc vires superetis; nihilque putate vos prestitis unquam, aut posthac prestare posse, Regiae Majestati gratius, mihi optatus, aut vobis vestreque familiae utilius aut honorificentius.

Preterea, quum nuper ex ultimi Episcopi<sup>1</sup> obitu, Episcopatus Wintoniensis vacaverit, hunc mihi Regia Majestas contulit, meoque remisit arbitrio, an velim accipere. Ceterum, quum Dunelmensis Episcopatus (quem, si alterum accepero, resignare oportebit) proventus non minores quam trecentum libris nostratis alterius sint; magnamque ego vim pecuniarum, pro Dunelmensis Episcopatus aliarumque mearum ecclesiasticarum promotionum expeditione, non multo antea exolverim, ingentesque sumptus in collegijs construendis, alijs edibus instaurandis, in publicisque juvandis causis, sustinuerim, assidueque sustineam, dicti Episcopatus Wintoniensis expeditionem eo usque distuli, donec intellexero quid pecuniarum isthic mihi exolvendum sit; tum pro Wintoniensis Episcopatus expeditione, tum etiam pro mei Eboracensis Archiepiscopatus et Abatiæ Sancti Albani retentione. Proinde vos, quam impense possum, obsecro, ut humillime hoc negocium Sanctissimo Domino nostro commendare velitis; et de eo apud alios Cardinales agere, apud quos expediens esse judicaveritis, eisque rerum mearum statum declarabitis, eorum operam et favorem procurabitis, ipsisque in memoriam redigetis, quod si quicquam grati animi et liberalitatis mihi non graventur exhibere, ut oblatum a Rege Episcopatum queam accipere, novum quoque accrescat Sedi Apostolice emolumentum, ex Dunelmensis Episcopatus expeditione; sique Dunelmensem velim

<sup>1</sup> Richard Fox died in September 1528. Wolsey lost no time in applying to the King for the Bishoprick of Winchester, and of reminding Him of something which appears to have before passed as to the promotion of Thomas Wynter to the See of Durham. See Vol. I. p. 329.

retinere, non nisi ex sola Wintoniensis bullarum expeditione, quiequam istuc utilitatis accedet. Proinde Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, reverendissimosque Dominos Cardinales, meo nomine, humillime rogabitis, ut hac in re, meorum sumptuum, meeque erga Apostolicam Sedem fidei, observantiæ, ac meritorum, velint rationem habere, et aliquid hac in re affectus et benevolentia erga me exhibere. Quorum animum, quidque hoc in negocio, ex mea utilitate fieri possit, quam primum ad me perscribite, ut sciam quid mihi impendendum sit, et quid statuere debeam; ex meo ne commodo sit, rerum et impensarum habita ratione, Episcopatum Wintoniensem accipere, an recusare. Valete, Londini, ex meis edibus, die 1 Novembris, 1528.

Vester bonus amicus,

(*Superscribitur*)

(*Signatur*) T. CARIS EBOZ.

Magnifico Domino Gregorio Equiti Casalio,  
Potentissimi Domini Angliae et Franciae  
Regis, &c., apud Sanctissimum Dominum  
nostrum Oratori, [vel in] ejus absentia.  
Domino Jo. Casalio, ipsius fratri.

#### CCXXIV. SIR JOHN HACKETT to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLESSE Your Hichnys to understand, that the 10<sup>th</sup> day of this monyth I ressewit your moste noble Hichnys letters daty whole the 27<sup>th</sup> day of the last monyth, and acordyng to Your Hichnys dessyr I declarid my commyssion unto my Lady the Archducches; which Lady, hawynge susspecsyon to imagen the cawsse wher for Your Hichnys and the Quene is Grace sendes for this doctuers and lernyth men menssiony whole in Your Hichnys sayd letters, Hir Grace hawynge by Hyr *the copie of the old dissension*<sup>2</sup>, with grete consultacion and good deliberassion of the best tolegiens and juristes of this Low Contres, Sche has chossen 2 doctours juristes, with Master Luys Vyves. The toen is namyd Master Gillis de la Blekerie, Selour to the Lord Cardenal of Luke<sup>3</sup>, and the todyr Master Luis Van Scoere on of the Emperours hy Consell<sup>4</sup> here at

<sup>1</sup> Chapter House. Letters to King and Council, Vol. II. No. 37. Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> These words are in cypher.

<sup>3</sup> So in the original, but probably by mistake for Liege.

<sup>4</sup> On the 17th of November the Archduchess Margaret wrote credential letters for them both to Henry and to Wolsey. In the former she states she has “depesche les Prevost de Tongres, “Vicaire General de Mons<sup>t</sup> le Cardinal de Liege, et M<sup>e</sup>. Loys Schore, Conseilliers de l’Empereur, “Docteurs es droiz, pour avec M<sup>e</sup>. Loys Vives, se tirer devers Vous, affin de faire ce que par “Vous et la Royne Vostre bonne compaigne leur sera enjoint et ordonne comme plus a plein “ilz Vous diront.” Wolsey’s Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part I. leaves 27, 28.

Machlyng; and how beyth that they be boethe yong men of age, they be reputtyth here good clerkes and juristes; and for sych personys the sayd Lady sendes them at Your Hichnys and the Quene is request, and so to be recomandyth unto Your Hichnys. My Lady has concludyth that this forsayd doctours sall sett forward here hens toward Calles to morow 17<sup>th</sup> day of this monyth; but beawse that they fynd som deffficulite in the saufcondyt that Your Hichnys has send hyddyr, they intend not to pas Grawelyng or Calles, tyll that Your Hichnys send them a nother sauf condyt, in sych forme as my Lady aforsayd sends Your Hichnys the mennyth, with hyr own letters. Written at Machlyng, the 16<sup>th</sup> day of November, 1528.<sup>1</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Brian Tuke can dyssiffyr my syffyr.

Right humble serwont and sogett

unto Your Hichnys,

(*Superscribed*)

To the Kyng.

JOHN HACKETT.

## CCXXV. POPE CLEMENT VII. *to King Henry VIII.*<sup>2</sup>

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CARISSIME in Christo Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Mittimus ad Serenitatem Tuam dilectum filium Franciscum Campanum, familiarem nostrum, per quem multo commodius quam per literas arbitrati sumus significari posse quæ Nobis occurrant, tam super rebus publicis ad pacem et totam Christianitatem spectantibus, quam super privatis Tuis, de quibus postremo per Oratores Tuos Nobiscum egisti, que quidem magnopere Nobis cordi sunt. Serenitatem Tuam hortamur in Domino Sibi persuadeat Nos Illam paterna charitate complecti, ut sua erga Nos atque hanc Sedem plurima merita requirunt. Sicut pluribus Eidem Serenitati Tuæ exponent dilectus filius Cardinalis Campegius, Legatus noster, ac prædictus Franciscus, quibus plenissimam fidem habebit. Datum Rome, 15 Decembris 1528. .J.

(*Superscribitur*)

Carissimo in Christo Filio Nostro, Henrico Angliæ  
Regi, Fidei Defensori.

<sup>1</sup> On the same day he wrote a similar letter to Wolsey, but without naming the jurists. Correspondence, Vol. VI. leaf 9.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph. On the same day the Pope wrote a credential letter to Wolsey, which is printed by Burnet, Vol. I. Collection, p. 47., from Vitellius, B. X. leaf 163 b.

**CCXXVI.** Instruccions geven by the KINGES HIGHNES to his trusty and right welbeloved clerkes and counsaillours Master William KNIGHT, Doctor of both Lawes, the Kinges Principal Secretary, and Master William BENNET, also Doctour of bothe Lawes, whom His Grace, joynyng to them his trusty servauntes Sir Fraunces BRIAN Knight, Sir Gregory de CASSALYS Knight, and Master Peter VANNES, the Kinges Secretary for the Latyn tong, hathe constituted his Orators for the causes underwriten as foloweth.<sup>1</sup>

**FIRST,** wher as in consideracion of the manifolde paynefull journeys and voyages taken by the said Master William Knight in the Kinges causes, growing nowe towardes age and of lesse abilite to endure paynefull travaille than heretofore, the Kinges Highnes, tendring the preservacion of his healthe, hathe sent before to the Frenche King, and from thens to the Courte of Rome the said Sir Fraunces Brian and Master Peter Vannes, with sufficient

<sup>1</sup> From a contemporary copy in the handwriting of Thomas Derbye, clerk of the signet. It is slightly injured by damp, and no copy appears to be extant, from which the lacunæ can be supplied.

There are two sets of instructions to Bryan and Vannes, both of a preliminary nature, and which must have been issued early in December of this year. The first (of which a contemporary copy remains in the State Paper Office) directs them to go to the Court of France, and in conjunction with Doctor Tayler, the resident ambassador there, to communicate to Francis the negociations that had taken place towards a peace, and to propose that he should send Commissioners to Rome, to act in concert with the English Ambassadors, for the purpose of counteracting the evident designs of the Emperor Charles V. in aspiring to an universal monarchy; and that England and France should conjointly contribute towards the support of a guard for the Pope's personal defence against the practices of the Emperor.

The second set of instructions (of which the original is in Vitellius, B. X. leaf 146) directs them on their reaching Rome to communicate with Sir Gregory da Casale the particulars of their proceedings in France, and then conjointly to open their charge to the Pope relative to the overture for peace proposed by Signor James Salviati, and the strange answers lately made by the Emperor to such overture, and to detail to the Pope at considerable length the subtle dealings of the Emperor with Sylvester Darius as to a treaty for peace. The English Agents are directed not to mention the cause of divorce at first, but by all means possible to ascertain the state of that cause, and what had been done in it by the Queen's party, and particularly to obtain the means, by searching of records, &c., to prove and maintain the falsity of the brief of Pope Julius, alleged by the Queen's party to be found in Spain, and to retain on the King's part the best advocates they could procure. All this was to be done prior to the coming of Mr. Secretary Knight and Doctor Benet with more ample instructions, which no doubt were those printed in the text.

The instructions to Bryan and Vannes, when going to the Court of Rome, are fully alluded to and quoted by Herber (p. 252), which renders it unnecessary to print more of them, than one or two passages where there are direct allusions to them in the text.

and ample instruccions and commission for commencement and entre into suche thinges as his Grace hath determinyd to commyt unto the charge of all the said Oratours ; having also ordeyned and appointed the said Master William Bennet, for his like commodite, to passe after in the company of the said Master Knight with the best diligence that, preserving thair heathes, they may make, to thintent that the maters whiche require all celerite of expedicion, som what brought into a trayn by the said Sir Fraunces and Master Peter Vannes, joynyng with them in the Court of Fraunce the Master of the Rolles the Kinges Ambassadour ther, and at Rome Sir Gregory de Cassalys the Kings Oratour resident in that Courte ; they all to geders, ones arrived ther, may the more facilly procede to the accomplishmente of the great and weighty causes for the whiche they be sent. The said Master William Knight and Doctour Bennet ensuyng this order, taking with them all suche letters and wrtinges as be devised for thair addresse, shall passe unto the Courte of Fraunce, wher, communicating thair charge with Doctour Taillour, Master of the Rolles, the Kinges Ambassadour ther resident, they shall repaire all to gidre to the Frenche Kinges presence ; and after delyvery of the said letters to Hym addressed, with the accustumded recommendacions made, the said Master Knight shall say, that wher as the Kinges Highnes by his Ambassadours Sir Fraunces Brian and Master Peter Vannes lately signifyed unto the said Frenche King that He wolde in brive tyme sende after them his said Principall Secretary, aswell to declare unto Hym the further successes of the cause of matrimony bitwen His Highnes and the Quene, as from thens to passe unto the Courte of Rome for the maters touching peax and suche other thinges as to hym and the resydue of the Kinges Ambassadours were and shulde be committed ; His Grace, ensuyng that determinacion, and sending nowe unto the Courte of Rome the said Master William Knight and with hym the said Bennet, hathe willed them in thair waye to repaire unto the said Frenche King, bothe to visite see and salute Hym on the Kinges behalfe, and to make unto Hym most affectuous and herty recommendacions, as also to communicate with Hym the successes of the said cause of matrimony. And at this poynt the said Master Knight shall declare unto Hym the maner and forme of bringing forthe of the copy of the Brife, exhibited by the Quene, supposed to be passed in Pope Julies daies, and of the same date as the Bull was, after suche order as the hole circumstance therof is touched in the instruccions geven to the said Sir Fraunces Brian and Master Peter Vannes, the copy wherof is delyvered to the said Master Knight and Master Bennet for thair better riping in that behalfe. In the declaracion wherof they shall so order them self, as it shulde seme to the Frenche King, that thair charge to the Popes Holynes, touching that mater,

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is non other but sens that Brife, no double or copy wherof is founde here in England, or ever mencion to have ben made of suche mater, may by the Popes auctorite, seing the King and th[Emperour be in] termes of hostilite, be brought unto light, and conduced unto the Kinges handes and possession, as reason is; considering that if ther be suche a Brife, as is alleged, it is more mete it be in the Kinges possession, and in the realme of Englande, forasmuche as it toucheth the validite of the matrimony, than in Spayne. So that the Kinges said Oratours shall not make any demonstracion of expresse suspicion conceyved in this brife by the Kinges Highnes, wherby the Frenche King might have cause to think that, if suche a brife were in dede, and a good brife, it were thing wherof the Kinges Grace is sory and not contented therwith, but only they shall touche, after the maner aforesaid, that sens neither ther is any double of it in Englande, or ever suche thing known here, they go aboute to recover the original for the consideracions bifore specified. And thus, somoche of the mater to Hym communicated, they shall say the Kinges Highnes, knowing alwaies howe propence and glad the said Frenche King is, and hath ben, to set forthe and furder any thing in this cause, that may be to the Kinges purpose, desireth and hertely prayeth Hym so to continewe, directing his letters to the Popes Holynes, and suche other as He shall thinke good, in favor of the Kinges cause, after suche sorte as it may appere unto them that the Frenche King hathe the same unto hert, and dothe and woll joyne with the Kinges Highnes in every thing, that may be to the accomplishemet and furtherance of his intentes and desires. Whiche letters the said Master Knight and Master Bennet shall procure and fynde the meanes, by good dexterite and polcye, to obteign, so cowched with generall wordes thought veray effectuel, as though the Frenche King be not made privey of any secrete pursute to be made to the Popes Holynes for reprobacion of the said Brife, by decretale, advocation of the cause, or otherwise, ne also knowe any thing of thother degrees and divices hereafter mencioned; yet the tenor of the letters may be understanden alwaies, with generall wordes, to be interpreted and taken to the accomplishemet and avauncement of the Kinges desires; whiche shall suffise to cause the Popes Holynes the more tenderly to regarde the Kinges requestes, whan He shall see and perceyve the Frenche King to concurre with His Grace in requisicion of the same. For whiche purpose also they must obteign the said Frenche Kinges letters to his Oratours, agents in the Court of Rome, wherby they may be commaunded to set forthe and avaunce, by alwaies to them possible, all suche thinges as by the Kinges Oratours they shalbe required tow[ching] this cause; and furthermore to present unto the Popes Holynes, suche letters as the said Master Knight and

Master

Master Bennet shall obteign in the Frenche Courte for that purpose, with as good wordes as they can speke, in comprobacion of the Frenche Kinges determinacion to concurre with the Kinges Highnes in that behalf.

The Kinges said Oratours shall also in thair conferences with the Frenche King, shewe unto the same, howe the Kinges Highnes is credibly advertised, that ther be practises and communications set forthe bitwene thEmperour and the King of Scottes, for mariage bitwene the same King and the Quene Douager of Hungary; insomoche as ther shulde, at this feest of Saint Andrewe nowe passed, be a Parliament in Scotlande for determynacion to sende Ambassadours to thEmperour for that purpose; whiche said practise hath been a thing contrived by thEmperour, only to allure and wyn to his devucion the said King of Scottes, wherby He may provoke Hym to do annoyance unto the Realme of Englande, on that syde, like as He sekith all the waies He can to do the semblable to the Kinges Highnes, for the Frenche Kinges sake, on every parte. Wherfor they shall saye, though the Kinges Grace hath suche intelligence in Scotlande, and is so well purveyed to resist thair malice, as, God willing, they shall little prevaile in thair malicious practise, yet nevertheles it shall moche con ferre, for keping of the King of Scottes from any communicacion or intelligence with thEmperour, that the Frenche King sende unto Hym knowlaige howe He is advertised of some practises set forthe bitwene thEmperour and Hym to drawe Hym to thEmperours devucion, and to be adverse to these twoo Princes, whiche be so conjoyned, that He can not be against the one of Them, but He therby shall incurre enemyte with thother. Wherfore the Frenche King geveth Hym monicion therof, exhorting Hym to be well ware, bifore He enterprise or accept any suche mater, lest therby He shulde give occasion of dymynucion of the good love bitwen Them, and of exclusion of his subjectes oute of the French Kinges domynions, with assisting the Duke of Albany in his repaire to Scotland, whom the Frenche King hitherto, at the Kinges request, hathe kept out of Scotlande; besides many other notable incommodities that might ensue to that realme, yf the King of Scottes, by this meane, shulde shewe unto the Frenche King suche ingratitudo, as to conjoyne Hym self with his enemy, like as the King of Sco[ttes and] his Counsail, by thair wisedomes, may consider. And so thise letters cowched to this or like porpose, being sent by the Frenche King into Scotlande, it is to be thought shall cause the Scottes to withdrawe thair myndes from any suche practise with thEmperour; wherby He, bolded by the enemyte that He might thinke to procure against the Kinges Highnes on that syde, shulde be the more high and obstinate in the condicions of peax, and do thereby moche to the detriment of the common affaires; and therfore expedient it shalbe, that the letters be divised made and sent with diligence,

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and that the Master of the Rolles, calling upon the expedicion of them, do also obteyne a copy of the same, to be by hym sent hither, for knowlaige of the effecte therof accordingly. In whiche premisses the said Master Knighte and Doctour Bennet shall so use them selfes by the avice of the Master of the Rolles, as delyvering the letters also directed to the Lady the Frenche Kinges moder, with as cordiall recommendacions as can be divised, she may perceyve they procede in thair doinges by her addresse, to whom also they must communicate the premisses, having her letters for the said purpose. Whiche done, and putting the Frenche King in remembrance to sende unto the Kinges Highnes his answer touching the mater of peax, having thair letters sped aswell for the premisses as for thair more sure passage, and therupon taking thair leave, they shall use al the diligence to them possible in thair journey to the Courte of Rome.

At whiche thair arrivall ther, having first substanciall and deliberate conference with the said Sir Fraunces Brian, Sir Gregory de Cassalys, and Master Peter Vannes, they shall understande of them, whider any evident or apparant thing have bene deprehended in the serche or inquiry made of the falsite of the said Brife, ordering them self, in case of manifest and notorious deprehension of suche falsite, according to the tenour of the said former instruccions; and so being riped what hath ben done bifore thair commyng, they shall all togidre, at tyme to be prefixed, repaire unto the Popes presence, making delyvery unto His Holynes aswell of the Kinges letters to the same directed, as of the letters of the Lordes Legates of Yorke and Campegius, wherin open and playn meneion is made of the said Brife, with suche filial and cordiall recommendacions on the Kinges behalfe, and most humble and lowly on the said 2 Legates behalves, as dothe aperteyn. And albeit that by redi[*ng of the*] letters the Popes Holynes shall partly perceyve the newe difficulte nowe chaunced in the Kinges grete and weighty cause of matrimony, by reason of the exhibicion of the said copye of a Brife alleged to be in thEmperors handes, yet nevertheles, sens neither it were convenient that the Kinges Highnes, being parte, ne the said Legates, to whom the decision of this cause is committed, shall in thair letters expryme so many specialties, introductions, affectives, and consideracions, as may and ar mete by the said Oratours to be spoken, they therfore, planting the rote and fundacion upon a grounde preficte sure and infallable, after the thing seriously declared unto His Holynes, that is to say, howe and after what forme, being aboute to prepare all requisites for entrie into the processe of this cause, the Quene sent unto the Legate Campegius a copy of the said Brive, subscribed as afore, shall say in effecte as foloweth: That the Kinges Highnes, having above all other thinges his intent and mynde ever founded upon suche

respecte unto Almighty God, as to a very cristiane and catholique Prince dothe aperteyn, knowing the fragilite and incertentie of all erthely thinges, and displeasant unto God, howe moche daungerous and perelous to the soule, howe dishonorable and damageable to the worlde, it were, to preferre vayn and transitory thinges unto those that be perfect and certain, hath in this cause doubte and mater of matrimony, wherupon depende so highe and manyfolde consequences of gretest importance, alwaies abjected and cast from his conceyte the derkenes and blondering confusion of falsite, and specially hath had and put bifore his ien the light and shynyng brightnes of trouthe; upon whiche fundacion, as a most sure basse, and perpetuel tranquilite of conscience, His Highnes hathe expressly resolved and determyned with Hym selfe to bylde and establishe all his actes, dedes, and cogitacions touching this mater; like as is manifest and notorious His Grace, in all his proceding hitherto touching the same, hath directely justly and assuredly observed that order; knowing, as the Apostell writeth, that other good fundament non can be put, but that whiche is put, Jesus Crist, and wher Crist is not the fundament, surely no buylding can be of good work; for without God, who hath professed Hym self to be the veray way trouthe and live, do buylde the house, in vayn they labor that go aboute to [*buylde it; and*] all our accions, grounded upon that immovable fundament of trouthe, must nedes be therin ferme, sounde, hole, perfect, and worthy to a cristen man; and being trouthe put apart and adhering to falsite, by the same reason they can not be but evill, vayn, sliper, incertayn, full of mutacions, and in no wise permanent or indurable; whyche thing the Kinges Highnes alwaies, like a vertuous Prince, perpending and considering, knowing also that not in wordes name and outward demonstracion only, but also in the interior actes and doinges, we owe to have God, who is the veray trouthe, to our leader and directer, dothe in this cause not somoche regarde the exterior visage of thinges, specially having smale or non appearance of trouthe, as His Grace dothe the veray perfitenes and assurednes of the same. For whiche cause, His Highnes, fynding his ounē conscience not a litle grutched with the evident and manifest presumpcion leading His Grace to playne suspicion of falsite in the said Brive, dothe at this tyme in his high and important cause, so openly appering, and conteynyng so many prejudices, as never with gretter perill the trouthe might be neglected, ne with more indignite the contrary proved and admitted, recurre unto the only fountayne and astate of remedy in erthe, in whose auctorite above all other resteth, after the circumstancies of the suspicions to his Holynes explained, to diserne juge and determin the trouthe of the same. And in this mater they shall saye, the Kinges Highnes must desire the Popes Holynes to put aparte suche vayne and frivole allegacions as percace

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may be excogitate and set forthe to colour the trouthe; for it is not to be doubted but that they, whiche wolde attempte so high an errour as to contrive any falsite in this mater, have done it by suche deliberate avice of lerned men, as the circumstance of every thing, requisite to cause the same to be taken and beleved for a true thing, well forseen and regarded, no place is or shalbe lefte, by thair willes, wherin, folowing the order and course of the Courte of Rome, any excepcion or difficulte might be founde in the said Brife; but sens in thinges doubtfull and incertayne, trouthe hath alwaies and every wher meritoriously had suche prerogatyve, as the lawes, being established to preserve the same from gile fraude and falsite, many right scrupulous seremonyes of jugements by grete studye have bene excogitate to prove and trye the trouthe, with wayes and meanes most diligently prescribed, howe to discerne enserche and trutynate the true from the false; remembryng furthermore, that according to the gretnes and importance of the causes maters and personages, it is convenient to increase the maner of the solicitude and studye in inquisition of trouthe, and somoche the more diligently to regarde the same, as the bringing therof into light shalbe profitable nedefull and requisite, rather than, under the colour and visage of trouthe, falsite to have place.

It shall, for the perfitt triall and decision of the trouthe in this mater, that other waies and meanes be used; and the Popes Holynes regarding, first, of what importance the thing self is; secondely, to whom the cause aperteyneth and belongeth; thirdly, to what juge His Grace recurreth for declaracion of the trouthe; fourthly, howe many persons the same may touche, and that most is, who they be that may be suspected in that behalf; to extende herin largely bounteously and liberally the strength of his auctorite, after suche sorte, as though, ensuyng the forme order and circumstancess of the usage and lawes of the Courte of Rome, the trouthe might remayne hid covered and conceyled; yet, by imparting unto the Kinges Highnes that, whiche His Holynes may do ex plenitidine potestatis, suche ende may be put unto the cause, as, all suspicions removed, the trouthe, whiche, yf no other thing depended upon it but the taking awaye of occasion of skaunder and the comprobacion of sincerite of conscience, were to be inquired, may finally appere and take place. Wherin it is to be considred, that albeit somtyme the causes of private persons, derke and doubtfull, be pretermitted and passed over, as thing more mete at some season to be dissimuled, than by contynual strife and plee to norishe contraversies; yet, sens all the people have thair ien conjecte upon Princes, whose actes and doing not only in the mouthes of them that nowe lyve observed, but also remayne in suche perpetuel memory to our posterite, as the evill, if any be, can not but appere and comme to light; ther is no

maner reason of tolleracion, ne place of dissymulacyon, but more depely highly and profoundely to penetrate and serche for the trouth, so that the same may vaynquishe and ove[*rcome, and*] all gile craft and falsehod clerely be extirpate and reject; lest that the thing, whiche by the untrouth and fallace percease of some myschevous wretche hath bene evill conglutinate and strengthed, shulde afterwarde, as in the processe of tyme, the trouthe long hyd may at the last comme to light, with the hurt and daunger of many persons, be dissolved. Whiche thing if it shuld chaunce, as it is to be obhorred, what a sklaunder and ignomyny, not speking of infinite other hurtes, shulde redounde unto the juges bifore whom the cause were decided, that inquering of the trouthe of the matrimony of so gret a Prince, and being in the poynt of processe of jugement, the cause almost expedite and fynyshed, they shuld be noted to be compelled to desist, and at other mens will, immixting suche grettest falsities, to differre or procrastinate a thing requiring so grete celerite, or folowing a vayne and frivole writing fayned to be a Popes brive, without any suche appearance, to have geven sentence, or pronounced against the trouthe a thing surely of to high an infamye, and with grettest dishonour, and no lesse peril, yf suche an acte shulde chaunce to appere hereafter. Than, whan so noble a Prince, endowed with all kingly vertues, after so many glorious and gracious actes done to the republique and cristen faithe, intended to thestablishing of his succession, seking by the perfite and certain jugement of the Churche to remedy a scrupule injecte in his conscience, most religiously amplecting the auctorite therof, after so long tract daungerous and paynefull expectacion, some hope nevertheles in the meane tyme geven of the desired ende, at the last to be frustrate and destitute therof, and so weighty a cause well trutinate and expended bifore by the jugement of a greate nomber of the most excellent clerks and doctours that can be founde, by the falshode of oone most wicked person forging the Popes brife, to be expedite or rather shamefully impeched and implicate, with high injury and indignite; whither a man consider the majesty of the Prince self, or the honour of the juges, or finally animadverte and regarde the Popes power and auctorite; for, if such a forged writing be in the decision of this cause, so weyed, and in matrimony to be conjoyned, the same may somoche prevaile, as it shall not be estemed, whether it were geven of the Pope of grace, or counterfacte by a falsarye therof, ther is no place to be geven from hensforth to trouthe and auctorite, but he shal do best that may overcome other in craft and falsite. For this cause the Kinges said Oratours shall eftsones desire the Popes Holynes prudently to ponder, and with Hym self to exp[*ond*]e, what in so [*greate*] doubte may be thought the most sure and perfitte waye to remove suspicion, and conduce the mater to

a perfitte

a perfite sincerite of trouthe. For they shall saye, doubtles the Kinges Highnes dothe considre that by them, which either woll colour or not see or serche the trouthe, it may be sayde that ther is no falsite herin intended, and that to come to the desired ende it were expedient to shewe what is true and what is fals, to thintent the trouthe may be folowed, and the falsite eschewed; so that the question resteth not in the lawe, but in the fact; and if men wolbe so scrupulous in serching of the trouth, that not contented with thinges likely and apparant, they woll contende to penetrate more highly unto the certain and present knowlaike of the trouthe, it shalbe percase a thing of to moche presumpcion for any mortall man to enterprise, seing that for the tenuyte and sklendernes of knowlaike no man can so ripely deserne or determyne the certeynte of a trouthe, otherwise than his opynyon, persuaded upon the circumstances of the thing, may leade his jugement to this or that parte; but it shall suffice that men take for true and certain, that whiche a veray directe course and order shall leade them unto, onles than they wolde be over curious. And so consequently, as touching this Brife counterfaict and falsified, ther resteth non other, but to see whither it be false and counterfaict, that is to say, if it appere and seme fals and counterfaict to Hym, unto whom in erthe is graunted the supprime power of judgement, and He to approve or reprove as to Hym shall seme, be thought good and convenient.

This reason surely is not to be rejected; but nevertheles grete consideracion and respecte is to be had to that whiche is aforesaid, and in enserching of the trouthe, best it is to regarde what thing it is that shalbe most expedient to be taken for trouthe, and what likewise for falsite, noting also what signes tokyns and appearance be in it, to thintent the stimacion may waye, directe, and leade the conscience of the juge accordingly. And herin the said Oratours shall saye, it is prudently to be discussed, whither it be more convenient to juge this Brife, having so many suspicions in hit, for true, or for fals. In which mater principall respecte is to be had to that, whiche in all doubtes is most highly regarded, that is to saye, that no skaunder insurge or spring hereof, non evill opynyons arise, ne corrupt or perverse affeccions do ensue in mens myndes, of the religion and faithe of those that have suppreme place and auctorite, lest that they shulde leave, and contempne to obeye unto those, whom they shall take to be highest in title and name, reputing them most vile and basse in acte myndes and dedes. For though it be in our power and a[uthorite to do] non evill, yet sens suspicion resteth in the brest and thought of an other, it is not in us to saye that other shall not suspecte evill in us. Wherfore to high wisedom ever it aperteyneth to be of expresse mynde and entent, by alwaies possible, to remove and avoide, as nigh as we can.

can, all causes and occasions of suche suspicions. Than is it to be considred, yf this Brife, wherof mencion is made, shall obteyn any strength and vigour, what grete and perelous suspicions may therof aryse? seing<sup>1</sup> first that it semeth to supplye the defaultes of the Bull, whiche were disclosed and opened only to the Popes Holynes, and in the veray materiall and principall wordes, never bifore excogitate founde or spoken of, speciaill remedy is provided. Secondly, it is of the same date as the Bull was, and consequently therin to be highly suspected, seing that if the defaultes of the Bull had ben deprehended the same day that it was made and dated, moche more facile, sure, and of more direkte course had it ben to refourme the Bull, making it perfait in those defaultes, than letting it passe insufficiently, at the same tyme to adde therunto a Brife manifestly arguyng and proving the errorre of the Bull, and redubbing the same by a more insufficient waye, than a Bull self shuld have bene. Thirdely, it was specially provided fore, by treatye bitwene bothe Princes, that they shulde either of them impetratre sufficient and ample Bulles, under leade, in moste available forme for suerte of the matier, so that sens they were bounde to impetracion of sufficient Bulles, no mencion in the contracte made of any Brife, it coulde not be that they or thair agentes wolde let passe or accept the Bull, being insufficient, and take a suppliment by a Brife of the same date, so perverting the mater, that the thing which was of sufficiency shulde be sealed with leade, and that of most necessite with waxe; seing as easely they might have had the Bull reformed and made newe under leade, and consequently observe thair convencions, as to take a Brife, whiche was besydes thair convencions, and neither of efficacye ne reputacion so good as a Bull. Fourthely, yf digressing from thair said convencions they shuld have bene contented with the Brife, in suppliment of the Bull, it had

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the arguments here detailed against the validity of the brief are more concisely stated in the instructions to Bryan and Vannes, who are at the same time desired to spare no expense to find some trusty person among the scribes, writers, and registers, by offering ready money or permanent entertainment, who should procure "all the recordes to be serched aswell " of Popes Julies daies as Pope Leo, Adrian, and other his successors, fynding the meanes, as " nigh as possibly may be, to knowe whither in the same recordes have been made any alteracion " or thing semyng to have ben corrected, raced, enterlyned, newly writen, or otherwise reformed " amended added or changed, sens the first making of the same, or what other vice or suspicion " by variety of the hand or otherwise may be deprehended in such record; riping himself also " perfittely in the hande of the said Sigismonde, who is named to have subscribed the said Brife, " and semblably in thandes of those which at that tyme were writers bothe under hym and also " under the rest of the scribbes Apostolique; and of thother that nowe be writers, or late have " bene, in that Courte: and likewise to marke the pointe of the seale, called Annulus Piscatoris, " that was in Pope Julies tyme, conferring the same with other like pointes of the seales, that " have ben sithyns, and that is nowe, in the Popes tyme."

bene as mete and necessarye, and more, to have had a Brife in Englaunde, wher the parties were, wher the thing was to be executed, wher the surete was to be provided, and wher the enheritance remayned, than in Spayne. And as facile might the oone be had as thother, wher of trouthe never such Brife was seen herd or spoken of in Englaunde, bifore this tyme, ne for any diligent serche that can be made suche [Brive] hath or [*can be founde*]. Than for encrease of the suspicion, whiche by alwaies possible is to be eschewed, what may be thought by those that note, howe this Brife is nowe first spoken of, after a newe amyte contracted bitwen the Popes Holynes and thEmperour, Who, to the uttermost of his power, is adverse to the divorce: wherby som may percace juge, that though the Popes Holynes were not auctour therof, yet the same might be concenting therunto; whiche thing wer to grevous to be tollerate, that an offence committed by a miserable person shuld be imputed to a Pope, to an Emperor, to Cardinalles, or to Princes; as doubleles, if this Brife shulde be juged for true, it wolde be occasion of thys sklaunder, or peraventure gretter, yf they wolde, on thother parte, suspecte the Kinges Highnes to have also a Brife, and, for defeating of his mariage, to have embeselde or withdrawnen the same, though that suspicion coulde have little place, forasmuche as no wise man coude persuade unto hym self that the Kinges Highnes shulde be so despourveyed of wisedom and counsail, that His Grace shulde thinke the embeseling of that brie coude conferre to the cause, whan by al symylitude and appearance, the double therof shulde be in Spayne and Rome. But forasmuche as suspicions in this cace coude not faile to be conceyvid, to the perpetuel sklaunder of the grettest personages, and highest danger of the Kinges succession, expedient it shalbe, above all other thinges, to take the waye wherby the sklaunder and daunger aforesaid may be bothe removed. And though sklaunder and suspicions be not somoche to be regarded, as the trouthe of the thing self, and that it may be sayde, yf the Brife be true it must stonde, yf not, it shalbe pronounced fals; yet sens such pronunciation dependeth totally of the jugement of the high juge in erthe, and that is not a litle materiall, howe He shall waye the conjectures whiche be the only thing leading to the suspicion, it is well to be foreseen and regarded what may ensue of the oone diffinicion or thother. For of approbacion of the Brife shall arrise high mater of suspicion, and of reprobacion therof no sklaunder can be engendred; not that the Brife shalbe rejecte for that oonly reason, whiche were veray evill, yf ther were non other suspicion; but if it appere most expedient that it be juged fals, than, with the more benyngne ies and eres to beholde and herkyn, and more diligently to enserche, what thinges besydes may appere to prove and arg[ue t]he falsitie. [*W*]hiche of it self  
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is grevous; but so many and so grete personages to be brought in suspicion, and so grete daungers to remain, is moche more grevous. The reprobacion of the Brife shal declare the innocencye of many grete men, wher as, contrarily, if it be approved, it shall sprede abrode farre and long many suspicions, and not a litle darke the clere fame of many noble men; and therfore, sens the veray trouthe and certeinte is hid from any mortall man, the sure waye is, that taking for true that, whiche hath most appearance of trouthe, the waye be chosen whiche shall remain most perfict, and that with no suspicion can be spotted or disappointed; that is to say, that the Brife be no brife, but juged fals and untrue; seing that gretter perill it is to approve a fals instrument, than to reject oone that is true; for by more diligent serche the falsite may herafter appere, wher as, thother rejecte and ones ceasing to be good, it must nedes folowe it can never hereafter be good again; and therfore sens the veray certeinte can not be attayned, and that we owe to leane unto that whiche is most nigh to trouthe and most like to be certain, and that also the sentence most certeyn and lest leading to suspicions and skaunders is, that this Brife be declared for no brife, but fals and adulterate, more convenient it is so to do, than against so many evident suspicions, to give feithe therunto, and only for a parchment and letters to do so grete derogacion to the trouthe. Besides this, it is to be considerid that all thinges may not particlerly be provyded fore by speciaill lawes, and for that cause a good juge oweth to supplye the lakkes and defaultes, and upon exsample of oone like to procede in an other. Than it is to be noted, what by the lawes is provided for deprehension of falsite in rescriptes and writinges, and therwith to conferre the notes of falsite of this Brife, and it shalbe founde that dyverse speciaill waies and meanes be prescribed in the lawe for deprehension of suche falsities, whiche for the most parte consist in the parchment, seale, and letters. And in oone lawe was determinyd the Popes writing to be voiede and fals, bicause in the salutacion he was called "son," that shulde have ben called "broder," and also in an other cace, bycause the plurel nombre was put for the singuler, saying "you" in sted of "thowe"; with dyverse other thinges making suche a the thred, the leade, the stile, and other like. Thise errors conferred with the suspicions of this Brife, seme to be ferre inferior, and nothing so open and manifest to argue any falsite; for no mervaile it is, though being in these daies the wittes of people so perficte, and in all numbers so absolute, the carte, the scripture, the seale, and signature of writinges, and amonges other of this Brife nowe being in question, by experience in forging have in them all requisites so well imytate and observed, as no place be lefte to suspicion; but we not so straitely astringe our self to this or that speciaill poynt, ne though

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our bodily and outewarde ies might be deceyved, We shulde therfore suffre our interior sight and knowlaige to be so ferre blynded, as, failling mater of exception in sight of the Brife, ther shulde be nothing besydes, for whiche it shulde be reproved. For first, the Brife, wheroft mencion is made, is directed to the King and the Quene, conteignyng a most ample dispensacion of matrimony to be contracte in Englande, to be also consummate in Englande, and to be contynuate in Englande; and finally the wheroft shulde aperteyn principally to England, in such wise as the same aperteyned to no province region or countrey somoche as to Englande; and yet, the Kinges recordes most diligently serched, which with all surete be kept and adserved, the Bull conceyved to this purpose is found perfict in every thing whiche to the carte leade and threde belongeth, and the Brife appeareth not, but in Spayn: and thus wher it shulde be, it is not; and wher it may facile be forged and adulterate, ther it is alleged to be. For, as to thinke it wer withdrawn in Englande, no good counsaile coude be in suche a gile, sens, as is aforesaid, the example or double of it might be both in Rome and also in Spayne, so that neyther for the gretnes of the cryme and offence suche thing might be suspected in men of goodnes, ne for the foly of the fact in men of wisedom or sadnes, but that more like it were not to be in Englande embeseled, but in Spayn counterfieite and forged, namely sens it is no bull, but a brife, wheroft in the convencions of the Prince no mencion was made, but expresse convencion of bulles to be impetratre. This suspicion of lak of the Brife in the place wher it shulde be, is of a higher sorte than either a rasure, whiche may passe by negligence or slothe of the writer to avoide a newe writing, or mystaking of a stile, or putting the plurell nomber for the singuler, and suche other like; whiche have many excusacions, either of chaunce or negligence. And therfor, though ther be no speciaill lawe wherin suche a suspicion is discribed, yet is the same of suche importance, as a discrete juge may have cause to waye it, as he shall perceyve it to sounde with the residue of the suspicions, whiche be neither obscure ner hyd, but suche as to the juge-  
ment of every wise man may largely suffice to perceyve the trouthe. For this Brife, never bifore herd or spoken of, and that, being most diligently sought, can not be founde in Englande, after the defaultes of the Bull disclosed, at the last is produced out of Spayne; and yet not the original, but an example therof, and that oonly in a more perfict forme than the Bull, but also some other wordes changed, some detrahed, and in some places with suche sentences added, as might remove the defaultes, whiche, 25 yeris at the date of the Bull and Brife, were first deprehended. And furthermore, so superstitiously, as the wordes of oone significacion be changed, to thintent no cause of repugnance

shulde remayn: for wher “cupere” and “desiderare” have in maner oone significacion, yet because “cupere” semed to sounde to a more vehement affeccion, they had lever put in the Brife “desiderare” than “cupere”; as though they wolde leave no maner scrupule of contraversye, bicause of just contradiccion; which surely was a greate diligence, but suche as it exceded the mesure non otherwise, but as negligenc oftentymes dothe bring out falsities; for in like maner he, that is over studious and wolde be to sure of hym self, detecteth his subtilte, and wher by his ounre arogant persuasion he thinketh to begile men, by reason that he is more curious and scrupulous than nede is, he discovereth his ounre falsite. Besides this, wher as in the Bull was writen “matrimonium forsan cum Arthuro consummatum fuisse,” in the Brife the adverbe of dubitacion “forsan” is clerely taken awaye; wherby in every place appereth overmoche suspected, and, as it might be sayde, fololishe and skornefull diligence. Furthermore, the date is of the same day as the Bull is, whiche thing, like as it conferreth nothing to the validite of the Brife, so it makethe a grete gap and hole, by the whiche the falsyte hyd may the nerer appere; for the same Pope, the same day, at the peticion of the same persons, to give out 2 rescriptes for oone effect, and of diverse formes, discrepant in the tenours, that also whiche was in wordes and sentences lest perfict, to have in the writing in the accustumed signature, in the leade, and all other ornamente for the strength therof, all his requisites plenarily furnished, and yet in the wordes to lye hid any defaultes, the same to be supplyed at the same tyme by a Brife, is ferre repugnant from all appearance or reason. This is a noble and roiall fallace, that ther, as the leade shulde have ben, ther is the waxe, and so contrarily by a perverse order; and both came out at oone tyme, efter suche sorte and maner, that wher by nature the sore must precede the medicyne, in this cace it appereth the medecyn preceded the sore, and that the medecyn was provided bifore the wounde were deprehended; for if the Bull were not perficte, why wolde the Pope begile the Princes with an imperfect bull; yf it were good and ample, what neded the Pope to give a brife not neces[ary]. *To* that it may be alleged that the Bull percace was not to the satisfaccion of the Princes, and therfore the Brife was graunted in an other forme, might have some colour, yf the Brife had ben fayned of a later date; but being bothe of oone date, non appearance can be in that allegacion, so as the date taketh awaye all mater of defence, and so detecteth the falsite, as therin it suffiseth that the Brife doth argue accuse and reprove it self, than if a rescript of the maner of inditing therof may be reproved for fals, as is aforesaid, as bicause the Pope useth not to caule bishops “filios.” If also the change of the singuler or plurell nomber, against the accustumed stile, or fals Latyn, do viciate a rescript, lett  
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thise errors be considred what may they be, and compard to like to like, or rather from smaller to gretter. For as for the said vices expressed in the lawes might percease stonde with trouthe, seing that some tyme a person most vigilant, and of the best lerned, may erre in the nomber, stile, or vice of latinitie ; and therfore yf thise errors only or oone of them suffiseth for the reprobacion of rescriptes, what shalbe sayde of thise suspicions that, by nature of thinges, can not consist and stonde with trouthe, but [*rather should*] provoke admiration than any certain credulite ; for rather it is to be marvailed than beleved, that nowe 25 yeres be past, sens they consented and agreed upon the same difficulties that be nowe deprehended, seing the variete of nature suche, as almost nothing is that by some maner is not discrepant from an other. And unneth it is credible twoo severall persons testifying a thing to accorde in all poyntes, and in oone sentence ; so as it is wors than a skorne to thinke that, so many yeres passed, non other but the same difficulties, that be nowe founde, were deprehended ; namely, sens wher ther was but oone colour, the date clerely confoundeth it, and, that is the fundament of all the suspicions, no suche brife is founde in Englande, wher neither it coude perishe, ne any wisedom might leade to thinke it withdrawnen. For this cause, the Kinges said Orators shall say, it shalbe most consonant to all wisedom reason and trouthe, to take herin the most assured ferme and certain waye, whiche is, that this Brife, furnished with so many notes of falsite, be juged for false and adulterate, and utterly be reproved ; seing that against th[e trouthe,] whiche be deper and higher imprinted in mens myndes, than is possible to be removed, non alligacion can have place, and that to be taken for trouthe whiche is most like and nigh to trouthe, and leste daungerous and perelous for suspicions. In the doing wheroff they shall instantly desire the Popes Holynes to shewe Hym self veray fader and hed of Christes churche ; and with respecte to the thing self, to the consequence therof, to the necessite of the same, and to the Kinges desertes and merites, His Holynes woll extende the bounteousnes and extremite of his auctorite ; so that, albeit the veray trouthe and certaintye, howe or after what forme, when or wher, the said Brife was forged, shall not percease be brought to assured prove, by order of the lawe, yet considering the presumpcions aforesaid, whiche be sufficient to leade any man of knowlaige or understanding to discerne the trouthe, His Holynes wol determin juge and degree the same nevertheless to be, for the causes bifore rehersed, voied, fals, forged, and adulterate, and consequently to be no brife, ne to have strength efficye or validite in any parte of the same. For the performance wherof they shall saye this order is to be observed ; first, albeit the Popes said Legates, being in England, wolde by vertue of thair commission have sent unto thEmperor to cause to

be exhibited bifore them the sai[d *alleged*] brieve, being in his handes; yet nevertheles, seing that for a delaye He might allege that the said Legates have no jurisdiccion over Hym, out of the lymites of thair legacion, and that the nature of compulsories is such, that the Pope, by order of justice, and onles His Holynes shulde give occasions to thEmperor to allege injurye to be done unto Hym, can not graunt the same compulsories, but upon faithe made unto Hym of requisicion by due order in that behalf for thexhibition and producing of the said Brieve, and of thEmperors refusail to do the same: expedient therfore it shalbe to have a rescript directed from the Popes Holynes to thEmperor, wherby He may be enjoyned peremptoryly to send the said original Brieve within the space of 3 monethes, yf it may be so opteyned, as the Pope shal thinke good to assign, either to the said Legates, or to the Popes Holynes. Whiche rescript the said Oratours must desire the Popes Holynes to sped with al diligence, and to delyver them into thair handes to be sent unto thEmperor as aperteyneth.

And to thintent, that upon exhibicion of the Brieve to the said Legates, they may have auctorite to procede to the reprobacion therof, the Kinges said Orators shall im[*petrate and ob*]teyn a commission decretale, wherby the said Legates, upon such exhibicion of the Brieve, may pronounce the same voiede, forged, adulterate, and to be no brieve. Whiche decretale, couched after the forme of a mynute therof delyvered to the said M<sup>r</sup> William Knight and Doctour Bennet, they shall sende to the saide Legates with all possible diligence, with a transumpt of the said rescript.

Furthermore, bicause peraventure thEmperor shall refuse, notwithstanding the said rescript, to sende the Brieve into Englande, but shall sende the same unto the Popes Holynes, ther is a forme of a commission decretale also divised, whiche the said Oratours shall impetratre, to be in that cace, for reprobacion of the said Brieve put in execucion accordingly. And semblably ther is a thrid forme of a commission decretale divised, and to the said M<sup>r</sup> William Knight and M<sup>r</sup> Bennet delyvered, to be had sped and opteyned for reprobacion of the said Brieve, for default of expedicion therof, in cace thEmperor refuse, within the terme to be unto Hym prefixed, to exhibite the Brieve; which they shall solycite, as nere as they can, to be within 3 monethes, or within as brieve tyme as they can opteyn, either to the Popes Holynes or in Englande; whiche commission is also requisite in this cace to be had, and thexpedicion therof to be sett forthe, with effect, as aperteyneth. And in this mater of impetracion and opteignyng of the said decretales, it is to be noted that the first divised, in cace thEmperor woll sende the Brieve into Englande, it is to be immediatly passed and omnem eventum to be sent hither, not abiding thEmperours answer,

answer, whider He wol sende the Brife into Englande, to the Popes Holynes, or to non of them bothe. And with the same is also an other commission decretale to be opteyned and sent at the same tyme, by the whiche autorite may be geven to the Legates, the Brive ones reproved, to procede to the dissolucion of the mariage; a tenour and divice of whiche commission is also delyvered to the said M<sup>r</sup> William Knight and M<sup>r</sup> Bennet, to be sped in due and available forme accordingly.

And as to thother 2 decretales, divised, in cace thEmperour woll not sende the Brife into Englande, but to the Popes Holynes, or also yf He wol not sende it to any of them bothe, forasmuche as diverse thinges mencioned in the [same] must depende upon the acte whiche the [*Emperour wold do*] and answer in that behalf, wherof rehersall and recitall must be made in the said decretales, therfore thexpedicion of them of necessite must be differred, till suche tyme as it shalbe sene, what answer thEmperour woll make, and what waye He woll take in sending, or not sending, of the said Brife to England, Rome, or neither of them bothe. After the whiche the Kinges Oratours must order thexpedicion of those decretales, opteynyng suche of them as upon thEmperours answer they shall perceyve to stonde and to be to the purpose, so alwaies that the decretale passed in any of the said caces, for reprobacion of the Brife, they joyntly impetratre therwith suche an other decretale in due forme for proceeding to the decision of the rest of the causes aforesaid, nothing therin altered or chaunged, but in suche thinges as nedes must be for the difference of the thing in sending the Brife to the Pope, and not into Englande, or to non of them bothe. And to thentent that obteignyng the said first decretale and that into Englande, as afore, and differring thexpedicion of any of thother till thEmperours answer sent oute of Spayn, the Kinges Highnes may be in the better surete to have suche other of the said 2 last [decretales] as shalbe requisite upon the same answer receyved, the Kinges said Oratours shall do asmoche as they conveniently may, to opteyn of the Pope a promyse, in writing, for graunting of suche of thother 2 said decretales, as shall serve to the purpose upon thEmperours said answer, and also of the decretale for proceeding to the final decision of the residue of the cause, after the Brife reproved.

Nevertheles, if, after most instante pursute and persuasion made to the Popes Holynes for impetracion of the said commissions decretales, upon the grete and urgent causes in thise instruccions bifore rehersed, whiche also be moche more amply extended in a treatye of Latyn therof made, and to the said M<sup>r</sup> Knight and M<sup>r</sup> Bennet delyvered, to be shewed and red at convenient tyme unto the Popes Holynes, they shall fynally fynde no maner of hope to

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attayn the said commissions decretale, but that the Pope shall utterly and extremely refuse to condescende therunto, or passe the same, any introduccion of respectes, consideracions, suspicions, or other thing that ought to induce Hym therunto, notwithstanding, then being in extreme dispaire [*thereof, and*] seing no possible remedy to have thair purpose therin, they shall delyver unto His Holynes thother letters of the said Legates, wherin overtury is made for advocation of the cause, and of a cirographe or writing to be by His Holynes bifore hande made, to give sentence in the Kinges favor; of whiche advocation examples and presidentes have ben seen of late daies, specially in the King of Hungaries mater, as in the Courte of Rome is no doubt but it is well known. Whiche yf His Holynes be contented to do, informyng his oune conscience upon suche grete consideracions as be brefely touched in a summarye therof made, the copy wherof is delyvered to the said M<sup>r</sup> Knight and M<sup>r</sup> Bennet, to be at this poynt and thentre of this overtury delyvered unto His Holynes, ther shall not lak wayes and meanes, upon knowlaje of his determinacion therin, to bring good colour and cause for His Holynes so to do; as, upon the ground that may be taken, that thEmperour woll not sende the Brife into Englande, yf He refuse the same; or upon suche excepcion as the Quene may make at the juges and otherwise, [*so in*] that cace, if the Popes Holynes shall rather chose to advocate the cause into his oune handes, with entent and determinacion, upon the respectes and consideracions bifore specified, to reprove and adnulle the Brife, than to give commission decretale for the doing therof in Englande; than, to thintent the Kinges Highnes may assuredly perceyve the Popes determinacion therin, and that His Holynes dothe, as a good and vertuous hed and holly fader, well and profoundly take conceyve and understande the manifest and apparent presumpcions aforesaid, with the pregnant reasons arguyng the Brife to be fals, sens hys Holynes hath shewed Hym self so propence and redy to do unto the Kinges Highnes gratuite and pleasure, and that hanging in suspence and doubte of the Popes determinacion herin, or howe His Holynes wold procede after the cause ones reduced unto hys handes, whiche doubte might be a grete inquietacion to the Kinges mynde, putting His Grace for that season in mervelous perplexite, wherof might arise da[*unger*] of his healthe and most Roiall Person, and consequently most high and perilous inconvenientes to his succession and Realme; the Kinges said Oratours shall therfore, in overtury of that mater, so order them self, that speking of advocation of the cause, they first make mencion of a secrete cirographe and promise in writing sufficiently to be made and touched, that His Holynes, commyng to suche advocation, shall give sentence in the Kinges favour, and for the Kinges purpose, within three monethes

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at the fardest, after the cause so reduced unto his handes: of whiche promise a note and mynute is divised, and to the said M<sup>r</sup> Knight and M<sup>r</sup> Bennet delyvered, whiche in the same forme, or at the lest as available, or more, they shall obteyn, to be writen and subscribed with the Popes ounē hand, bifore any acte be by His Holynes done or writing passed for suche advocation. And the same they shall sende surely and substancially to the Kinges Highnes, either joynlyt with suche processe as shalbe sent hither for the said advocation, or afore the same, specially and surely forseeing the perfitt obteignyng therof as the thing, wherupon the hole surete of the Kinges cause, in cace [*of such advo*]acion, must rest and depende; so alwaies that in this poynt 2 thinges be specially to be considred. On is, that they comme not to any mencion of suche advocation, till suche tyme as they shall fynde thair desire, touching the said commissions decretale, so utterly refused and desperate, that therin they may in no wise prevaile. Thother is, that moving the Pope to advocate the cause to his oun handes, they above all other thinges regarde the obteynyng of his promise in writing, as afore, and to see it cowched and passed in perfitt forme, and to be sent hider, after the maner and order as is aforesaid; lest that, the cause ones reduced to the Popes handes, His Holynes might protract the same, keping the mater in long suspence for traynyng the Kinges Highnes to all his willes and pleasures, and yet His Grace percease in the ende to be frustrate of his intended desire.

And so exerymenting with most effect and diligence what they shall can do, or conduce to the said 2 purposes, that is to saye, fyrst for the commissions decretales, and that f[ailing] for advocation of the cause, yf after reasons and introduccions, that, folowing the tenour of thise instruccions, or any other good thing that they can inferre of thair ounē divice, they shall fynally see that they can in nowise profite in neither of them bothe, though it is not to be doubted but they so woll so effectuellly endevour them selfes, as stonding and persisting in requisicion of the first, they woll not lightly, ne without extreme cause of desperacion of the first, recurre to the 2<sup>de</sup>, ne also the first failling and insisting upon the 2<sup>de</sup>, they woll not leave that, aslong as they shall see any possible or like waye to attayne thair purpose therin, without overmoche retarding and protracting thair solicitacions and pursutes into length; yet, rather than they shulde retourne with voyde handes, and be seen or noted nothing to have done or profited in thair solicitacions, and to attayn some thing that may be, in lak and defaulte of all other, a remedy and releve to the gret [and ur]gent necessite of this affaire, whiche so [*highly touc*]heth the Kinges Highnes, his conscience, [*the succ*]ession, the surety of his Person, as nothing [*may or can*] be excogitate that nerer dothe penetrate [*his heart*],

than

than to estableishe the same to some good and assured purpose; they shall, all the rest failling and not possible to be had, set forthe the device<sup>1</sup> mencioned in the former instruccions geven to Sir Fraunces Brian and M<sup>r</sup> Peter Vannes, touching a despensacion sufficient to be opteyned, that the King may convolare ad secundas nupcias, yf the Quene may be induced or shalbe disposed to entre laxe religion or vowe of chastite: wherin they must order them selfes, as by the inquiry, that to thair colleges gone bifore them, and to them by thair circumspeccions, shall appere, may be founde to be or not be in the Popes power, auctorite, and arbitre; so as if they shalbe duely informed that the Popes Holynes, ex plenitudine potestatis, and with the uttermost extension of his auctorite, may in that eace dispence, they then, the resydue failling, cease not oportune and importune, though alwaies with dexter[i]tie and circ]umspencion, to obteign suche a commiss[i]on [ ] as the tenour and device therof is to the [said M<sup>r</sup>] William Knight and M<sup>r</sup> Bennet delivered for th[at purpose.]

[Further]more, though the Kinges Highnes nothing doubteth, but that the first of his said desires shalbe, by the Popes Holynes, Who most perfity can consider pondre and waye the respectes byfore mencioned and admitted, or if for any notable cause not here appering or thought on, refuse shulde be made therat, the 2<sup>de</sup> shulde take place, without any maner difficulte, or at the lest,

<sup>1</sup> By the instructions of the 1st of December the device here alluded to appears to have been, that "forasmuche as it is like that the Quene shall make merveulous difficultie, and in no wise be conformable to entre religion or take vowe of chastitie, but that to induce Her therunto ther must be waies and meanes of high polycye used, and all thinges possible devised to encorage Her to the same; wherein percease She shall resolve that She in no wise woll condescende so to do, onles than the Kinges Highnes also do the semblable for his parte; the Kinges said Oratours shall therefore in like wise ripe and instructe them selfes, by their secrete lerned counsail in the Courte of Rome, if for so grete a benefite to ensue unto the Kinges succession realme and subjectes, with the quiete of his conscience, His Grace shuld promise so to entre religion or vowe of chastitie for his parte, only therby to conduce the Quene therunto; whether, in that eace, the Popes Holynes may dispence with the Kinges Highnes for the same promise othe or vowe, discharging His Grace clearly of the [same, and] therupon to procede ad 2<sup>da</sup> vota cum legitima , as is aforesaid.

" Furthermore to provide surely to al eventes aswel propter conceptum omnem, as for the daunger that may ensue to the Kinges Person by contynuance of His Grace in the Quenes company, whose body His Grace, for merveilous grete and secrete respectes, is utterly resolved and determined never to use; if it shalbe founde and appere assuredly that the Pope may in no wise dispence with the King to procede ad 2<sup>da</sup> vota, the Quene being alive in religion, but that She being a[live in] religion or without, shall still be reputed as his wife; than shall the King's said Oratours perfity inquire and [learne] whither the Popes Holynes may dispence with upon the great considerations that rest herin to h uxores, and that the children of the 2<sup>d</sup> matry[monye] shalbe aswell legytyme as those of the first, wh[erof] some grete reasons and presidentes, specially of the Olde Testament, appere."

bothe

bothe those refused, as it is not to be thought, yet standing that the Pope may passe the thrid, ther is no maner reason that can admyt the denyall therof; yet to the more cautele, and to shewe that nothing shalbe pretermitted on the Kinges behalf whiche mans wyt can excogitate or divise, for lak of oone thing to divise an other, to the surete of the Kinges succession and remedying of the inconvenientes that of the doubtes of the Kinges mariage may insurge; the Kinges said Oratours, being first duely informed by inquiry made bifore and otherwise, [howe] farre the Popes power and auctorite maye [extende;] and fyndyng the same to be faisib[le for setting] forthe the overtur mencioned in the said [instruc]cions de duabus uxoribus; and bicause [they deal with] mater right rare, newe and strange, somoche the more the Kinges said Oratours owe to see substancially to the fundament and ground, whiche is to be taken, to comme unto suche requisicion and desire; wherin they shall fynde ample and sufficient mater in the preamble of a decretale divised for that purpose, and to the said M<sup>r</sup> William Knight and M<sup>r</sup> Bennet delyvered, declaring largely and amply the reasons and consideracions, upon examples and doctrines aswel of the Olde as Newe Testament, howe and upon what grounde the Popes Holynes may, shulde, and oweth of congruence procede, to the graunting and passing of the said decretale; being so ordred and divised, as not only all sklaunder, syn, scrupul of conscience, with infinite other inconvenientes, shulde therby be removed, but also the Kinges succession more fermely provided fore, all parties satisfyed and pleased, ry committed, ne any person offended, and y many good consequences shulde therof ensue, es and successes of the goodnes shuld severall ynquishe and highly overpassee the rarenes.

In all the said conferences, and other thair divices with the Popes Holynes, they shall specially note, whither they shall perceyve Hym earnestly bent or inclined to do unto the Kinges Highnes in the premisses gratauite and pleasure, or not; for if He be so mynded, it is not to be doubted, but that eyther His Holynes shall fynde, in every of the said poyntes, mater large ynogh to move Hym to inclyne and herkyn therunto, orells, if any other exception coude be by His Holynes made to the same, than can be here excogitate, suche as the Kinges said Oratours by thair wisedomes and descrecions coude not avoyde the same, His Holynes, mynding effectuelly to do unto the Kinges Highnes herin some notable and excellent kindnes, wolde not fayle, thise thinges not accepted or liked, to set forthe open and mocion some other expedient of [his] oun mynde and invencion; whiche if He do, the [Kinges said Or]atours shall herkyn to the same so alwaie[s] H]olynes at the first or sone after t[ th]air practises,

practises, shal set forthe some  
t d and convenient, as any of  
mencioned, after suche order forme and maner as is bifore specified. But,  
if finally they can not prevale in any of the maters by them proposed, than  
may they, all other thinges ones totally desperate, the more herkyn unto the  
Popes divices; or, yf the same his divices shalbe better than some of the  
thinges to be by them proponed, they may by thair wisedomes give ere to  
the same, as farr as they shall perceyve them to be more commodious con-  
venient and to the purpose, than the thing that they shall sett forthe;  
wherin they shall by thair wisedomes so handle them selfes, as they may by  
little and litle growe and comme to famylier conference with His Holynes,  
and to fashion them selfes as by waye of a newe and confident famyliairite,  
and as though [they] durst put into the handes of His Holynes the  
[con]servacion of the Kinges state, shewing dem]onstracion  
of a speciall and tyme convenient; whiche they

to chose elect and take, they as of  
them selfes speke open and declare the botom of thair hert, by some suche  
maner as the same may seme to be as frankly herkynned unto and accepted,  
as uttered and spoken; whiche shalbe to say plainly unto His Holynes, that  
this the Kinges desire and intent convolare ad secundas nupcias non patitur  
negativum, for they shall say surely the respectes be suche; and whatsoever  
shalbe founde of bull brie or otherwise, the Kinges Highnes fyndeth his  
conscience so inquieted, his succession in suche danger, and his most roiall  
person in suche perplexite, for thinges unknown and not to be spokyn, that  
other remedy ther is not but His Grace to comme, by oone way or other,  
and specially at his handes if it may be, to the desired ende; and that all  
the concertacion to the contrary shalbe thing vayn and frustratory. Whiche  
wordes, fashioned with a famyliaryte, and somwhat with ernestnes and gravite,  
[woll] not fayle of likelihode to cause the Popes Ho[lynes to keep his]  
opynyon depended in suspence, upon some expedient

the Kinges overtures as beneficiale  
and ; wherin the dexterite of the Kinges said

Oratours shall highly prevaile: not doubting but they woll therfore use  
them selfes accordingly, having alwaies speciaill regarde that, whatsoever  
they shal opteyn of the Popes Holynes in the premisses, the same be suche  
as they may well and assuredly knowe to be in the Popes power and auctorite  
to do, without any exception to be made therunto hereafter, and also suche  
as shalbe ample sufficient and available, to comme unto the Kinges entent  
and desire, for the honour of His Grace, and surete of his mater and suc-  
cession,

cession, and suche as they of the Court woll, in al eventes, take upon them to maynteyn.

And as touching the maters of peax, forasmuche as the Frenche Kinges mynde is not here yet known, ther can not better instruccyon be gevyn to them, than they shall collecte and gadre of the former instruccyons geven to Sir Fraunces Brian and M<sup>r</sup> Peter Vannes, bothe for Fraunce and Rome, w[herof] copies be delyvered to the said M<sup>r</sup> Knight and M<sup>r</sup> [Bennet]; added therunto suche knowlaige a[s on the perusal] therof at thair being with the

daungerous it shalbe for of the Kinges

opynyon by the the Frenche Kinges mynde by his

se to do any thing, onles that they shalbe either advertised from the Kinges Highnes, after the answer receyved from the Frenche Kinge, orelles that they shall fynde the Kinges opynyon and the Frenche Kinges mynde concurrant bothe in oone: but for a preparatyve in that mater they shall, upon knowlaige had from Rome in what trayn the affaires of peax be ther, set it forthe the best they can, to suche purpose as they may perceyve, by the said instruccions, the Kinges mynde dothe entende; Who desireth nothing more than the conclusion of peax, bothe particular bitwen His Grace thEmperour and the Frenche King, and also generall and universall for all Christendom. For as to the particular peax mocioned by thEmperour to be first passed bytwen the Kinges Highnes and Hym, to thintent His Grace may than be a mediatour bitwen thEmperour and the Frenche King, that mater is not to be treated at Rome, but, the Frenche King being so contented, shalbe done here, yf thEmperor woll her[ken to] suche peax; like as in the said instruccions is also [mentioned]. Ho]webeit, yf at Rome in communicacion

commencement a ce warr or truce

g taken for a yere or  
by his indiccion, as was done in the tyme of Pope Leo, to the entent that in the mean tyme the peax may the more commodiously and amicably be treated and commoned of, it were the veray right and high waye, and shulde moche conferre to the Kinges purpose. Nevertheles the Kinges said Oratours shall take with them suche overtures, as have ben proponed by M<sup>r</sup> Silvester in Spayn, and by the Frenche King consented, and suche other as by the King and the Frenche Kyng be agreed to be proponed; to thintent, that if in communication of those maters they shall fynde any of the same conducible at Rome, whiche thEmperour wolde not accept at thandes of the said M<sup>r</sup> Silvester in Spayn, they may proceede to the conclusion therof, as in the said former instruccions is mencioned; so ordering them selfes alwaies in thise maters of peax, as ther may be a perfict and sincere concurrence therin bitwen them and the Frenche

Kinges Oratours, and thone to do by avice and consent of thother, after as it may [alw]aies appere, that thise twoo Princes do thair conformite and conviccion of deliberacions y cause or occasion of suspicion on thair behalf, like as it is not

Frenche Oratours woll also sembly [accor]dingly. For whiche purpose they shal take with them 2 com[missio]ns, oon for the generall peax, and an other for the particler peax bitwen the King thEmperour and the Frenche King.

Thus being the said Oratours, not only by writing, but moche amply by personall conference, riped and instructed in the specialties of the Kinges pleasure mynde and desire, ther resteth no more, but to commyt thise thinges to thair accustumed diligence, assured fidelite, and approved wisedom, so to handle, solicite, further, set forthe, and avaunce the same; and that every thing in his degree, begynning at the oone with constant persisting therin as long as nede shall require, and so from oone to thother, after the forme biforespecyfyed, as they knowe the greate and highe importance of this mater dothe require, not sparing to give often and diligent advertisementes, by post and in cifres, of the successes from tyme to tyme, to thentent the Kinges Hi[ghnes, so adver-tised] from thens of the appearance of th[inges] may so] order his doinges, a[s shall appertayne.]

### CCXXVII. CARDINAL SALVIATI TO KING HENRY VIII.

SERENISSIME ac Potentissime Princeps. Post humillimam commendationem et manuum oscula &c. Si quis est, Rex Invictissime, et nostræ fidei acerrime Defensor, qui inter Christianos ex recuperata Pontificis Maximi libertate voluptatis plurimum sit capturus, in ijs profecto augustissima Tua Majestas non modo nomen profiteri suum, sed primas etiam sibi partes merito vindicare poterit. Nam si alieno hæc parta labore omnibus certe Christi cultoribus grata jucundaque esse, censendum est, quanto Majestati Tuæ gratiora jucundioraque fore existimandum? quæ non alicujus opera, sed proprio studio privatisque impensis tam gloriosum facinus agressa, non solum honestissimi sanctissimique voti compos evaserit, verum etiam suavissimo perpetuitatis fructu sit aliquando dubio procul jucundissime fruitura. Evidem cum memoria animoque repeto, quantis ex calamitatibus, quantis ex miserijs, quanto denique ex servitutis jugo, fœlicissimis Tua Majestatis auspicijs Pontifex Maximus nosque omnes, qui ex ejus incolumitate saluteve dependimus, simus crepti, videor plane mihi

mihi et renatus, et aliquam jam posse post tot tenebras sperare lucem. Quis enim tanto Rege duce atque defensore non omnia facile sibi ex sententia successura crediderit? Verum non est hic laudationis locus, cum id neque mihi ab initio instituisse, et majorum vigiliarum sit opus. Reliquum nunc est, ut Majestatem Tuam per se ipsam currentem ad optimos sapientissimosque medicos imitandos adhorter, qui quamvis convalentes aegrotos cognorint, corum tamen curam non nisi satis confirmatis satisque resumptis viribus remittunt; idque facio, non quod me hercule verear, ne non Majestas Tua vel longe omnium opinionem sit superatura, sed ut in re haud admodum dissimili Vos, maximos reges potentissimosque duces, immiter, qui quanquam inflammatos milites et per se ipsos prælium appetentes cernatis, eos tamen ad capessenda arma et alacriter fortiterque pugnandum brevi oratione propositis præmijs adhortamini. Sic ego Majestatem Tuam, per Se ad Christianam rempublicam tuendam inflamatam, proposito immortalitatis præmio adhortabor, ac plura in hanc sententiam scribere, nisi Latinus<sup>1</sup> honestissimus vir istuc cum reverendissimorum Cardinalium, qui Parmæ sunt, literis et mandatis nullam aliam ob rem fere properaret, cui Majestatem Tuam si fidem quam plurimam (ut spero) habuisse intellexero, adjiciam id quoque innumerabilibus ejus erga nos omnes beneficijs. Valeat Augustissima Majestas Tua, Christianamque rempublicam, et me, ejus humillimum devotissimumque servitorem, habeat commendatissimos. Parisijs, 28 Decembris, 1528.

Excellentissimæ Majestatis Tuæ,  
(Signatur)      Humilis svulus Jo: CAR<sup>LIS</sup> Æ SALVIATIS Leg<sup>2</sup>.

*(Superscribitur)*

Serenissimo Regi Angliæ, Fidei Defensori.

### CCXXVIII. KNIGHTE and BENET to KING HENRY VIII.

Yr may please Your Highnes to understand, that albeit yt myght peraventur seme to sum parsones, that we procede negligently in oure voyage, nevrthelesse we doubt not but, when Your Highnes hathe sene those twoo letters, that we have sent at this tyme unto the Lorde Legat<sup>2</sup> your Chauncelour,

Your

<sup>1</sup> Juvenall, uncle of Sir Gregory da Casale.

<sup>2</sup> One letter from them to Wolsey, dated at Paris on the 8th of January, is in Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 13, which is clearly that referred to in the latter part of the letter in the text. In a letter of Wolsey

Your Highnes will alow and accept in good parte our easy procedyng; for, otherwise doyng, we sholde neyther have observed Your Highnes commaundment expressed and lymyted in our instruccions, or done that thyng that myght stond with Your Highnes honor and contentacion of your mynde. And suyrly there ys no thing erthli, as God knoweth, that myght perce our stomaches more cruelly, then that, aftyr we were furnyshed sufficiently, as we and other thought, with reasonable matier, that, beyng weale taken and accepted, had bene a good meane to enduce peaxe in Cristyndome, and moreovyr to have conduced your highe matier to a quyet good and desired ende, then that, beyng in our voyage, we shuld fynde untowardnes, frist in the Frensh King in no wise agreeable tacept any trews, and sone after to mete with twayne sent from Rome, thoon from the Pope, thother from Mons<sup>r</sup> Gregori, unto Your Highnes<sup>1</sup>, of whome we lerned suche of the Popes untowardnes, that if it be trew that Vincent de Casalis hath shewed unto us, whose saiyng we have writen at lenght at this tyme unto my Lorde Legat, our goyng to Rome sholde be frustrat and in vayne. Yt may please Your Highnes therefor to see the letters, that we have sent, and to commune aparte with Vincent de Casalis, which semyth to be a yong man of a gentle nature and apte to shew the trewthe; and enquyryng of hym upon the contentes of our letter, not, and it be your pleasure, as communicacion discovred by us, but of Your Graces owen mynde, and shall Your Highnes know meny thinges. Syr, yf there be any thing to be set furthe in any place of Cristindome, that may be to the pleasure and contentacion of Your Highnes mynde, yt mai please Yow to commaund eyther or both of us, and we shall do hit as diligently and faithfully as hert can thynk. The Holigoste sende Your Highnes that, that your noble hert desireth. At Parrhis, this 8<sup>th</sup> day of Janyvere.

Your most humble subiectes and servauntes,

(Signed) W. KNIGHTE.

W. BENET.

*(Superscribed)*

To the Kinges moste noble Grace.

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Wolsey of the 16th of January (*ibid.* leaf 20) he alludes to another from them of the 6th of January, detailing their interview with Francis and his mother. By a PS. to this letter they are directed to stay at Lyons, till joined by Gardyner.

<sup>1</sup> In Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. II. leaf 84, is a letter from Gregory da Casale to Wolsey, dated on the 16th of December, stating that, as many things of the greatest moment had passed at Rome, which could be better explained by words than by letter, he had therefore sent over his cousin Vincent Casale, who would relate all that had taken place.

CCXXIX. BRYAN AND VANNES TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

P<sub>L</sub>ESYTH yt Your Grace to understand. Syns my last letter sent to Your Grace datyd at Chambery<sup>2</sup>, to wryte unto you of all our passagys and our enter-taynyng yt shuld be very long for Your Grace to rede; and for that I have sent a letter unto Master Controller, to Master Norrys, and to all my masters and felawys of Your Gracys Chamber concernyng the same.

Sir, at our cummyng to Bolloyne le Grace, whych was on Twelffe Evyn at 4 of the cloke at after none, ther mett us owt of the towne a lytyll way, Martyn, Secretary to the Governor Gamber, and a nephew of the sayd Gamber, and so brought us up to the Governer howse, wher he was in hys chamber, well accompanyd with gentyllmen of the towne. He bad us hartyly welcum, and shewyd us very good vysage, hartyly askyng how Your Grace dyd, and glad he was to here of your prosperusse helthe. And aftyr a lytyll communycyon, he toke me a part, and askyd me how your matters went. And I sayd I trustyd they s[hou]ld do the better for hym, but as yet they were not well at a point. And with that he steppyd bake, and blesyd hym, and sware to [me], on hys faythe, he went yt had ben don.

Sir, I saw hym so rype in all your causys, that made me sumwhat the boldar to common with hym. I sayd to hym that Your Grace had not so myche trust in no man alyve, in thys contrye, as Ye have in hym, and that Your Grace knew well that ther was, nor ys, no man abought the Pope, that may do so mych with hys Holynesse as he myght.

To the whych he ansheryd and sware many grett othes, that and yf were in my Lord Legates place, he wold have gevyn jugement on your syde long or thys tyme; and also he sayd, he marvaylys, why that my sayd Lordes Legattes dyd not geve jugement with Your Grace, for he sware to me that he knew well that they had commyssyon of the Pope to juge your cause; and farthar he sayd, that whatsoeuer they dyd juge for Your Grace, that he was sure the Pope wold afferme yt.

To that we askyd hym yf they shuld geve jugement apon the Popys wordys, and after He to denye hyt, or elles that the Pope myght dye, or paradventure be put downe by chaunce, that Your Grace shuld be in more truble then ever ye were tofore, and also grettly to your dyshonour, to be

<sup>1</sup> This letter is injured by damp.

<sup>2</sup> Vitellius, B. X. leaf 186, is a letter, jointly from Bryan and Vannes, to Wolsey, dated the 28th of December, from Chambery. That to the King is not to be found.

causyd to enter into so hye a matter wenyng to be at an ende, and, by craft, to fayle.

To the whych he answeryd, askyng us, whether we wold be contentyd that the Pope shuld be bondon Hym self, by a byll oblygatory of hys owne hande, to Your Grace, to afferme all that the sayd Lordys Legattes shuld juge on your partie, and yf that myght content us, he sayd he was sure that the Pope wold do hyt, and also that the Pope wold sende commaundement unto my sayd Lordes Legatys lykwyse to geve jugement, and he wold performe the same.

To the whych we answeryd, that yf we thought that suffycyent to bryng Your Graces matter to [an] ende, we sayd we thought the Pope dyd lyke a good father to Your Grace. We desyryd hym to putto hys hande in furtheryng your cau[ses;] to the whiche he say[ed he wolde he] war Pope but for 10 days for [you]r sake; and sware many grett othys that he wold dyspache your cause ryght shortly for 2 resonys. The fyrst, he sayd, that the Pope myght do hyt. The 2<sup>d</sup> was, that he sayd he knew the gyse of Ingland as well as few men dyd, whych was, that yf Your Grace shuld dye without ayrys male, he sayd he was sure yt wold cost 2 hundryth thowsand mennys lyvys. Wherfore he sayd, supposyng Your Grace shuld have no more chyldryn by the Quene, and that by takyng of a nother wyf Your Grace myght have ayrys male, he thought that the bryngyng to passe your matter, and by that to avoyde the myschyffe afore wryttyn, he thought he shuld deserve Hevyn.

Sir, on Your Gracys behalfe we thankyd hym, promysyng hym large offers, so that your matter myght take effecte. He answeryd me that he wolde do for gyftes, nothyng, but for Your Gracys love and for the honour ye dyd hym in Yngland, he wold do for You the best he colde.

Sir, whether he knowys of any bref or no, we cannott tell; for he speake never a worde to us of yt, nor we durst not speke to hym of hyt, tylle suche tyme as we have spokyn with Master Gregory.

But in conclusyon, he sayd that the Pope wolde not, as he thought, agre to graunt any of the decretalles. I insure Your Grace he speake to us of them, or we speake any worde to hym of theym. Hys reson was, bycaus that the Cardynall Saynt Quaterer, and the Cardynall of Monte, Symonett, with another, be well lernyd, and they tell the Pope He may not do hyt; the which causys the Pope to styke at hyt, asfar as we can lerne hetherto: but at our cummyng to Rome we trust, that yf fayre wordes, large offers of mony, or pencyon, or byshyprykkes, or yf all thys wyll not serve, with sum bold wordys, we shall wynne thes men. We allegyd to the sayd Gamber that, yf the Pope be Pope, and that He thynkes hys powre be asmyche as other Popys has bene,

bene, we sayd we knewe well He myght do hyt, for seyng Pope Alexander dyd graunt to as grett a thyng, as thys ys, to the [King] of Hungery<sup>2</sup> y[n a m]atter of devorse, wh[an all the Cardynalles wer] agaynst hyt, notwithstandingyng yet He grauntyd to hyt; hose m[atter], we sayd, war not to be comparyd, the Kyng of Hungerys to Pope Alexander, as Your Graces bene to thys Pope and to the Churche. To the whych he awnsweryd us yt was for other matters we had, but this was the effect of all. And as concernyng the rest, and of a lytoll commynycacyon concernyng pesse, Your Grace shall perseve by a letter that we have sent to my Lord Cardinall.<sup>3</sup> Sir, as on Thuysday with the grace of God we trust to be at Rome, where assone as we have spokyn with the Pope, and have awnswere of Hym, Your Grace shalbe advertysyd with dylygence. I pray God my fortune may be so good to [come] with the tythynges. Sir, I wold have wryttyn to my mystres that shalbe<sup>4</sup>, but I wyllnot wryte unto hyr, tyll I may wryte that shall plese hyr most in this worlde. I pray God to send Your Grace and hyr long lyff and mery, or elles me a shorte ende. From Florence, thys 9 day of January.

(Signed)      Your most humble suggestes and sarvantes,  
FRANSSYS BRYAN.

Vix Sacratiss<sup>e</sup> M<sup>tis</sup>  
humill<sup>s</sup> et indigniss<sup>s</sup> S<sup>hus</sup>,  
PETRUS VANNES.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

### CCXXX. KING HENRY VIII. to GARDYNER, &c.

HENRICUS Octavus, Dei gratia, Anglie et Francie Rex, Fidei Defensor, et Dominus Hibernie. Universis et singulis, ad quorum noticias presentes litere nostre pervenerint, Salutem. Quod reipublike Christiane plusquam necessarium bonorum omnium votis indies expectatur, nimirum ut bello sedato atque extincto pacis et concordie amenitas reducatur, animum cogitationemque nostram sic urget atque sollicitat, ut, juxta divinam admonitionem, pacem et inquirentes et persequentes studijs consilijsque nostris, in eam unam amplexandam fovendam et retinendam incumbamus. Cum vero multis hactenus

<sup>1</sup> Pope Alexander VI. See Burnet, Vol. I. p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Vladislaus II.

<sup>3</sup> On the 9th of January (Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 15), stated in the Cottonian Catalogue to be on the 8th. It is in Latin, and much damaged by fire.

<sup>4</sup> Anne Boleyn.

modis tentatis nihil successerit, atque attentiore cogitacione meditantes quanam alia via esset insistendum, illud in primis expedire arbitremur, ut qua in re publicum Christianorum bonum versetur, in ea procuranda communis pastoris partes precipue forent; unus autem sit, qui, dissidentibus inter se principibus Christianis, uniuscujusque causam ex bono et equo moderari, ac pro paterna pietate arbitrari, breviter mediatoris officio functus, ipsam decidere atque componere et possit et debeat. Denique iste conciliande et componende pacis modus unum illud impedimentum habere videatur, ne vagantibus atque grassantibus in Italia militibus Sanctissimus Dominus noster, calamitatis preterite recordacione, tum presentis periculi metu, deterreatur, quominus quod facere debeat audeat, aut quod velit et debeat libero animi arbitrio exequi possit. Necessarium utique judicavimus una cum charissimo fratre et consanguineo nostro, Francisco, Francorum Rege Christianissimo, perpetuo confederato nostro, apud eundem Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum de certa persone sue libertate procuranda, eademque vel militum presidio vel loci mutacione confirmanda, nostrisque opibus et auctoritatibus defendenda, agere, pactis denique interpositis super singulis cum eodem concordare. Itaque Nos de fide probitate industria et circumspectione dilectorum et fidelium Consiliariorum nostrorum Magistri Stephani Gardyner<sup>1</sup> utriusque juris Doctoris, de Tawnton et Wigornia Archidiaconi, Francisci Bryan, et Gregorij de Cassalis, militum, et Magistri Petri Vannes, Secretarij nostri ad Latina, plurimum confidentes, ipsos nostros veros certos et legitimos nostros Oratores Ambassiatores Commissarios Procuratores et Nuncios facimus constituimus et ordinamus per presentes: Dantes et concedentes eisdem procuratoribus nostris conjunctim et divisim potestatem generalem et mandatum speciale, ita quod generalitas specialitati non deroget, nec econtra una cum Oratoribus prefati Christianissimi fratris, consanguinei et perpetui confederati nostri, Francisci, Francorum Regis Christianissimi, cum prefato Sanctissimo Domino nostro Clemente ejus nominis Papa Septimo, de et super numero militum, capitaneorum etiam, et ductorum, pro custodia et tuicione persone sue conducendorum, quantitate stipendiorum, soluzione eorum, neconon modo forma ordine ceterisque circumstancijs, communicandi et tractandi, ac super eisdem et contribucione summarum pecuniarum per Nos illis temporibus que convenire videbunt solvenda, quantitate dictae contribucionis pro illorum arbitrio limitanda, et quam diu eadem contribucio durabit convenienti paciscendi promittendi et concludendi, Nosque et successores nostros ad conventorum observacionem, ac summarum pecuniarum solvendarum prestacionem,

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<sup>1</sup> The King on the 20th wrote a letter to James Salviati, recommending Gardyner to his good services, but not naming the other Orators.

sub quibuscunque modis et formis, astringendi et obligandi. Denique alia pacta et convenciones quascunque cum eodem Sanctissimo Domino nostro, casu quo locum mutare et pro temporum iniquitate alio concedere et migrare maluerit, aut putaverit expedire, de et super honore dignitate prerogativa et preeminencia Sedis Apostolice conservandis, alijsque eidem ad congruam persone sue sustentacionem subministrandis interponendi, atque cum eodem ejusve procuratoribus, prout eisdem nostris Oratoribus convenire videbitur, de et super singulis predictis et alijs ipsa concernentibus pro suo arbitrio paciscendi conveniendi promittendi et concludendi, Nosque regna terras patrias et dominia ad convertorum observacionem validioribus modis et formis astringendi et obligandi, et super hujusmodi conventis concordatis et conclusis literas validas et efficaces pro parte nostra tradendi, aliasque consimilis effectus et vigoris petendi et exigendi, plenamque preterea potestatem juramentum in animam nostram prestandi, quod tenebimus et adimplebimus realiter et cum effectu omnia et singula que in predictis et circa ea nomine nostro concordabunt convenient jurabunt firmabunt et concludent, ac illa ratificabimus, et nullo unquam tempore revocabimus, nec contra ea vel eorum aliquod faciemus, vel quovis pacto veniemus; simileque juratum a dicto Sanctissimo prestari videndi petendi et exegendi, ac generaliter omnia et singula nomine nostro faciendi gereendi exercendi et firmandi, cujuscunque nature et importancie fuerint aut esse poterint, in predictis et circa ea necessaria et oportuna, et que tanti negotij qualitas cum ejusdem circumstancijs dependentibus et annexis exigit aut requirit, et que Nobis facere liceret si premissis personaliter interessesemus, eciam si expressis longe majora sint, aut talia forent, que de sua natura ad ea perficienda mandatum exigunt, magis speciale quam presentibus sit expressum. Promittentes bona fide et in verbo Regio Nos ratum gratum et firmum habituros totum et quicquid per dictos Oratores Ambassiatores Legatos Commissarios Procuratores Deputatos et Nuncios nostros conjunctim aut divisim actum gestum conventum juratum aut factum fuerit in premissis, et contra ea vel eorum aliqua nullo modo contravenire, immo ipsa manutenere et inviolabiliter observare, ac per literas nostras patentes confirmare. In cuius rei testimonium hijs presentibus, manu nostra signatis, sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Datum apud manerium nostrum de Richmount, decimo octavo die Januarij, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo octavo, Regni vero nostri vicesimo.

(*Signatur*) HENRY R.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a genuine signature of the King, which is seldom found at the foot of any document.

## CCXXXI. BRYAN TO KING HENRY VIII.

SIR, May yt plese Your Grace to understande. Syns my last letters dyrectyd to Your Grace, datyd at Florence the 9 day of January, wher as I logyd that same nyght at a place callyd La Bastard, ther yt was shewyd me that the Pope was very sycke. Not gevyng credence unto hym, passyd forthe to the next yornay, whych was a 6 score myle from Rome, and ther I harde in every mannys mowthe the Pope was very sore sycke and lyke to dye, and yn so myche the brute was so grett, that the ways was full of thevys, and dayngerusse to scape. I, remembryng Your Gracys letters and your mony that I caryid with me, determinyd to leve Master Peter with your letters and your mony in Orvyett, a strong place of the Popys, and I, with Penyson with me, was determinyd to go to Rome, to see how the worlde went ther. Notwithstondyng, when we cam to Orvyett, we hard say the Pope was not ded, so we rode forthe all togethers tyll we cam to Vytarba, wher cold no man well tell whether He wer ded or alyve; and so passyd on, tyll we cam to Ronsylyon, wher we founde the Cardynall Farnese, to whome we delyverd Your Gracys letter with my Lord Cardinalles, whych he rescevyd, to my thynkyng, to hys grett comforthe; and made us to dyne with hym, and after dyner commonyd with us of Your Grace, and of all your matters; whych by hys spekyng my thought was very gretly your frende, and wylbe, in all your causys. Sir, he perceyng the waye betwene hys castell and Rome was very dayngerusse, seyng the brute was the Pope was ded, he offryd us that, yf we wold go to Rome afore hym, he wold send 20<sup>ti</sup> horsmen with us to condyt us, or yf we wold tary and go with hym, he wold see us surely convayd to Rome: so we dyd. A lytta before our cummyng to the towne, Master Gregory sent hys brother with certayne horsys, whych I insure Your Grace cam in tyme, and he hym self mett us with 9 or 10 gentyllmen of hys frendys, and so brought us whome to hys house, wher we be very well logyd. Sir, yf I shuld wryte to You, as I do thynke, how gretly Ye be bonde to Master Gregory, yf a master may be bounde to hys servant, yt shuld be to long for me to wryte, and to tedyus for Your Grace to rede. Sir, I thynke under Your Graces lycence, yt ys marvelusse grett honour for Your Grace to have such a servaunt as he ys, so farr in a straynge contrye, so faythfull, so trew to You, as he ys. Besydys all thys, ther ys nat the best here, but ys glad of hys good wyll. Sir, yf yt wold plese Your Grace in recompence of sum of hys servyce done unto Your Grace, to reward hys brother, that ys Imbassador for

Your

Your Grace at Venesse, with sum abbay, or elles sum other benefyce, yt shulde not only comfort hym and hys the better to serve Your Grace, but shuld also sownde to Your Gracys honour, to rewarde them that sarve You; and speyally he, beyng a stranger, the gyft shalbe more blowyn abrode to Your Gracys honour.

Sir, we have ben here thys 12 days, and as yet cannot speke with the Pope. We had went surely He wold have dyed, and as yet we ar in dowte how He woll doo, but at the makynge of thys letter He was not ded.<sup>1</sup> Yff He had dyed, here had ben a myschevous besynesse, and as yet wylbe yf He dye. Notwithstantyng, as now yf He dye, we trust to have a Pope for us, for Master Gregory hath done so myche in thys matter that on my faythe, yn a hole weke, I could not wryte hyt.

Thys horesun flatering Fryer ys Cardynall of Saynt *and makes* the Pope beleve that the Emperour wyll cum hyther thys somer, and that He shall have Savytte Veche, and Ostya agayne, with mayny fayre wordys: and as for the Cardynalles, that war ostages for Hym, be cum to Rome agayne.

Sir, the Imbabadour of Fraunce told me, that the Emperour makys grett labor to the Pope, by hys Imbabadours, to have a cross, the whych, yf He may attayne to yt, wyll mounte to a hundryth and 50 thowsand ducatys. The said Imbabadour of Fraunce told me, he sayd to Jalkonys de Salvyetto, that yf the Pope wyll graunte to any such thyng, yt shabe thought that, where He shuld go abought to make pece, He sekys to make warr. To the whych the sayd Jalkonys de Salvyet answerd, that the Pope must nedys do plesure to the Emperour, for the recovering of Savyta Veche, and Ostya, and also for the grett famyne that ys here yn thys towne, whych cannot be helpyd but by the Emperour and hys contryes.

Sir, accordyng to my dewtye, and to folow your commaundement, whych was, that I shuld from tyme to tyme wryte unto Your Grace as I harde and saw; I insure Your Grace, for thys present tyme, as farr as I can yett here or see, that thys Pope ys and wylbe good Imperyall; wherfore I wotner whether yt be best to have Hym lyve or dye, for a worse, then thys ys I wene, for all our matters, cannot be founde.

<sup>1</sup> The King, assuming the death of the Pope, signed a Commission (which remains in the State Paper Office) to Gardiner, Bryan, Gregory da Casale, and Vannes to procure the election of Wolsey to the Holy See. A blank is left for the date of the Commission. Their original instructions, likewise undated, are preserved in Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 67, and the purport of them is given by Burnet, Vol. I. p. 64. The causes, which led to the revocation of the commission and instructions, are detailed in Wolsey's letter of the 20th of February, Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 60.

Sir,

Sir, in thys vacant season we have done so mych, that we have sene all the bokes in the regysters towchynge Your Gracys matter, and have the copye of the same, and yn them as yet we cannot fynde no regyster of any suche Bref. We founde the menys to have thos bokys to our loggyng pryvyly. We sende a letter to my Lorde Cardynall<sup>1</sup>, towchynge thys matter more playnly.

Sir, afore we speke with the Pope, whych Master Gregory told me thys day that he thought yt wold be 12 days fyrst, we shall do the best we can yn all Your Gracys causys, and after we have declaryd our charge, bothe that we brought with us, and [*also that*] that Tadeus brought syns our cummyng, under the best sorte we can Your Grace shalbe advertysyd of the answare with dylygence.

Also, Sir, here hath ben myche adoo, syns the Pope hath ben sycke, for the makynge of Cardynalles. The Pope hath made on callyd Synore Ipolyte, Cardynall de Medyssys; and in hys grett syknesse the other Cardynalles of the Imperyalles wold have made Andre Dorya nephew Cardynall.<sup>2</sup> The Cardynall of Mantua<sup>3</sup> heryng that that they wold have made the same Cardynall by craft, cam into the Consystory among them, and sayd yt was never sene that a Cardynall was chosyn in suche a tyme, the Pope beyng sycke, and without the consent of the rest of the Cardynalles; and ther, before them all, suche wrytynges as they had made for hym, he toke and borst them in pecys. Notwithstondyng, syns they have made hym Cardynall, and for the havyng of hys hat he hath payd 12 thowsand crownys, besyde that he ys bownd to bryng to Rome a grett quantyte of whete: wherfore sum call hym the Cardynall of Dorrya, and sum call hym the Cardynall of Whete. Sir, I insure Your Grace Ye have a grett frende of the Cardynall of Mantua; he ys yours, body and sowle. Twyse or thryse a weke he cummys to my loggyng to me, to supper, lyke a good felaw, without any seremony, and lykewyse hath me with hym to hys loggyng. He has the name, oone of them, that lovys best huntyng, and for the most part he ys owt of huntyng and kyllys every day 4 or 5 rowys, and sendys me part to my loggyng.

Sir, the saying ys here that Andre Dorea ys slayne, and that oone Count Fyaske shuld kyll hym. Whether yt be truw or no, as yet I cannot tell.

I sent Your Grace a letter from Parrys, another from Florence, and now

<sup>1</sup> There is in the Museum a letter from Bryan, Casale, and Vannes to Wolsey, dated at Rome on the 28th of January, containing a long report of their proceedings (Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 35), but none has been discovered of the date of the letter in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Ciaconi states Jerome Doria to have been made Cardinal in October 1528, or early in 1529; and places him before Hippolytus Medici, to whose elevation he gives the date of 10th January.

<sup>3</sup> Hercules Gonzaga.

thys the thyrde, and yet I know not whether they be cum to Your Gracys handys or noo.

Sir, in all your causys what we have done in them, Your Grace may see more playnly yn a letter sent to my Lord Cardynall; and, Sir, yt ys here in every mannys mowthe, that Cardynall Campegyus ys, hart body and sowle, good Imperyall, and that men recon, for your purpose, ther could not have ben sent a wors.

Also I insure Your Grace Master Peter hath takyn grett payne yn serchyng the bokys, for your causys, and yn copying out of the same. On my faythe he ys dylygent, and has good wyll to serve Your Grace.

Thys I pray God long to preserve Your Grace, and sende You myche honour and long helth. Wryttyn at Rome, the 6 and twenty day of January.

(Signed) By your most humble suggestt  
and ſvant,

FRANSSYS BRYAN.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Hyghnesse.

## CCXXXII. GHINUCCI and LEE to WOLSEY.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASITH it Your Grace to understande. Curson cam to us this seconde day of Marche at twoo of the clokk after mydnyght. The guyde, which was appointed to conduct the Quenes servaunt, wold not suffer hym to come streight wey to us, but constreyned hym to go to Toledo; and from thens he retourned to us. And, albeit thEmperour sent worde that he shuld comme streight to Toledo, yet at his commyng, after he understande that the said Curson had nothing to say to Hym, remitted hym to us, and with hym a post with his letters to us, the copy wherof herewith we sende<sup>2</sup>. And, forbicause His Majesty writeth that yet He woll tary eight daies longer, that is to say to the 8<sup>th</sup> day of Marche, we can not avoide nowe to entre our journey towardes Toledo. Albeit we can not comme tyme inogh, onles His Majeste proroge the tyme somewhat longer, wherof also we advertise Hym by our letters, whiche we nowe sende afore in post. Yf He do yet tarye any mo daies for us, we have divised than so to entre the first purpose, yet therwith we shall make

<sup>1</sup> From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XVII. leaf 67. It is headed "An extract of my lord of Worcestē and M<sup>r</sup> Almon<sup>r</sup>s l̄ves ij<sup>o</sup> M<sup>cij</sup>," is in the handwriting of T. Derby, the clerk of the signet, and is probably a decypher, the original of which has not been discovered.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

insynuacion that we have to speke with Hym more than ones, and this to thentent that hering nothing but this, and taking the thing not well, He doo not exclude us from other commynicacion with Hym, and peradventure wol not suffre us to folowe; for we thinke necessary to drawe the tyme, untill we may here of the rescriptes. Yf thEmperour departe from Toledo, or ever we can come to thende of our journey, we thinke better for our purpose; for we can judge non other, but that thEmperours so ernest desire to geve us audience in Toledo is oonly to suppose that we shall goo no ferther, if that our first purpose to Hym do not pleas; and so we shulde noder promote farther the mater of the breve, ne also of the trieu. And, as Your Grace knoweth, that mater touching the trieu requireth oportunite and commodite, and so moche the more, yf the other mater be not wel taken: we therfore nowe wol set forthe thiderwarde, to thentent that His Majesty shal see that, according to our writing to Hym at the arrivall of Curson, we wold do our best diligence to comme to Hym. We have therfore alredy geven warnyng to the gentleman, whiche is appointed to accompany us and to provide cariage for us, albeit we sende afore in post our letters by our servautes to His Majestye, declaring that we be commyng. And if His Majesty be departed, afore our commyng, we shall than torne the next waye to comme to Hym, wheresover He be. All other things we shall do with the best dexterite that we can. At Vololite, as afore.

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### CCXXXIII. GARDYNER *to KING HENRY VIII.*

PLEASITH it Your Majestie to understande, that like as we by our commen letters<sup>1</sup> have signified to my Lord Legates Grace, to be declared unto Your Highnes, we cannot as yet have accesse to the Popes presence, ne, by reason of the variete of his sikenes, canne tel whenne to have. The Bishop of Verone shewed us that, in his opinion, he thought we shulde not speke with the Pope this moneth, which delay is moch to our regret, and soomoch the more for that we perceyve not such causes of hope here to atteyne any thing at the Poopes hande, as Your Highnes trusted of at my departure out of Englande.<sup>2</sup> ThEmperialles have in these parties the superior hande, aswel for that it lieth

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<sup>1</sup> These have not been found.

<sup>2</sup> Gardyner expressed himself to the same effect in a short letter to the King of the 15th of February, which announced his arrival at Rome.

in them to stop the accesse of vitayl, and soo famen this countrie, as also that nowe here is in these quartiers noo strenght for the liege, but they may at ther libertie goo whither they wyl; being nowe the Prince of Orenge within these 60 myles, with 12000 men, who hath within two dayes past expugned a citie called Matrice, which oonly on this side the realme remayned for the liege. The Seignour Renzius hath but 4000 men, and is 300 myles hens, keping that presidie in the cities of Barlet and of Trane in Apulia yet in possession of the liege; which, as thAmbassadours of Fraunce and Venise confesse, with whom we have commened, and likewise with other experie in those parties for that purpose, is noo let to thEmperialles, but that they maye goo out of the realme and cumme hither, or to Florence, as they shal thinke good. Which thinges be, in our commen letters to my Lord Legat<sup>1</sup>, writen more at large.

As touching the promyse made by the Pope and delyvered to Master Gregory, wherof the said Master Gregory at my laste departing hens had writen to my Lord Legate, and Your Majeste at my last departing from the same spake unto me, marveling that the said Master Gregory had not sent the same by his kynnesman Vincentius; I understande by the said Master Gregory, that it is, as Your Highnes toke it, that the Pope hath made such a wryting: and bycause it was at Bononye at the depech of the said Master Vincentius, therfor it was not sent, but it is here save, to be sent bifore, or sent by oone of us at our retourne, as shall stonde with Your Highnes pleasure. Praying Almighty God to preserve Your most noble and royal Person. From Rome, the 3<sup>de</sup> daye of Marche.

Your Highnes most humble subget  
servaunt and dayly Oratour,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

(Signed) STEVEN GARDYNER.

#### CCXXXIV. TAYLER to WOLSEY.<sup>2</sup>

PLEAS hit your Grace, the 10<sup>th</sup> day of this present moneth the King departed from Paris to Fonten Blewe, and so intendyd to goo in pilgremage un to Clery. On Tewisday I take my viage toward Orleance. The 13<sup>th</sup> day I receyvid

<sup>1</sup> These have not been found.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XII. leaf 36.

from Lions letters from Hercules, with thes inclosed to your Grace and to M<sup>r</sup> Tuke.

This day thAmbassadoures of Florence receyvid letters dated at Florence the 4<sup>th</sup> day of this present, in the which was conteyned, that the furst day of Marche the Pope was vexid with a fevre, notwithstanding on the second day his Holynes gaffe audience to thEmperour his Ambassadour; and also that the Cesarians had get Madrice, a strong hold in Apulia, and had it by pacte and composition, for thes men sent thider no comfort to them that kept it, and they never do ther thinges in tyme.

The Prince of Orenge maketh hym strong to cum in to Tuscia, wherof the Florentines be in grete fear. Shatillion, one of the Kinges servandes, hath be goyng every day this 20<sup>th</sup> days with money both for Mons<sup>r</sup> Saynt Paull, and for the Florentines, and also for Mons<sup>r</sup> Rens at Naples; and as yet he is not gone. I am right sory they be so shloo, for I fere, if they do not quicklier see to ther affeires, they can not profet, but goo bakward. The Cesarians use grete extremytees in Aquila, and have put to quoynyngh all the juelles of the churches, and with the rich men and gentilmen used grete crudelite to get money; insomucche it is said they have made to the summe of one hundredth thowsand ducates, and therwith the Prince of Orenge maketh hym stronge. Other newis we have none, but I beseke Almighty Jhesu long to preserve your Grace in prosperose liffe and successe of honour, with thaccomplicshment of your hertes desieres. From Paris, in hast, the 15 of March, 1528.

Your most bounden chaplen and dailie beadman,

(*Superscribed*)  
To my Lord Legat his good Grace.

J. T. M<sup>r</sup> of the Rolle.

### CCXXXV. VANNES TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SACRATISSIME ac potentissime Domine Rex, et Domine mi omnium supreme. Post humillimam commendationem. Ea, quæ de rebus publicis hic impresentia occurunt, et que de Sacratissime Majestatis Vestræ privatis negocijs communiter hic a nobis acta sunt, communibus literis<sup>2</sup> Ipsa copiose distineteque cognoscet. Ceterum postquam conjunctim omnes de gravissima illa causa apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum egissemus, statui ego quoque duorum dierum inter-

<sup>1</sup> Holograph; slightly injured by damp.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

jecto spacio ex Regiae Majestatis Vestrae mandato Ejus Sanctitatem seorsum adire, de eademque re quam possem accurate agere. Ubi itaque ad Ipsam admissus essem, quæ adhuc infirmis erat viribus, humillime precatus sum, ne ullam ex meis sermonibus molestiam animo conciperet, existimaretque potius devotione et observantia nulli, suo uteunque intimo servulo, me cedere. Paucis ad hec respondit, fidem nimirum et studium erga Se meum jampridem compertissimum habere. Mox, ubi conatus essem eorum que dicturus eram fidem facere, exposui primo Regiam Majestatem Vestram, ob filialem quandam suam devotionem, et in Sedem Apostolicam observantiam, sue gravissime et omnium maxime necessarie cause spem tanquam omnem in Ipsius Sanctitate reposuisse, tantoque ab invictissima Majestate Vestra spem hanc certiore nunc existimari, quanto magis eam Sanctitas sua propria manu sepe scriptis literis legatis nuncijsque missis confirmasse visa fuit; et quum Majestatem Vestram in tanta expectatione tamdiu enutriverit, necessario nunc cogebatur Sanctissimus ejusdem votis adnuere. Hoc ego in loco dicte Sanctitati enarravi causas, quas certo sciebam Regiam Majestatem Vestram ad hoc conjugium dirimendum justissime movere. Petre, inquit, scias mortalium neminem esse, quem Regia Majestate amemus magis ex corde, et cujus votis propensius satisfacere cupiamus; ad idque impellimur, tum innato nostro affectu, tum summis ab ea acceptis beneficijs, adstricti. Ex eo dixi, Beatissime Pater, testimonio Sanctitas vestra cognoscere potest, quam verus sit serenissimi Domini mei Regis in se amor, quum in ejus gratiam nulos unquam sumptus recusaverit, omnem molestiam omniaque pericula promptissime subierit, eo quidem tempore quum Vestra Majestas ab ipsis Sanctitate gratiam nullam expectaret, putaretque futurum nunquam ut illius opera indigeret. Respondit subito examinationem copie Brevis (nam de eo refellendo Dominus Stefanus primo et vehementissime instandum esse arbitratur) Cardinali Sanctorum Quatuor se commisso, ejusque opinionem et judicium ubi cognovisset pro viribus in omnibus quæ posset se velle Regie Majestati Vestre satisfacere. Dixi ego Regiam Majestatem Vestram de hac re agere apud Ejus Sanctitatem, veluti p indulgentissimum parentem optimumque et cordatissimum judicem, non autem scrupulosum ac tortuosum advocatum, et communibus dirimendis causis jurisconsultum assuetum, meminisseque Sua Sanctitas dignaretur telas istas judiciarias longas et irresolubiles esse, nec unquam defuturos qui veritatem et rectitudinem fuco aliquo obfuscarent, quas dilationes non patiebatur Regie Majestatis Vestre negotium, cui solummodo mora semper oberat; in eoque de Regni summa imprimis agi in eo Regie Majestatis Vestre salutem et honorem perielitari, Sedisque Apostolice authoritatem in excidium certissime trahi, adeo ut impium propemodum, etiam nisi Sua Sanctitas Vestre nunc Majestati

gratificaretur. Dixi etiam causam hanc hujusmodi esse, ut non facile, et ea qua opus est celeritate queat legibus terminari; necessarium idcirco esse Sue Beatitudinis patrocinium expeditumque judicium et a nobis expectatam expeditionem, quum nemo non videat Summi Pontificis autoritatem ac benignitatem omni eventui propiciam esse debere, prout temporum personarum et qualitatum ratio exegerit; affirmavique Majestatem Vestram non filium generalem esse, nec sua merita ita esse communia, ut hec sua causa ordinario illo legum tramite tractanda esset, sed par esse uno eodemque calceo omnium pedes velle vestire. Dignaretur igitur Sua Sanctitas non generalibus amplius responsis insistere, quæ etsi ab alijs possint in communem sensum interpretari, Regia tum Majestas, cuius solius causa agitur, et interesse non nisi in suum commodum et spem firmam eas semper accepit, sed particulari nunc et resoluto optatoque aliquo responso Regie Majestatis Vestre expectationi gratificaretur; quod si bone huic Sue Beatitudinis voluntati aliquis obstaret a Cesare metus, hunc non gravaretur Sua Sanctitas mihi libere aperire, quem sciebam qualencunque a Vesta Regia Majestate una vel alia ratione sublatum iri. Interim dignaretur ob rationes conjunctim et seorsum adductas de hujus Brevis falso exemplari decernere. Respondit Sua Sanctitas, optimum esse ut de originali producendo ageretur, productumque ad veritatem examinaretur. Eum modum ego dixi in longum nimis protractum, responsumque a Cesare in infinitum dilatum iri, nec his, qui primam fraudem in confingendo brevi (si ullum extet) commiserant, artes quoque defuturas, ut fallaciam aliqua verosimilitudine tuerentur. Illud propterea optimum esse ut ex tenore, quem innumere rationes falsitatis arguunt, Breve falsum decernatur, quod Sua Sanctitas, si in sacratissimo suo pectore collegerit, id perspiciet sana se conscientia efficere posse; tuncque ego de libello persuasionum, quibus Breve illud improbatur, mentionem injeci, addidique, si sic Sua Beatitudo viserit, me daturum reverendo Domino Veronensi collectas a Regia Majestate Vesta rationes adversum inventitum Breve eidem Beatitudini ostendendas. Id quidem dupli consilio feci, tum ut juvante Veronensi dicta Sanctitas moveretur facilius, tum etiam ut ex ea occasione Veronensis opera mox uti possemus; is namque publicas omnes principum actiones privatorumque curas ultro ac pertinaciter deposuisse videtur: libentissime hoc Sanctissimus Dominus noster permisit. Rursusque ego Ejus Sanctitatem devotissime admonui, quam periculosum esset principes et potentes, et de se optime meritos, generalibus verbis aut spe vana fovere. Dignaretur ideo quid tandem in Veste Regie Majestatis gratiam vellet efficere, nobis ingenue declarare, mihi prescribere, quid ejus nomine ad Regiam Majestatem Vestram scripturus essem. Dixit, "Nihil adhuc certe respondere " queo, sed omnino in Regie Majestatis gratiam ad aliqua particularia devenire "decrevi,

"decrevi, et quod forsan non licebit toto capite assequi, in eo digitum imponam." Petij ut ea verba paulo apertius referret. Subjunctum id se immuere ut modos omnes experiatur regio vestro voto gratificandi, prompte id omnino facturus, si *honestate* id a se effici posse viderit. Addidi non honestatem defuturam, si prompta Sue Beatitudinis voluntas accesserit. Advocare igitur se velle dixit Cardinalem Sanctorum Quatuor et Simonetam, dicturumque illis, quemadmodum ob multas causas animo suo penitus decreverat in hoc divertij negocio Regie Majestati Vestre satisfacere; aliquem idcirco ipsi modum reperirent, quo id posset honeste facere. Aliudque nihil ab eadem Sanitate elicere potui, et verba quidem sunt sepe prolati, de quibus ut nolo quicquam temere judicare, ita nisi primo subsequatur effectus de eis nullam spem concipio.

Replicavi deinde fieri posse ut Ejus Sanctitas, veluti homo, aliquid speraret vel timeret a Cesare, compertoque habebam Regiam Majestatem Vestram subministrato presidio, tradita pecunia, interposita autoritate, vel adhibito consilio, uberius multo ac sincerius quam Cesar omnia effecturam, que unquam cognovisset Sue Sanctitati grata aut utilia futura. Statim respondit, Deum testem invocans, Se non solum ullo metu non moveri, sed honestam potius occasionem aliquam optare, qua Cesari ostendat nullo se illius timore affici; sed responsum differre se velle dixit, donec Cardinalem Sanctorum Quatuor alloqueretur, qui usque ad vite discrimen laboravit. Injectit postmodum mentionem de registris: dixi me omnia diligentissime perquisisse, nihilque nobis extare in aliquibus reliquijs lustratis, lucidior etiam veritas appareret; de privatis nos registris nihil contendere dixi, nec ea velle perquirere, aut aliena industria forsan perquisitis fidem ullam adhibere, nec ingenio adeo stupido nos esse, quin sciamus in privatis cartulis ac registris fraudes ac dolos plerunque configi solere. Sed in aliud tempus Sua Sanctitas responsum distulit. Volui tamen hos sermones seorsum habitos privatis meis literis potentissime Regie Majestati Vestre referre. Cui perpetuam felicitatem assiduis votis a Deo precor. Rome, die 28 Martij,

1529.

Excellentissime Vestre Potentissime Regie Majestatis  
Humillimus subditus, ac perpetuum mancipium,  
PETRUS VANNES.

(Superscribitur)

Saceratissimæ ac potentissime Regiæ Majestati.

CCXXXVI. LEE TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it Your Highnes. The 5<sup>th</sup> of April I wrote to the same<sup>2</sup> at whatt poynte the thynges werr than, signifieng all our dooinges, and the Emperours answers, that is, that thEmperour cawsed *open protestation to be made in his presence in oon of his chambers, that He wolde doo that He cowlde for conservation of the Qweenes justice, and that He did than protest that it is not convenient that the cause be herde in Englannde, but at Rome, and that this protestations He wold sende both in to Englannde and to Rome: and that we werr offended with certayne things in the proposition of him, that, in the Emperours name, made the protestations; and theropon spake somme what openlie, but more aparte in rownde maner to thEmperour; and that wher we somme whatt stomached at wordes which semed to sownde to manacenge, that thEmperour excused that He ment no soche, but that He must needes be content that justice must procede, and that He wold be gladde to have peace with Your Highnes, and wold send oone to entreat You in this mater, but yet with the same He wold sende protestations; which althowgh we did dissuade, yet we coulde not prevayle; and that we utterlie dissentid to all actes doon ther in the Emperouris presence, and that at the same tyme thEmperour declared Him selfe to be content to have treawse with Your Highness, but not with the Frenche King, but yet He left us not utterlie despayred of the treawse also with Him: and that in the next audience, of his owne mynde, He tolde us that He had commawnded that all thynges shold bee putt owt of the protestation which offendid us, and wold that we shold see it, that we mighte put oughte all, savenge the substance, in the protestacions concerneng the conservation of the Qweenes justice, and that the Emperour was content that we shold see the original Breve withoutt notarie or ceremonie. This with manye ooder thynges extended in our common cyphre at that tyme. Sithen that tyme we have been with the Chawnceler and Mons<sup>r</sup> Pernot by the Emperours appointement, as they sayed, to the entent we shold see the instrument and reforme it; wher we werr twiese, and also twies they sent to us 2 Secretaries for the same, but in conclusion they *wold no thinge put ouhte, but made frivolouse excuses*, as Your Highnes shall see*

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. The body of this letter (with some trifling exceptions) is in cypher. It is quoted by Herbert, pp. 254-8.

<sup>2</sup> Lee's letter to Henry VIII. of the 5th of April is in the Museum, Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 305, in cypher and decypher.

more

more at large in our commen letters.<sup>1</sup> We see the Breve, and redd it twiese, and marked well all things as nygh as we coulde, and more and more it semeth to us suspect; the considerations wherof doo heerafstre folowe; which, having no further lighte, how the things stondeth (for we have therof no maner of instructions), afstre my pouer judgement I thynke not all to bee voyde. But first I will reaporte to Your Highness the Emperouris laste resolution in all things. I might saye, the first and last, for all is one. He stondeth still resolved to make protestacions in Englonde and at Rome, to have the determinacion of this mater in Rome, and in no wies yt maye be in Englonde. Agayn He will not sende the originall Breve into Englond, sayeng He shold then consent to the jurisdiction; which He will not.

For the treawse, He is at the first poynte glad to have it with Your Highness, but not with the French King. Neverthelesse his wordes semed not to putt us in utter desperation, but sayde the Lady Margaret hath commission. He sayed that morover that yet the olde treawse continewe, and must doo untill oon of the contrahentes reclayme. And wher the Emperour schewed us of newe practises of the French King, in that communication afor, we generallie sayed, we doubted not Your Highness helpe shold not takke, whan You might have anye hope to doo goode: and wold have knownen somme of the practises, if that we could. He sayed He wolde take deliberacion, but answer He non made to us therin, ne we thowght anye more to speake therof, lest He shold thinke we hade anye commission to speake of the peace. And so we departed with answer more colde and holowe than we looked for, and his countenance was nothing so goode as in oodre audiences. It maye bee the Chawncellour hath doone no goode, in whome we have no greate truse.

Nowe to advertise Your Highness of the suspicions which we have in this Breve, I have somme whatt writen in the forsayd letters of the 5<sup>th</sup> of April, grownded opon the causis of the impetration of the same Breve, twoo things joyned, which I herd of Mastre Abel, which I shall agayne heerafstre reherse, but mutche moveth me oon rayson in a letter of my Lord Cardinalles Grace, wiche me semethe maye bee this extended. Wher it is pretended the Bull and the Breve to be impetrare in oon daye, odre they werr impetrare in oon sute and by oon man, and than it is not to bee thowght but that this sute, beinge of so greate importance, was committed to suche oone as coulde perceive that the Bull, not conteignenge so large dispensation as the Breve, is superfluouse, supposinge the Breve to be necessarie. If the tone werr impetrare afstre the

<sup>1</sup> Ghinucci and Lee's letter to Wolsey of the same date, in cypher and decypher, is in the same Collection, leaf 299. There is also a contemporary decypher in the State Paper Office.

*toodre, and the sutes made by oon man, it is hard to thynke that oone man, beeing instructe in the sutes for both, wold put the dispensation of less moment in a bull, and of greater moment in a breve, seeing that the tone myght bee as facillie impetrata as the toodre, and that the dispensation in leade is more durable to remayne, and that the twoo Kyngs werr bounde to impetrata bulles and not breves. Whereof he or they, that had such comission, as it semethe, could not bee ignorante. And if thees sutes werr made by divers persons and by severall commissions, ther is no rayson can bee alleged, the impetration being in oone daye, whie to several persons severall commissions shold bee given heerin, the thyng requireng no hast, the mariyge folowenge five or six yeres aftre; but more lieklie is, if the Breve werr than obteighned in deed, that it was procured by secrete practises, not knowne to all partes quorum intererat scire et consentire. For, bothe the partes consenting, I thynke ther can no sufficient cawse bee alleged, whie the thing, being doone by comen consent, the Breve rather than the Bull shold have larger dispensation. For whatt needed twoo diverse sutes with diverse commissions, if both the parties werr agreeede opon the sutes, speciallie the impetracion of both beinge in oon daye? This rayson, tooched by my Lord Cardynalles Grace, moveth me mutche.*

*Secondelie, supposeng to be trewe that Mastre Abel sayeth, the Queen to have sworn quod nunquam fuit cognita a Principe Arthuro, the cause of the impetration for so mutche is vayne, videlicet, quod Regina cum Arthuro Principe matrimonium carnale copula consummaverit. If this bee trewe, it appereth that he, that sued for the Breve, hade no commission of the parties, for they wold not geve him commission to impetrata dispensation for cause not trewe.*

*Thirddelie, supposeing to bee trewe that Mastre Abel sayed to me, that the Queen never herd of suche Breve, afor thEmperouris Orator ther presented it to Herr, howe can it stonde that is reaptored in the Breve, quod impetratum est breve ad Reginæ instanciam?*

*Fourrthlie, if Your Highness had made instance and supplication for the same Breve, it is not to bee thought that it shold bee so farre ought of your remembrance, the causis of impetration beinge suche, as Your Highness myght and could anone reduce it to the same.*

*Fyvelie, if it werr impetrata at the instance of Your Highness and of the Queenis Grace, no cawse is, whie it shold bee sent into Spayne to Kynge Fernando (as thEmperouris folkis first sayd, but nowe swarfe), and not to Your Highnes, and to the Quenis Grace. Yf any will suppose that it was doone by your consent, no rayson agreeeth, whie You shold consent thereto, and not*

*not rather keepe it in your owne hands, than send it to the custodie of anothre. And yet, if You did consent, it can not be thought but that it shuld remayne in your remembrances, the firmitie of your mariayges, and discharge of your conscience, with oodre things tooching highelie your succession stondeng therin. And it maye be supposed morover that somme writeng of the deposite therof shold remayne ther, whiche is not fownd.*

*Sixtelie, consideringe that the Kynge, of most noble memorie, your fadre, then in lief, Your Highnes not beinge at the date of the Breve past 15 or 16 yeres of ayge, it maye bee well supposed that Your Highnes was not then mutche to sollicite of the impetration of suche things; and that if anye suche Breve shuld have been impetrata at that tyme, that rather it shold have bee doone at the instance of the Kyng your fadre, than of Your Highness. And althowgh than it myghte have been impetrata in Your Highness name, yet it cowlde not have been doon than, withoutt knowlege and consent of the Kynge your fadre, and also at his setteng forthe. And, if anye his intervention and consent had been in this mater, He wold not have bounde Kynge Fernando, and liekwies have been bownde Hym selfe, to gett bulles of dispensation. And suerlie it maye bee thought that the Kynge your fadre consented, Don Ferdinand of Spayne did the same, so that it can not be doubted, but that, as they saye heer they have twoo bulles reserved in thair archives, so shuld also this Breve have been, whiche in deed was not ther fownde, as heerafter shall be scheune, ne anye ne anye suche is fownde in Your Highness archives. Wherfor it maye bee well reckoned, that ther was no suche obeteigned by the consent of the Kynge your fader.*

*And so seventhlie, maketh the Breve suspecte, that thEmperouris folkes first sayed that it was fownd in archivis Regum Hispaniarum, as appere the in my Lord Cardinalles Graces letters; and nowe, forgetting them selfes, thEmperours Chawnceler and Pernott have confessed to us that it was fownde amongs the writengs of Doctor de Puebla, whiche was Oratour of Spayne in England in the Kyngs dayes, of most noble memorie, your fader. Whiche contrariete maketh to apper, that they doo not upright. Of a nevie of Doctor de Pueblas beinge ther I have writen I have writen in our commen letters the 5<sup>th</sup> of April, and nowe doo agayne, by whome peradventure some light may bee had.*

*Eighthly, whoso considereth the highe renowned wissedome of the Kynge, of most noble memorie, your fader, and his greate sayege Cowncell of men of singuler wissedome and lerneng for all purposes, maye well conceyve that, or ever anye dispensation for mariayge to be hade between Your Highnes and the Qween werr sent for, that Herr Grace was examyned, an esset cognita a*

*Principe Arthur o an non; and that, si fassa est, that the twoo Kyngs shuld have provided therfor dispensationem in bulla, as They werr bownde. And on tooder syde, si negavit se fuisse cognitam, nihil erat opus brevi quoad ton. And for the seconde parte of the Breve, I can not suppose that Your Highness, in that tyme whiche the date of the Breve pretendeth, Your Highness beinge than not mutche more than 15 yeres of aige, and the Kynge your fadre liveng, needed no dispensation in that partie; and if none needed, than whie shuld Your Highness than make instance for anye, whiche is supposed in the Breve.*

*Nynthlie, if this Breve werr impetrata in the dayes of Doctor de Puebla, the beeing therof so long in his handes, and the maner of keepeng of the same, geveth the conjecture that it is a thinge cassat; for the thinge beinge of so mutche importance, toocheng so nigh Your Highness and the Qween, whie shold he keepe it specially so long, for he lived in Englonde aftre the date of the Breve five or syx yeres, and died ther not longe afor the Kynge your fadre. Who canne thynke that suche a Kynge, and suche a Cowncell, wolde have sufferd the Breve to be owht of thair handes in his hand al that tyme, if the Breve hadde been knowne to them necessarie for this matrimonie, and of anye valiewe? And, as I sayed, the maner of keeping therof semethe to conferme the same. Whiche maner of keepeng, I conjecture of twoo thinges; oone, that it was not kepte in a cace of tynne, aftre the maner of breves, for oonlie in a paper they did exhibite it to us twies: a nooder, that in the superscription it appered slobered, by rayson of often handlenge, peradventure lienge amongs so manye his writengs and olde letters. Wherfor althowgh it werr than impetrata, yet it semeth that he tooke it as cassat and voyde, peraventure as surrepticious or obteighned of his owne hedd, withowhte anye commission or consent of the parties.*

*Tenthlie, an odre suspicion is, that although the Emperouris Chawnceler and Pernott saye they have diverse letters and writengs of the sayed Pueblas, concerneng both the first mariayge, and seconde, of the Qween; yet, bycause they uttered not that they have anye thinge speciallie concernenge this Breve, which they wold not have forgotten to saye, forsometche as it maketh for their purpose, if ther hade been anye suche moved upon that suspicion, I demawnded of them, and divers tymes to the same, whidre they had anye speciall letters concerneng this Breve. They could not, ne did, saye that they hade; but the Emperours Chawnceler answerd that the Breve was enowgh. Wheropon maye be gatherd that his answer implied that they have none oodre.*

*11<sup>mo</sup>. If anye suche breve werr impetrata at that tyme by the knowlege and consent of both the Kyngs, liekliie is that either of Them shold have oon. Lett them than heer bringe forth the breve ex archivis suis. If they woll say this is*

is it, what lickliod is that *it shuld be sent into Englond to come into Spayne?* For this Breve, if it werr in the Doctor de Puchlas custodie, comme oultre of Englond after his death, with oodre his writengs; whiche I thinke his nevew ther, if he confess that it was fownde amongs oodre his uncles writengs, woll also confesse. I saye, whie was it sent into Englond? It is not to be dowlbed, but Don Fernando had an Ambassador in the Courte of Rome, wiche myght easelier and nyer waye have sent it in to Spayne. Wherfore, if they can not ought of theyr archives bringe forth anye suche breve, thair diligence in custodie of suche things supposed and well deprehended in the custodie of twoo bulles, for so of the Secretaries sayed to me that they have twoo; they may of this gadre them self, that ther is no suche, ne anye oodre wher, of anye effect and valiewe.

*The twefe suspicion agaynst the Breve in it selfe, that, whan so ever it was impetrat, it was not dewlie impetrat, maye be gaderde of dyvers things in the same, and abouht the same. The hande semeth to be of somme lerner, and not of oone exercised in writeng of suche things, and somme defaltes in the writeng, suche as my Lord of Worcester sayethe he hathe not seen committed in anye breve; and as he trusteth to prove, the date shall utterlie condemne the Breve; wheroft he writeth in his letters to my Lorde Cardinalles Grace.*

*Thees considerations (which zeale that trowthe be not oppressed, and contrived falsed or imposture, maketh me to write) myghte have been better furnisshed, if I hade seen the Bull, and speciallie the Bulles, whiche on of them sayed they have heer; and made also knowne in whatt terms and dowlbes the thinge stikketh. For I know well, Your Highness seeketh onlie the trewth and avoydenge of delusion that may be heerin: whiche mynde Owre Lorde continewe in the same.*

*Nowe the Frenche Kingis commeng in to Navarr is openlie spoken heer. They saye that the cause of thEmperouris gooenge in to Barcelona is to gett in to his handes greate sommes of olde tresor depose there, the owners wherof be unknowne, tyme owhte of mynde.*

*It is heer spoken that the Duke of Orleance is verie sore sikke.*

*This people crie owhte, bycause thEmperour taketh whet from hens, and nowe they say mutche wheate shall comme owhte of Andalosia, because they have hade nowe rayne ther; which putteth them in hope of mutche wheate the nexte yere: but as yet we heer of no maner of navie prepared at Barcelona. Somme saye nowe thEmperour woll from thens into Navarr.*

*Mastre Abel schewed me that thEmperour sayed to oon whiche told him, that He wold deliver the Breve, his own handes, to the Pope. If it shold comme*

theronto that thEmperour in presence mighte deliver it, Your Highness shuld have more cause to saye that Rome is not a place indifferent to trie this mater in, than thEmperour hath to saye that Englonde is not: for his presence with a terrible host mighte feare the hiest hedd ther, and bringe Him undre his girdle. Hardelie procede the lawes, wher armes bearethe rule.

The Emperour hath nowe commawnded us to retorne to Valolite, pretendeng that He wold not we shold go to Barcelona, be cause it is infecte with the sikness. Albeit this charite meaneth somme oodre thinge than that. We suppose that He wold not we shuld perceive, howe unprovided He is for the journye of Italie, ne heer of oodre his successes. It is heer sayed by merchantes, that hath letters from Jeane, that it is lieke schortelie to torne from thEmperour; and they begyn to suspecte Andrea de Auria. As the sayed merchantes saye, the Cownte de Flisco is comme to Barcelona, Oratour from Jeane; somme say he hath no verie plesant commission for thEmperour. He is commawnded to tarie the Emperouris commeng thidre.

Mons<sup>r</sup> Pernott told us that thEmperour had letters from his Oratour ther, in wiehe he writethe that Your Highness, in consideration of his sicknesse, is content that he shal retorne home, *and that at his commenge Your Highness pleasure is that my Lorde of Worcester shall comme from hens, and I remayne here.* No man lyvenge shall be gladder to doo Your Highness service, than I shall be; nevertheless, if it mighte stonde with the pleasure of Your Highness, it shuld be my greate cownforte nowe to retorne to mye naturall contree. I trust Your Highness woll benignelie considre my longe abode heer, and mye litle and pouer abilitie to susteyn this burdon.

It is nowe tolde me, that a greate multitude of Spaniardes of the oste of Italie be arrived, somme at Valencia, somme in oodre places on the coste, by cause of the greate scasetie of wheate in Italie. He that told me, mye ost, a merchant, sayeth that it is reaptored that scant thEmperour, if He goo, shall have so manye with Hym as be nowe retorne. At Cæsar Augusta, the 20<sup>th</sup> of April, 1529.

Your Highnes most bownden Preest,

EDOUARDE LEE.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

### CCXXXVII. POPE CLEMENT VII. to KING HENRY VIII.

+

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Hactenus moleste tulimus, quod reliquijs longæ adversæ valetudinis impedi-  
bamur,

bamur, ne possemus audire quid Oratores tui tres, ad Nos cum eisdem fere petitionibus missi, postularent; sed postquam convaluimus, auditis dictis Oratoribus, qui accuratissime ac diligentissime tuum desiderium Nobis aperuerunt, multo magis dolemus ejusmodi esse quod petit Tua Serenitas, ut tametsi noctes ac dies per Nos ipsi, ac per jurisperitissimos viros quos in consilium assumpsimus, omnes vias tentemus Tibi satisfaciendi, nihil tamen adhuc invenire aut explicare possimus, quod plene Oratoribus tuis satisfaciat. Quod quidem, pro nostra in Te paterna benevolentia, tuisque excellentissimis in Nos atque hanc Sanctam Sedem meritis, vehementer Nos angit. Ardemus enim tanto studio Tibi gratificandi, ut interdum doleamus ita Oratores tuos instare atque efflagitare a Nobis, ac si dubitent non eundem esse in Nobis animum, quem satis adhuc, quantum cum Deo potuimus, Tuæ Serenitati ostendimus. Vellemus statim efficere posse etiam quod nunc postulas. Sed petimus a Serenitate Tua ut pro sua prudentia cogitet Nos, in hoc gradu a Deo positos, reddere Illi debere rationem omnium actionum nostrarum, ideoque non ausos quod de jure fieri non potest, inaudita parte, super Brevi felicis recordationis Julij Secundi, prædecessoris nostri, adulteratione seu falsitate declarare. Nam ut in omnibus, quæ gratiæ sunt, et per Romanos Pontifices concedi consueverunt, nihil nec denegavimus nec denegaturi sumus Tuæ Serenitati; ita in his quæ sunt justitiæ non audemus progredi, nisi quantum possumus, nihilque tam cupimus quam Serenitati Tuæ satisfacere: et omnis dilatio non Nobis minus quam Serenitati Tuae molesta accidit, ut plenius audies ex dilecto filio nostro Cardinale Campegio, Legato. Romæ, die 21 Aprilis, 1529.

<sup>1</sup> Non respondemus manu nostra Serenitati Tuæ, quoniam nondum satis convaluimus. Hoc tantum dicimus desiderium tuum Nobis vehementer cordi esse, cupimusque ut credat Tua Serenitas eundem esse erga se animum nostrum, quem semper cognoscere potuit, gratum et memorem meritorum tuorum erga Nos et hanc sanctam Sedem, quam Tibi semper maxime commendam. .J. <sup>2</sup>

(*Superscribitur*)

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro, Henrico  
Angliae Regi, Fidei Defensori.

<sup>1</sup> This postscript is in the handwriting of Clement himself.

<sup>2</sup> Among the papers in the Record Office is the following letter from the Pope to Wolsey, which likewise has a postscript in his Holiness's own hand:—

“ Dilecte Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Seimus Circumspectionem tuam  
“ ardore incredibili desiderio satisfactionis Serenissimi Regis, filii nostri carissimi. sed tamen  
“ volumus

## CCXXXVIII. BRYAN TO KING HENRY VIII.

SIR. Yt may plese Your Grace to be advertysyd that how oftyn we have spokyn with the Pope, syns Master Stephyns cam hyther, and what day and at what tyme, Your Grace shall more playnly se by your<sup>1</sup> letter sent to my Lord Cardynall.

Sir, Your Grace hath sent me hether to the intent I shuld instructe You, from tyme to tyme, of all your affayrys here, as I coulde knowe, see, or here.

Sir, I insure Your Grace that Master Stevyns, Master Gregory, Master Peter, and I, have doone and causyd to be doone, by all our frendys here, towchynge Your Gracys causys, as myche as we thynke possible ys to be doone; and as Your Grace shall more playnly see by your farmer letter,

“ volumus illam existimare, ita infixam esse animo nostro memoriam Serenitatis Suae tuorumque  
 “ meritorum; ut par desiderium habeamus vobis satisfaciendi, sed dolemus in eo quod per Oratores  
 “ Regios a Nobis petitum est, de declaracione nullitatis aut adulterationis Brevis felicis recordationis  
 “ Julii, prædecessoris nostri, tantam esse difficultatem, ut nullam viam invenire potuerimus vobis  
 “ satisfaciendi, tametsi omnium juris peritissimorum consilium quæsiverimus, sed nihil repperimus  
 “ quod vestris Oratoribus simul et justitiæ atque honori nostro satisfaceret. Sed tamen agimus  
 “ omnia, ac tentamus omnes modos Regiæ Serenitati ac Circumspectioni tuæ satisfaciendi. Ideoque  
 “ venerabili fratri Hieronymo Episcopo Vasionensi, Domus nostræ Magistro, quem ad Cæsarem  
 “ mittimus, hoc damus in primis mandatis, ut Breve, de ejus falsitate dubitatur, ad Nos transmitti  
 “ curet, ut via justitiae procedere possimus ad satisfactionem Serenitatis Suae. Scripturi eramus  
 “ ad Cæsarem, ut dictum Breve mitteret, ne expectandum esset, quoad dictus Hieronymus illuc  
 “ perveniret. Sed id ab Oratoribus vestris acceptum non est; cum vellent Nos non hortando, sed  
 “ monendo, cum Cesare agere: quod nec fieri consuevit cum principibus, nec tamen quiequam  
 “ addidisset ad facilitatem, quam quærimus, satisfaciendi desiderio Serenitatis Suae; ut plenus  
 “ intelliget tua Circumspectio ex dilecto filio nostro Cardinali Campegio Legato. Romæ, Die  
 “ 21 Aprilis, 1529.

“ Vellemus Circumspectioni tue non minus quam Regie Majestati gratificari: dolemus quod  
 “ non potuisse efficere quod petebatis, sed tamen non cessamus facere quod possumus, et id Regiæ  
 “ Majestati et tibi acceptum et gratum esse cupimus. . J.

(*Superscribitur*)

“ Dilecto filio nostro Thome, Tituli Sanctæ Cecilie, Sanctæ Ronalda Ecclesia  
 “ Presbytero Cardinali Ebouaeensi, nostro et Sedi Apostolice in Anglia  
 “ Legato &c.”

<sup>1</sup> The word “your” in this passage, and again in the next paragraph but one, must be a mistake for “our”. A contemporary despatch jointly from the Ambassadors to Wolsey is referred to in a letter from Gardyner to the King of the same date, which remains in the State Paper Office, and has been printed by Burnet, Vol. II. Collection, p. 297. The despatch of this date has not been discovered.

wryttyn to my Lord Cardynall, concerningyng the awnswere of the Pope; wherby Ye shall parsayve that playnly He wyll doo nothyng for Your Grace. Yn that letter we have wryttyn all our demaundys, and hys answere; wherfore yf I shulde wryte otherwyse then thys, I shuld put Your Grace in a hope of recovery, wher none ys to be had. Ther ys not oon of us but that hath assayd Hym bothe by fayre menys and fowle, but nothyng wyll serve. And who so ever hath made Your Grace beleve, that He wold doo for You in thys cause, hath not, as I thynke, doone Your Grace the best servyce. Always Your Grace hath doone for Hym in dedys, and He hath recompencyd you with fayre wordys, and fayre wrytynges, of whych bothe I thynke Your Grace shall lacke noone; but as for the dedys, I never beleve to see, and specyally at thys tyme.

Ther ys no man lyvyng more soryer to wryte this newys to You, then I am; but yf I shuld not wryte thys, I shulde not do my dewtye. I wold to God my former letters myght have ben lyes, but I feryd ever thys ende.

Sir, I insure Your Grace that Master Stephyns, syns hys commyng hether, hathe takyn as myche Payne to serve Your Grace, and has as good a wyll thereto, as any man alyve. Lykewyse Master Peter and Master Gregory: and no men alyve be more hevy then we be, that we cannot bryng thys to passe for Your Grace, as we wolde; but owr trust ys, that Your Grace knowys our trew hartes and sarvyse, how faythfull yt ys to Your Grace, or elles we shuld lyve here full hevyly.

Sir, I trust never to dye, but that the Pope and Popys shall have, as they have had, nede of Your Grace, and that I trust Your Grace wyll quyte them, and be nomore fedde with ther flateryng wordys.

Sir, I wryte a letter to my cosyn Anne, but I dare not wryte to hyr the trauthe of thys, bycause I do not know, whether Your Grace wylbe contentyd that she shuld know hyt so shortly, or no; but I have sayd to hyr in my letter, that I am sure Your Grace wyll make hyr pryy to all our newys.

Sir, yf yt shall plese Your Grace to consyder that ther ys no servyce to be doone here for Your Grace, seyng the Pope ys myndyd as He ys; we do thynke Your Grace, beyng not dysplesyd with our demaunde, that we shuld do Your Grace more sarvyce at whome, or elles sum other where than here. But yf, Your Grace do thynke that in taryng here, or ellys where, we may do Your Grace sarvyce, ther be no men alyve gladder to tary then we. I beseeche Your Grace that we may knowe your pleasure, how we shall order our selvys, by the next that cummys.

Furthermore,

Farthermore, yf yt wold plese Your Grace to remember your faythfull and trusty sarvant the Protonaty Cassale, Your Gracys Imbabadore at Venese ; I thynke Your Grace could no one way attayne more honour, consyderyng the faythefull trusty and tru servyce that the hole house of Cassale has ever ben redy to do Your Grace, and the honnour that Your Gracys Imbabadour here dose dayly to Your Grace, as by kepyng a port, no oon Cardynall in Rome suche, hys house furnysshdyd with gentyllmen dayly, and that of the best in Rome, and mayny tymys Cardynalles, 2 at a tyme, takyng hym at dyner or supper, wyll sytt downe with hym, and unlokyd for they fare as well as they do at whome ; whych causys me to reyoysse, heryng the grett fame and honour, that dayly sprynges on Your Grace, by the reson of the lyberall porte that Your Gracys servaunt dose kepe, studying dayly to increse Your Gracys honour ; whych yf Your Grace dyd se, as I do, I know well I shuld not nede to put Your Grace in remembrance of hym any more. Desyryng Your Grace to pardon the boldnesse of my wrytyng unto Your Grace, constrainyd by force, as by lovyng Your Graces honour, to wryte for them that unfaynydly so hartyly serve Your Grace, whych constrainys me stylly to put Your Grace in remembrance of hym.

Post scripta. The curren Alexander aryvyd here bryngyng sartayne letters from Your Grace<sup>1</sup> and my Lord Cardynall<sup>1</sup>, wherin Your Grace and my sayd Lord marvelyd that we wold wryte so extremely that the Pope wold do nothyng for Your Grace, as we thought than, seyng as then we had not spokyn with Hym. Sir, we wrote as we saw and know by substancyall and credible menys ; and now Your Grace may persayve by hys answare the sequell of the same.

Sir, yf the curren Alexander had not cummyn, Tadey had ben dyspachyd thys mornyng, but we taryid hym tyll after none, to advertyse Your Grace of the ressayte of your letters ; nevertheless we send hym to Your Grace with thes letters. And accordyng to Your Graces commaundement we wyll do the best we can to assay, yf we can spedie any of the best part of your last letters, sent unto us by the curren Alexander ; and yf any good may be gotten to Your Graces purpose, I shall not fayle with dylygence to cum with all, my self ; yf not, we shall send such answare as we have, with dylygence, by the curren Alexander.

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<sup>1</sup> Of the 6th of April, Vitellius, B. XI. leaves 92 and 94. Both are printed by Burnet, the King's at full length, Vol. I. Collection, p. 75 ; a large portion of Wolsey's, ibid. p. 51.

Sir,

Sir, yf yt like Your Grace, I have resceyyyd a letter from Your Grace by the curre Alexander, by the whych I perseyye Your Grace has had in remembrance Master Gregory and the Protonotory Cassale; the whyche letter of kyndnesse I have shewyd unto hym, wheryn I assure Your Grace he reyoisys as mych, and thynkes as myche kyndnesse in Your Grace, as any servant lyvynge may thynke in hys master, desyryng Your Grace, when Your Grace shall thynke tyme, to have hym and hys brother the Protonotory of Cassale in remembrance. Thys Owr Lord presarve Yowr Grace. From Rome, the 21 day off Apryll at nyght.

(Signed) By yow<sup>r</sup> most bondon servant and  
suggett,

FRANSSYS BRYAN.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Hyghnesse.

### CCXXXIX. BRYAN TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

YT may plese Your Grace to understande. Synts my last letters wryttyn to Your Grace datyd the 21 day of Aprell, according to your commaun[*dment geven*] unto us by your curre Alysaunder towchynge every [*thing in Yo*]ur Graces sayd letter contaynyd, we have openyd them all to the Pope, under the best maner, fyrst by fayre menys, and afterward by fowle menys, but nother fayre nor fowle wyll sarve here. We be lyke men that hope to gather frute on a rotton stoke. Your Grace shall more playnly see the answare of all by a letter we sende all in general to my Lord Cardynall.<sup>2</sup>

Also Your Grace shall parsayve what a sitacyon was sent unto us; and under what fassyon, Your Grace shall parsayve by our common letters, the copy of whych we send to Your Grace.<sup>2</sup> The Pope beyng present with sartayne Cardynalles, Bysshoppys, and other of the ~~w~~, with the Emperour Imbassador, yn a place apoyntyd, Master Stevyns ther, lyke a wyse man, and a trew servant to Your Grace, so answeryd ther for Your Grace, that he made the Pope asshamyd of hys awne dedys; and He and the Emperour Imbassador wold have scusyd the cause the best they could.

<sup>1</sup> This letter is slightly defaced. A separate letter from Gardyne of the 4th of May, in the State Paper Office, has been printed by Burnet, Vol. III. Collection, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Neither of these has been found.

And where as Your Grace wrytys unto us, that the Cardynall Campegges says he ys your sarvant, and that he wyll do for Your Grace in all thynges; Sir, hys fayre wordys that he says to Your Grace ys, bycause he wold have the Bysshopryke of D[urham].

I insure [Your] Grace he hath wryttyn hether to the Pope, that he, nether Frauncys Campanys, never promysyd nothyng to Your Grace particullerly, but in generall wordys, and byddys the Pope trust therto, for he never dyd nor never wyll dōo, and bad the Pope styke fast Hym self, for of hym he sayd He shulde be sure. Sir, all that ys tolde You there, that the Pope wyll doo for Your Grace yn thys cause, I insure You they tell You the glose, and not the texte.

Sir, thys matter ys of trawthe, for the Pope hath shewyd the sayd Cardynalles letter to Master Stevyns and to Master Peter; whych I am sure do write the s[ame, and if his] wrytyng sou[nde] any thyng agaynst the Ca[rdynall] other, who felys hym grevyd, lett hym kyk; for I do yt not off no malyce, butt accordyng to my dewtye, to inform Your Grace and to geve yow knowlege of ther glosyng.

I could tell Your Grace more of my mynde in a howrys talkyng, then I can wryte in a weeke. Wherfore, yf yt be Your Graces pleasure, no man gladder to cum whome, than I; not that I fynde me very here, yf I myght do Your Grace any servyce; but here I insure Your Grace, ther ys not oone of my felawys, but thynkys that here ys no sarvyee to be doon for Your Grace. Natwithstondyng, yf Your Grace thynkyth contrary, I am as redy to tary as to cumme.

I dare not wryte unto my cosyn Anne the trawthe of thys matter, bycause I do not knowe Your Graces pleasure, whether I shall so doo or no; wherfore, yf she be angry with me, I most humbly desyre Your Grace to make myn exscuse. I have referryd to hyr in hyr letter all the newys to Your Grace, so Your Grace may use hyr in thys, as Ye shall thynke best. Thus Our Lord preserve Your Grace long to your honour. At Rome, the 5 day of May.

(Signed)      You<sup>r</sup> most humble suggett  
and sarvant,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Hygtnes.

FRANSSYS BRYAN.

CCXL. Instruccions geven by the KINGES HIGHNES to his trusty and right  
welbeloved Clerke and Counsaillour, M<sup>r</sup> WILLIAM BENET,  
Doctour of both Lawes, whom His Grace nowe sendeth, on  
(Signed) Ambassiate to the Court of Rome, as foloweth.<sup>1</sup>

HENRY R.

FIRST, wher as the Kinges Highnes, being lately advertised from his Oratours resident in the said Courte of Rome, that ther was non appearance to attayn suche thinges as by His Grace was committed unto them to be impetratre there, towching the Kinges greate cause of matrimony, gave ordre unto them, in extreme dispaire of al other things that might conferre to the benefite of that mater, to solicite and pursue for a newe commission, somewhat more ample then is that, whiche already is geven to the Lordes Legates of Yorke and Campegius, for decision of that mater, and also a newe policitacion to be made by His Holynes in writing, not to avoke the cause, graunte any inhibicion, or suffre appellacion, recusacion, protestacion, or other delay to be had therin, to the empeschement of the processe; and also to conferme the sentence ons geven by the Juges, as by certain notes and devices of the said newe commission and protestacion, with the lettres sent to the Kinges said Oratours, more plainly appereth: and furthermore, the same newe commission and policitation had and obteyned after the best maner it coude be gotten, that M<sup>r</sup> Stevyn Gardiner and Sir Fraunces Brian, Knight, two of the Kinges said Oratours, taking thair leave of the Popes Holynes, and saying unto Hym certain good and moderate words, in the lettres then sent mencioned, shulde with diligence retorne home, so as it is verailly to be thought that the said M<sup>r</sup> Bennet, passing nowe in post to the Courte of Rome, shall encountre and mete them in his waye. The Kings Highnes having nowe newly receyved freshe lettres from his said Oratours, shewing also utter despaire to obteyn the said newe commission and protestacion, and that greate meanes and poursutes be made in the said Courte of Rome, by thEmperours Agentes, to dispoint suche things as might be to the benefite of the Kinges cause; remembryng and considering therfore that, the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyn Gardiner so retorning, His

<sup>1</sup> There is no date to these instructions, but Henry's letter to the Pope, being the credentials of Dr. Benet, is dated at Windsor, on the 20th of May. (Vatican Papers.) On the 21st Wolsey wrote to the Ambassadors at Rome (Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 119), informing them of the appointment of Dr. Benet as Ambassador to that Court, and referring frequently to these instructions. This letter is printed by Burnet, Vol. I. Collection, p. 71.

Highnes hathe no man of doctrine and lernyng in the lawes, amonges the rest of his said Oratours, whiche may be redy bothe to defende and resist the sinistre poursutes and solicitacions of the Imperialles, or to do other thing that to suche lernyng shall aperteyn for the furtherance of the Kings said cause, hathe appointed the said M<sup>r</sup> William Benet, to repaire, at this tyme, to the said Courte of Rome, and for a season to reside and remayne ther as oon of his Oratours, in lieu and sted of the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyn Gardiner. Wherfore, taking with hym suche lettres and other writinges as be devised for his addresse, he shall, at his encountre and meting with the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyn Gardiner, be it by the waye or at the Courte of Rome, make hym privey, and semblably at his commyng to Rome all the rest of the said Oratours, of the hole contynue of his charge, and semblably consulte and divise with the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyns, wheresover he shall fortune to be, and also with the rest at his commyng to them, upon all and singuler the specialties of this mater; riping hym self perfittely by thair informacion, in what case the same then shal fortune to stonde, and what thing further by them shalhave ben done at that tyme in the same, with al thinges requisite for his knowlage in that behalfe, so as therby he may the better knowe, howe to order hym self in the rest of his charge. And amonges other, he shal consulte with the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyns upon all suche thinges as may concerne mater of lawe, or wherin he may be by hym any thing riped or furthered in this mater, with all incidentes and dependences therof; and what advocates, frendes, or adversaries the Kinges Highnes hathe in the Courte of Rome, and howe they shalbe to be used; with al other thinges generally, that may concerne or towche this the Kinges said cause. Whiche done, he, with suche of the rest of the Kinges Oratours as then shall fortune to be in the Courte of Rome, shal at tyme convenient repaire to the Popes presence, making the Kinges most filial recommendacions, and delyvering His Graces lettres to His Holynes addressed, so that if at that tyme it shulde fortune the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyns not to have taken his leave of the Popes Holynes, sens nowe by lettres whiche the said M<sup>r</sup> Benet shalhave with hym, directed to al the Kinges said Oratours, they be commaunded no further to prece the Popes Holynes, or make mencion of the said newe commission or policitacion, but that the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyns and Sir Fraunces Brian, in good and loving maner, shal take thair leave and departe home, speking suche doulce and moderate wordes to the Popes Holynes, as in the last lettres to them sent<sup>1</sup> by

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<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of May. This letter is printed by Burnet, Vol. I. Collection, p. 60, without date. The Cottonian Catalogue assigns to it the date of "30 May?" (Vitellius, B XI. leaf 126), but that is clearly wrong.

Thadeus, currour, was mencioned and conteyned. The said M<sup>r</sup> Benet in that case shall ordre his sayinges after suche maner, as the Popes Holynes may perceve, that the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyns and Sir Fraunces Brian be so revoked, and that he is sent thider, not oonly to visite see and salute the Popes Holynes on the Kinges behalfe, but also to reside and contynue the Kinges Oratour ther for a season; and so bitwen the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyns and hym, if he be not bifore departed, to ordre the maner of thair sayinges, to suche good purpose, without making mencion of any newe commission, policitacion, or other thing, as the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyns, by the said lettres sent by Thadeus, was ordeyned to have done: and, if the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyns and Sir Fraunces Brian shall fortune bifore to be departed, then to procede no further at his first accesse, but only in good wordes and maner to shewe the cause of his comyng thider, as is aforesaid; wherin the wisedome of the said M<sup>r</sup> Benet must serve hym to ordre hym self herin, as he shal perceyve the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyns and Sir Fraunces Brian retourned, or not retorne, and as the case to the purpose of his commyng shall require.

This done, the said M<sup>r</sup> Benet, with Sir Gregory de Cassalys and M<sup>r</sup> Peter Vannes, the Kinges Oratours ther resident, shall diligently and contynually conferre and devise to gidre, upon suche thinges as they shall see nedefull to be consulted upon, concernyng the Kinges said cause, and surely herken and give good ere and ie to all suche thinges as be then practised, procured, set forthe, or done by the Cesarians, touching this cause or against the same, and fromthensforthe, from tyme to tyme; and amonges other thinges, specially to regarde and herkyn what sutes or meanes shalbe made for advocacion of the cause, revocacion, or inhibicione to passe, and also whither the Cesarians shalbe aboute any recusacions, appellacions, protestacions, or other thing that may do hinderance delay or dammage to the processe, or sentence to be geven upon the same: so that by all suche waies and meanes as may be used, suche thinges be by the Kinges said Oratours empeched; and suche other thinges by them to be done, as may disappoint any suche practise or acte of the Cesarians, aswel by the lernyng and discrecion of the said M<sup>r</sup> Benet and his colleges, as by avice of suche experte persones of the Kinges Counsail, reteyned ther, as they may thinke them selfes well assured of, and that they may trust unto: and amonges other thinges, to ripe them selfes, at the first commyng of the said M<sup>r</sup> Benet, whither any protestacion can be advised to be made, either by them ther, or by the Kinges Highnes here, that may frustrate and make void, or at lest sufficiently remedy any suche advocacion, revocacion, inhibicion, recusacion, appellacion, protestacion, or other acte to be done by the Cesarians; in that case to make the same protestacion, if it be to be made by them ther,

and

and to advertise the Kinges Grace and the Lord Legate of Yorke of the same, by thair lettres, what they shal do therin, and what is to be done here towching the same; wherin the said M<sup>r</sup> Benet shal also ripe hymself with the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevyns, taking his avice and counsail therin, and in al other thinges requisite, wher he shal speke with hym, be it in the Courte of Rome or by the waye; so that the veray ende, wherunto the actes of the said Oratours shal tende, shalbe by thair wisedomes and polycies to make sure, as ferre as they can, that nothing be done to the empeschement or delay of the processe; seing that, as the said M<sup>r</sup> Benet knoweth it is intended, sens no thing more is like to be had in the Courte of Rome, but rather sute and meanes made to revoke and adnulle the thinges alredy graunted, that processe shal immediatly be commenced here, and so with effect and diligence folowed, to the final perfeccion and decision of the cause; wherof they shal not nede to make the Popes Holynes any more privey, then they may assuredly perceyve and knowe to be to the purpose, but to ordre them selfes therin, as they shal see and knowe His Holynes mynded to the favour of the mater, and that His Holynes wolde be glad to have it so passed here, and to discharge his oun handes from the doing of it ther. In whiche case, fynding Hym so mynded, they shall, by secrete communicacions with His Holynes, the better and more assuredly provide, that the same passe, or suffer non acte that may be to the hinderance or delay of the said processe, or the sentence to be geven therupon, whiche shall not be directly to the declaracion of thEmperour to be a falsarie of the Breve, as in the lettres of the Kinges said Oratours is mencioned, but with declaracion of the nullite of the Breve and Bull, to pronounce the matrimony nouȝt, and the Kinges Grace to be absolved and divorced from the same, with suche other thinges as to the sentence shall aperteyn.

And forasmuche as the Kinges Highnes, by letters lately receyved from his Oratours in Spayne, is advertised that thEmperour hathe refused to sende the Breve into Englande, but wolde consulte whither He shulde send it to Rome or not; whiche sending of it thider can nowe do no good, but rather hurt, by meane that therby the Pope may have som colour to advoke the cause; the Kinges said Oratours shall therfore make no further meanes, or mencion of any rescript compulsorye, or other commaundement to be geven for exhibicion of the original Breve, here or ther, but passe over that mater, under silence; and rather to empesche that any thing be spoken or writen therof, then otherwise. Wherin, and in the residue of thair doinges, they shal, as they shal nede and seme good from tyme, use the good advice of M<sup>r</sup> Silvester Darius, who nowe passeth thider, and is appointed to be oone of  
the

the Auditors of the Rote<sup>1</sup>, making hym privy and participant of than doinges, as ferre as may be convenient, and enterteyning not only his favour, but also the same of Capasuk, to whom they shal give thankes on the Kinges behalf, for the loving mynde he beireth to the fertherance of the Kinges cause ; desiring hym of contynuance, and promising hym suche recompence and rewarde, as he shal thinke his gentlenes employed upon a Prince that well can and woll considre the same. And semblably they shall enterteyn as many other frendes as they can, as thair wisedomes may wel leade them to perceyve to be necessary ; so ordering them selfes in thair doinges, as by the same the Kinges said cause and processe may have asmoche fertherance, as they can put to it, like as the Kinges Grace doubteth not but they wol do accordingly.

Fynally the Kinges said Oratours shall, asmoche as in them is, set forthe and further the Popes repaire to the convencion, according to the pourport of thair former instruccions, with all suche thinges, as may conferre unto peax, as is the induction of the treux, yf it may be brought aboute, or anny other thing to that purpose ; shewing alwaies the Kinges good inclynacion therunto<sup>2</sup>; and amonges other thinges they shalhave good ie to any practises that may be set forthe therin, a parte, and without the Kinges consent ; for suche peax can not be to any good purpose, ne it is to be thought that any suche shalbe spoken of, though alwaies good regarde is to be had therunto, and the same empeched asmoche as may be ; wherof and of all other occurrants and successses of importance, the Kinges said Oratours shall, from tyme to tyme, advertise the Kinges Highnes and the said Lord Legate of Yorke, in diligence ; whyche His Grace wol have in his remembrance according to thair merites and desertes.

After these instruccions perfited hither, and red unto the Kinges Highnes, albeit that mencion is made in sundry places heretofore, that aswell the said M<sup>r</sup> Stephyns, and Sir Fraunces Brian, if they be not retourned from the Courte of Rome, as also the rest of thAmbassadors whiche, at the arrivall of Doctour Benet, shall fortune to be ther, shal forbeire to make any further meanes or poursute for the newe commission and pollicitacion, but clerely to use silence therin ; yet nevertheless regarding and more profoundly considering the effect

<sup>1</sup> On the same day with Benet's credential letters Henry wrote also to the Pope, thanking Him for appointing Silvester Darius Auditor of the Ruota, and commanding him to His Holiness. (Vatican Papers.)

<sup>2</sup> Contemporaneously with these instructions a commission was issued to Benet, G. da Casale, and Vannes to treat for a peace in conjunction with the French and Imperial Ambassadors, a copy of which is in Galba, B. IX. leaf 184, dated at Windsor, 21st May.

of the lettres last sent from the Kinges said Oratours, it dothe plainly appere, that though, after the overtur made to the Popes Holynes of the said newe commission, the besynes chaunced to be made by thEmperours Ambassador, upon presenting of a supplicacion for advocation of the cause, whiche thing by the writing sent by the said M<sup>r</sup> Stephyns to Capasuk, was wel avoided; yet was ther non expresse refusail made by the Popes Holynes to condescende unto the said newe commission, but ordre geven that they shulde consulte and conferre with the Cardinal Anconitane and Simonete upon the same; whiche conference, by meane of the said besynes was differred and disapointed, without any final conclusion or resolution taken therupon. Wherfore, inasmuche as yet ther appeareth non utter dispaire of obteynyng the said newe commission and policitation, with some more full pregnant and effectual clauses than thother hathe; the Kinges pleasure is, that notwithstanding any wordes bifore mencioned, bothe said M<sup>r</sup> Stephyns, and Sir Fraunces Brian, yf they be not departed from the Courte of Rome, do for the tyme of thair demore ther, whiche the Kinges pleasure shal not be long, but only for taking of thair leave, and also the rest of the Kinges said Oratours, after thair departure, shall, as they shall see the case to require, endevour them selfes, asmoche as may be, to obteyne the said newe commission and pollicitacion; forseing alwaies that they handle the mater after suche maner, as therby the Pope be not the rather induced to herkyn or incline to any poursuites of thEmperialls, for advocation of the cause, whiche were a totall frustacion of al the Kinges intent; but so to use them selfes, as they shal see to be to the benefite and not to the hinderance therof; wherin the Kinges Grace dothe referre the good handleing of this thing to thair wisedomes and discrecions, neither to leave the poursute of the said commission and pollicitacion, yf it may withoute damage be folowed, ne to follow it, yf therby they shall see apparent danger of any suche advocation, or avantage to ensue to the pourpose of thEmperialles; like as His Highnes doubteth not, but, knowing nowe the Kinges mynde and pleasur, they woll with wisedom and dexterite ordre them selfes herin accordingly.

And furthermore, the Kinges said Ambassadours shal in any wise disuade the Pope for sending either by his Nuncio to be sent unto Spayne, or otherwise, for the original Brife; and if the Nuncio be already passed, having charge to speke for sending the same to the Courte of Rome, then to finde the meanes that a commaundement be, by the Popes Holynes, sent after hym, not to make any mencion therof; wherunto the Kinges said Ambassadours shalhave a good colour to induce the Popes Holynes, saying, as of them selfs, that they wel have considred thair ounе poursutes for producing the Brife at

Rome,

Rome, and bicause thEmperour might percace thinke that the Pope were aboute to arect unto Hym the falsifying of the said Brife, therfore they can be contented that mater be put of, and no mencion for thys tyme to be made therof, by his rescriptes, Nuncio, or otherwise; wherunto it is not to be doubted but the Popes Holynes wol have speciall regarde, and facilly condescende to thair desire in that behalfe.

Fynally it appereth also, by certain lettres sent aswel to the Kinges Highnes, as to the Lord Legate of York, that the Popes Holynes is moche desirous to studye and fynde a meane and way to satisfye the Kinges Highnes in this behalfe; amonges whiche on clause in his lettres to the said Lord Legate of Yorke is this, “ Tametsi omnium jurisperitorum consilium quæsi-“ verimus, sed nihil reperimus quod vestris Oratoribus simul et justicie atque “ honori nostro satisfaceret. Sed tamen agimus omnia, ac tentamus omnes “ modos Regie Serenitati ac Circumspeccioni tue satisfaciendi.” Wherfore sens His Holynes so plainly declared that He seketh the waies and meanes to satisfye the Kinges Highnes, it shalbe in any wise expedient that the said Oratours, perceyving any towardnes of advocation, lay this to the Popes Holynes, saying that that is not the way to satisfye His Grace; and yet besides that, by thair wisdomes, to fynde the meanes to understande and knowe of His Holynes, what be the waies and meanes whiche His Holynes hathe studyed to satisfye the King, according to his writing in this behalfe; wherof they shall say His Grace is glad and is veray desirous to knowe and understande the same: and as they shal perceyve any towardnes or unto-wardnes in the Pope, in that behalfe, so to set forthe thair poursutes to the best purpose accordingly.

(Signed) HENRY R.

#### CCXLI. WOLSEY and CAMPEGGIO to KING HENRY VIII.

SERENISSIME ac Invictissime Rex. Post humillimam Commendationem. Cum Sanctissimus Dominus noster, Clemens, Divina Providentia illius nominis Papa Septimus modernus, per suas sub plumbo literas nonnulla, et præsertim validitatem vel invaliditatem matrimonij inter Majestatem Vestram et Serenissimam Catherinam Reginam concernentia, nobis exequenda et facienda commiserit; et quoniam multa in ijsdem literis continentur, quæ dictam Majestatem et dignitatem vestram concernunt; dignum duximus præmissa Majestati

Vestræ significare, ac etiam easdem literas, per præsentium latores, Vestræ Majestati præsentandas mittere. Quocirca dignetur Majestas Vestra, inspectis et diligenter consideratis eisdem literis, animum vestrum circa receptionem et executionem dictarum literarum, et contentorum in eisdem, nobis significare, ut solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes, ad executionem dictarum literarum procedere, et quod justum fuerit ac sacris canonibus consonum, juxta tenorem earundem literarum decernere, possimus et valeamus. Et Majestatem Vestram diu precamur conservet Altissimus. Ex ædibus nostris prope Westmonasterium, die 29 Maij, 1529.

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Majestatis  
Humillimi Servitores,  
(*Signatur*) T. CAR<sup>LIS</sup> EBOꝝ. L. CAR. CAMPEGI<sup>O</sup>.

*(Superscribitur)*

Serenissimæ ac Invictissimæ Regiæ Majestati  
Angliae et Franciæ, Fidei Defensori &c.,  
Domino nostro observandissimo.

## CCXLII. POPE CLEMENT VII. to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

+

CARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Redeuntes ad Serenitatem Tuam dilecti filij Oratores tui, Stefanus Gardinerius<sup>2</sup> ac Franciscus Brianus, testificari poterunt de nostro studio Tibi gratificandi; nam tametsi non effecerimus quæ illi instantissime a Nobis efflagitabant, potuerunt tamen perspicere anxietatem animi nostri, eo quod non potuerimus illa via qua tu cupiebas procedere ad satisfactionem tuam absque gravi nota nostra, sed credimus tamen voluntatem nostram atque amorem erga Serenitatem Tuam satis illis esse perspectum. De quo certe, Fili carissime, dubitare non debes, siquidem volueris recordari tua erga Nos et Sedem Apostolicam merita, et Nos gratos ac memores existimare. Ideoque, quanto plus Tibi debemus,

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. He wrote on the same day a letter to Wolsey to the same effect, which is printed by Burnet, Vol. I. Collection, p. 75, from Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 138.

<sup>2</sup> Gardyne and Vannes on the 9th wrote to Wolsey a letter, which they had an opportunity of sending by the French Chancellor's Secretary, merely stating the continuance of the illness of the Pope and of Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, and that nothing was done either in the King's affair, or in the furtherance of Wolsey's Bull for the see of Winchester.

tanto

tanto magis dolemus non posse tuis postulatis quemadmodum velles satisfacere,  
ut pluribus eidem Serenitati Tuæ exponet dilectus filius noster Cardinalis  
Campegius. Datum Rome, die ultima Maij, 1529. .J.

(*Superscribitur*)

Charissimo in Christo Filio nostro, Henrico,  
Anglie Regi illustri, Fidei Defensori.

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### CCXLIII. VISCOUNT ROCHFORD'S RELATION.

FIRST, aftyr the deliverey of the Kynges letters with cordiall recommendations and declaration of our charge, the Frenche Kyng answeryd, that albeit that ther was many conjectures, wich myth move the Kyng to suspecte aswell the resortyng of the Lady Margarites Secretory M<sup>r</sup> John de la Shaut, Guyllaum de la Barry, and Rosenbourg, unto hys Court, as the sendyng of the eslieu Bayard unto the seyd Lady Margerit, yett He asseuryth the Kyng, by the feyth of a gentilman, that the same hath ben, to hys knowlege, for non other cause, but for their own particuler affaires, and oonly for the prorogacion of the treux. Nevertheles growth it is, He seyth, that the seyd Guyllaum de la Barre, at hys late retourne from thEmperour, browngth a sufficient commission, as He seyd, onto the seyd Lady Marguerett, to trette and conclude a universall peax. And, to thentent the seyd Frensh Kyng myth asseurydly know and undyrstond thefecte therof, He sent the seyd eslieu Bayard, with the same Guillaum de la Barre, unto the seid Lady Margarett, commaundyng hym to show unto hyr that, if she had any odyr matiers to treete upon, than was comprised in the articles lately sent in to Spayn, wherunto the Kynges Hyghnesse was privy, it shuld be but superflux to spek any forder therin, for she myth be asseuryd that the amytie passyd betwyn Hym and the Kynges seid Hyghnesse hys good brother was so perfite and strong, that in case she spak any thyng ageynst the devors sued by hys seyd good brodys, or any odyr thyng ageynst Hym, all was but as voyde she went abowtes; wych eslieu Bayard, at hys retorne, nat alonly reportyd that the seid commission was in as ample forme conceyved, with clausis of ratification and other wyse, as was requisite, but also that the seid Lady Margarett seid she knew the Kyng our mastyr to be so vertueux a Prince, that He wold do no thyng in the seid maters other wise than shuld aperteigne unto Goddes laws and justice; saying

fordermore that He nedyd nat to dowte, for ther shuld be no thyng of the same spoken of in or at the seid treaty.

Also the seid Frensh Kyng sayed that upon hys honnour He nevir made meane or usid practise for the same commission, but that the same was browth before that He thowght of any such thyng; asseuryng the Kyng that He hath neyther doon nor woll do thyng, whyles He lyvyth, concernyng the comen affaires of Them tweyn, withoutt hys knowlege and consent; recongnysing hys obligation unto the Kyng above all Princes lyving for the incomperable goodnesse to Him shewyd in the tyme of hys extreme necessite, for the wych He seyth by the faithfull word of a Kyng, that He woll never remitte the inward love He hath unto Hym. And if it be thowht that by any bond or otherwyse He may be browth into streyter conjunction with the Kyng, or to do any thyng wiche may be to thavauncement of hys plesur in hys gret mater, He is and shalbe redy to accomplyshe the same. But, as for the Emperour, He shall never bere unto Hym affection or favour, notwithstandingyng any peax or amytie that may be passyd betwyn Them.

Furthermor, He hath sent the forseid esleu Bayard eftsonys unto the seyd Lady Margarette, not only to shew hyr of the recovery of the Lady Regent, and how she intendyth to be at Parys within 14 days, but also to know under what maner the same Lady Margaret is myndyd to reasort unto Cambray, and what personages she woll send for hyr part befor thyder, to mete such as the seid Lady Regent shall send in lykewyse for hyrs, for the viewing of the articles of the seid treaty. And yett, that natwithstandyng, He seyth that the principall charge he hath in the seid journey is but to serche and know, whedyr she sett forth any new invencyon, wych myth sownde eyder onto the Kynges dysplesur or hys.

Item, the seid French Kyng is contentyd that the Kinges Highnesse do appointe and send to Cambray som oon man for Hym, to joyne with such as He shall send thyder, for the viewing of the articles; for He wold that all the world knew that He woll do nothyng withoutt the consent and knowlege of the Kyng.

Item, He seyth that He hath dispechyd a gentylman to Rome, who with hys Ambassadour shall joyne with the Kynges Ambassadeur ther, and do and use such termys to the Pope, as the Kynges seyd Ambassadours shall wyll them, wych may be to the avauncement of the Kynges gret mater, as effectually as thow the same war hys own propre affaire; He woll cleve as nere on to the Kyng, as the naylys doth to hys flesh: and saieng, that rather than He woll commytt any thyng contrary to the amytie passid betwyn the Kyng and

and Hym, or thowgh the delyverey of hys chyldern shuld hynder the same amitye, yf they war delyverd and within hys reaulme, He wold countyrmand them in to Spayne.

Item, as touchyng the Emperours going in to Itale, He seyth that for many vehement causys He seeth no lyklyhod therof thys yere; nevertheles He woll reinforce hys armye in Itale, sayeng that it is bettyr to spend 100000 crownys or two, then to be surprisyd; and that in case theEmperour do comme in to Itale, He woll eyther passe over the mountaignes, or elles entre in to Spayn. And for procedyng therin, He wold at convenient leyser common with us, to know how the Kyng woll concurre with Hym in that behalve.

Item, He seith He can nat thynk that the Pope by any meane can be persuadid to come unto any dyette; for He, being in helth and assayd, nat oonly made difficultye, but also made unresonabull requestes, wich was, to be putt into possession of Marsiles or Narbone; wheronto the French Kyng wold nat agree; and now, being syke, it is to be supposyd that all wayes shuld be denied.

Item, aftyr declaration of hys mynd that He wold so sincerly concurre with the Kyng in hys gret mater, and also that He savoryd nat the dyett of the Pope, nor that the peax shuld be treatyd at hys hand, we demandyd of Hym within what space the seyd diett shuld be kept. And He seyd within a monnyth or 5 wekes. Wherupon we nat oonly besouth Hym to consider that the Kynges gret mater was in processe, wich we dowtyd nat but shuld so evidently apere to all the world that shuld be to hys rejoice to here, but also that my Lord Cardinall was oon of the judges therin, who was the man our mastyr thowth most convenient to be at the seid dyatt for Hym, and also as we thowght most agreeable on to the French Kyng; and, in case the seid dyat shuld soo shortly take effect, he could nat be at the same, by reson of the seid processe. Wherupon He demandyd of us within what space the seid processe shuld be kept. We seid within two monyths. And He answeryd that, albeit He wold use as mych tracte therin as was possible, yett, in advoyding such suspicion as the Lady Margarett myth conceyve by reson therof, wich myth be aswell to the hinderance of the universall peax, as the delyverance of hys chyldern, He besowth the Kyng, in case my Lord Cardinall could nat conveniently be at the seid dyat, to appoyn特 some other to be in hys liew at the same.

Item, upon our demaunde to Hym made, whedyr He was desireux to mary with the Lady Elyanor, or nat, He answeryd and alegyd that for many considerations she was oon of the greate nombre that He had the leste desyre unto, albeyt that He is affectionat to the delyverance of hys chyldern.

Item,

Item, undyr what maner we salutyd my Lady Regent.

Item, it is to be remembred that by the French Kyng and the Great Mastyr it hath be seyd, that they nevyr practised thyng consernyng the peax, otherwyse then was shewid unto the Kynges Hyghnesse, and by Hym accordyd unto.<sup>1</sup>

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#### CCXLIV. DUKE OF SUFFOLK *to King Henry VIII.*<sup>2</sup>

PLEAS it Your Highnes. Thes shalbe to advertise the same that, at suche tyme as I saw moost convenient to breke unto the Frenshe King of the secrete charge that Your Grace gave me in commaundement to disclose unto Hym, taking of Hym, before I disclosed the same, his promyse that, as He was true Prince and upon his faithe, He shuld never open the same to no creature lyving, I shewed unto Hym that Your Grace had gyvin me in commaundement to shew unto Hym, how that Your Grace was advertised from Bryan, that He shuld say unto the said Brian, "How doo the King my brothers affeyres concernyng the devorce;" and the said Brian shuld say, "I trust, well;" upon the whiche He shuld say, "Well, there be somme, that the King my brother doeth trust in that matier, that wold it shuld never take effect; but I shall send Peirs le Vartie to the King my brother, who shall disclose unto Hym that I know therin:" whiche wordes He saith arr suche like He said to Brian. Whiche wordes He spake upon such commynycacion as He had with the Cardinal Campegius; for, when the said Cardinall was with Hym<sup>3</sup>, He did as moche as He cowd to fele, what the said Cardinall intended in your matier, and whether he were good for Your Graces purpose, or not. And in communication the said Cardinall said unto Hym that he must in to England, and from thens into Spayne, and that he hadd a commission of the Pope so to doo; saying, that if he cowd do any goode concernyng the peace, he wold be glad to do his best. Upon the whiche saying, the Frenshe King said, "How is it that ye woll goo into Spayne to thEmperour, and to doo the thing that the King my brother doeth trust

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<sup>1</sup> This relation is wholly in the handwriting of Lord Rochford, and is probably the minute of a despatch which is not extant.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from a letter of Sir Robert Wyngfeld that the Duke of Suffolk was at Calais on the 20th of May, and had proceeded to Montreuil.

<sup>3</sup> Campeggio was at the Court of France in September 1528, on his journey from Rome to England.

“ ye wold doo touching the devorce ? ” to the whiche he aunswereyd, “ That  
“ is trouth, but asfor that, I think shall not take effecte, for that shalbe  
“ dissembled well inough, and I trust I shall shew unto the King of England  
“ such reasons as He shalbe contented to leve that matier.” By the which  
wordes the Frenshe King saithe that He perceyved that the said Cardinall  
Campegious intended not that Your Graces matier shuld take effect, but oonly  
to use dissymulation with Your Grace, for he is entiere imperiale. And to  
thentent Your Grace might be advertised of the same, He shewed the hole  
sayinges of the said Cardinal unto the Busshope of Baite, willing hym to  
advertise Your Grace of it with diligence. And whether the said Busshope  
hathe so done or not, He knoweth not. And when I had of Hym as moch as  
I could concernyng the Cardinall Campegious, I said that Your Grace was  
muche bounden unto Hym for the said advertisement ; further saying unto  
Hym, that Your Grace hathe such affyaunce and especial trust in Hym, that  
if He knew any other that in like caas doith dissemble with Your Grace in  
this matier, what so ever he were, He wold open the same, and so moost  
hertely Your Grace desireth Hym to do ; commaunding me to shew unto  
Hym that Your Grace hath promised Hym, by the faith of a King, that it  
shall never be disclosed to no creature by Your Grace. Unto the whiche He  
said He knew noon other, for if He did He wold not faile to advertise Your  
Grace of hym. And whan I saw I could gett no more of Hym, I said, “ Sir,  
“ what Ye say You by the Cardinal of England in this matier ? ” Wherunto  
He said, “ I shall tell you. Asfor my Lorde Cardinall of England, when he  
“ was with Me, I assure you, as farr as I could perceyve in hym, he wold the  
“ devorce shuld goo furth and take effect, for he loved not the Quene. But  
“ I will speke frankly unto you, and as He that no lesse entendith in his good  
“ mynd and hert the avauncement of the Kinges good purpos in this matier,  
“ than He doith Hym self. Myn advyse shalbe to my good brother, that He  
“ shall have good regarde, and not to put so moch trust in no man, wherby He  
“ may be disceyved, as nighe as He can. And the best remedy for the  
“ defence therof is to loke substancialy upon his matiers Hym self, as I  
“ here say He doithe, whiche I am not a litell glad of.” Further saying unto  
me, that my Lord Cardinal of England had a meruelous intelligence with the  
Pope, and in Rome, and also with the Cardinal Campegious. Wherfor, seying  
that he hath such intelligence with theym, whiche have not mynded to  
advaunce your matier, He thinketh it shalbe the more nede for Your Grace to  
have the better regarde to your said affeyre ; and also saying that He shall  
know no thing that shalbe to the lett therof, but He woll not oonly advertise  
Your Grace of the same, and to withstand it to the best of his poer, but also

to

to do to the advauncement therof asmoche as your hert can think Hym to doo, and that Your Grace shalbe sure of it upon the faith and worde of a King; so that it is not possible for no man to speke better, ne to make more semblaunce of herty affection and love, then He doith towardes Your Grace. What is his entent, God can judge, and not I: but thus I woll say, if his hert be not true unto Your Grace, asmoche as is possible for oone manrys to be to a nother, I shall say it with reverence, that He is moost untruist Prince that ever was in this worlde. And this is the uttermost that I can gett of the Frenshe King herin as yet, which He desireth Your Grace may be kept secret unto Your self. Nevertheles, as I shall see tyme herafter, I shall do the best I can to assay if He woll say any further therin. As knoweth our Lord, who preserve Your Grace long in honour. From Orlyaunce, the 4<sup>th</sup> day of Juyn.<sup>1</sup>

By your humble subgiet and  
moost bounden servaunt,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kingis Highnes.

(Signed) CHARLYS SUFFOLKE.

#### CCXLV. SIR G. DA CASALE AND VANNES TO KING HENRY VIII.

SACRATISSIME ac Sanctissime Domine Rex, et Domine Domine nobis omnium supreme. Post humillimam Commendationem. Ea, quæ Sacratissima Majestas Vestra suis ad Dominum Stefanum literis perscribat, et quæ agenda mandaverat, absente illo ad nos scripta putavimus; atque ubi omnia sepius perlegissemus, ea quidem excerpta Sanctissimo Domino nostro perlegimus, quæ ad continendum Ejus Sanctitatis animum nihil non suspicantem censuimus expedire. Ita enim fieri maxime oportuit quæ omnia seriatim copioseque ad reverendissimum Dominum Legatum Eboracensem Vestre potentissime Regie Majestati perscribimus, et certe non ab re esse judicamus ut mitioribus istis modis Sua Sanctitas tractetur, ne undique desperata, et a confederatis nova indies aliqua injuria lacessita, se totam in hostium manus projiciat. Quibus

<sup>1</sup> Among the letters to the King and Council, Vol. V. No. 92, is a letter to the King from Suffolk, Fitzwilliam, and Knight, dated at Orleans in the month of June, but with a blank for the day, in which they state that they had had an audience of Francis, and "declared their whole "charge," and thought the result could be better communicated verbally than by writing, for which purpose Fitzwilliam had agreed to return home.

autem modis ea in re utamur, Vestra Regia Majestas ex nostris ad cundem reverendissimum Dominum Legatum literis intelliget:

*Quod autem ipsa mandat, ut postquam Pontifer multa a Casarianis timere videtur, utpote qui in eorum fauibus virat, de hoc metu, si quicquam adversus Regiae Majestatis Vestrae causam efficerit, protestatur, ab Ejusque Sanctitate ad verum Christi vicarium appellemus; et, quae sequuntur, certe ministrum nullum habet, qui audaciiori animo, quam nos, sit obiturus. Sed iterum atque iterum meminisse dignetur, an regiae suae causae expeditat ut ad hujusmodi appellationem deveniamus, quum de hujusmodi appellationibus nullis antea temporibus quicquam hic factum esse intelligamus. Nos certe, nisi de ea appellatione Vestra Sacratissima Majestas aliud præceperit, omnia peragemus, hic servatis quæ in literis præscribuntur. De intercipiendis literis, si quæ in Angliam adversus Regiae Majestatis Vestrae causam expedirentur, hoc ipsa pro comperto habeat, nos vigilantiam industriam operamque omnem, tum nostram tum amicorum, adhibituros, ne quid tale hic expediatur. Si tamen quicquam fuerit expeditum, id saltem resciamus, et in aliquo loco commodo procul hinc interciptatur, ne facile sit interceptioni remedium. In summa, quod fieri per nos poterit, totis viribus conabimur, ne hæc res, si ulla acciderit, nostros oculos vel manus effugiat.*

De adventu Cæsaris, quem pro re certa nobis Pontifex affirmavit, ad Reverendissimum Dominum Eboracensem<sup>3</sup> distincte scribimus, ne Vestrae Regie Majestati molesti simus longioribus literis. Cujus deosculatis manibus nos etiam atque etiam humillime commendamus, vitamque longevam et perpetuam felicitatem precamur. Romæ, die 6 Junij, 1529.

Vestre Sacratissime Majestatis  
Humillimi subditi ac perpetui servi,  
(Signatur) GREGORI<sup>E</sup> CASALI<sup>E</sup>.  
PETRUS VANNES.

Rogavimus Suam Sanctitatem, ut inprimis accurate caveat, ne a Sua Sanctitate vel ab hac curia quicquam emanet, quod Regis pectus, plus nimio indignatum et inhumaniter tractatum, nova aliqua injuria et offensione irritet, et quodammodo pacatum commoveat; in quem certe eventum manifestissimam malorum omnium causam et occasionem preberet, que omnia a nobis eo consilio dicebantur, ne postea Sua Sanctitas posset excusare Se premonitam non

<sup>1</sup> See Vitellius, B. XI. leaves 124, 182, 139, 154.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is in cypher.

<sup>3</sup> This letter, dated on the same day, is in the Museum, Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 147.

fuisse: que nostra verba in optimam partem accepit, egit gratias, rogavitque ut Regie Majestatis animum conaremur Sue Sanctitati conservare, qua re nihil optacius sibi poterit contingere. Quod vero ad Se pertineret, omnia que juste posset semper concessura erat, sciens autem factura nihil quod animum vel causam posset offendere. Jussimus Pontificem bono animo esse, diximusque Regiam Majestatem non minorem respectum ad Sanctitatem Suam habituram esse, quam ad proprias res, modo ipse accurate caveret, ne ulla sua culpa Regis bene affectum et filiale animum nova aliqua injuria irritaret. Rursus promisit se pocius velle propriam salutem in discrimen adducere, quam Regiam Majestatem offendere.

(*Superscribitur*)

Sacratissime ac Invictissime Regie Majestati.

#### CCXLVI. LEE TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it Your Highnes. The last of Maye, I wrote to the same, advertiseng of suche occurrentes as werr than heer, *and speciallie of oone Gonsalo Ferdinand, the Emperoris chaplayn, of whom we wrote afore that he was arrived into Englond, for so we supposed at that tyme; but sithyn that tyme I have perceived by letters from the coste, that the Emperor sent hym to the Erle of Desmont, and that he is agayn retorne to the Emperor with a chapeleyne of the sayde Erles.*<sup>2</sup>

*This with ooder things tooching the same mater, we wrote at that tyme, and sent the letters doble, by sea and by lande.<sup>3</sup> Sithen whiche tyme be comme to our handes the letters of my Lord Cardinalles Graces the five of June, by whiche we understande the pleasure of Your Highness, aswell too chenge the retorne of my Lord of Worcester, as also of my remaynenge heer; and ferthermore what Your Highness pleasure is that I shall doo toochenge the Breve, in suche things as afore were to be executed by my Lorde of Worcestre; in which, and all ooder, I trust I shall doo my best*

The whole of this letter is in cypher, except the first line, a line shortly after, the two last lines, the date, compliment, and signature. The original is slightly injured by damp.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from despatches preserved in the Museum that for several months a clandestine intercourse had been kept up between the Earl of Desmond and the Court of Spain: Vespasian, C. IV. leaves 264, 276, 285 b, 288, 297. Desmond was in rebellion. Supra, Vol. II. p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> See Vespasian, C. IV. leaves 323 and 325.

enderor to my power, to the satisfaction of Your Highness commanudementes. Nevertheless it is thought to my Lorde of Worcestre and me both, that seeing that the date of the Breve doth cleerlie scheue the falsitie of the same, as my Lorde of Worcestre nowe doth suerlie avore, that no neede shall be to make instance to the Emperor for the original Breve, but to take a copie outte of the regester at Rome; for unto that copie or transsumpte my Lorde of Worcestre sayeth that asmutche fayeth is to be geven, as to the originall. And morover, Your Highness afors this tyme perceiveth that I am in place wher I can doo nothing therin, although the rescriptes were nowe comme; for the Emperor will not suffre us to continewe in his Courte, but hath remitted us to Vallolite, and as yet we heere no worde of the rescriptes, and yet moreover [we] both doo feare, leste for lakke of knowledge and practise in the lawe, I might peradventure doo anye prejudiciable to the mater, toochenge the behalfe of Your Highness. My goode will and employinge of my selfe shall not lakke, and all instructions geven to me, toochenge the same, I shall folowe in everie: and further shall, as nygh as I can, doo nothing prejudiciable to Your Highness, if I maye be sufferde to retorne to the Courte, which we thinke, by experience of the last tyme, the Emperor will not suffer, onles I have anye newe commission, to be communed of to His Majesty, from Your Highness; for so He conditioned oure commenage at the laste repayre unto Hym. Albeit, as we both think, and speciallie my Lorde of Worcestre, whos experience is in thees things, that the execution of the rescriptes, shall not nede, savenge oonlie to enterteyne the Emperoris Cownsell in opinion that the falsitie of the Breve is not detected, unto suche tyme as the transcript maye be hade outte of the registre at Rome, whiche oones taken ouhte, the originall shall nothinge neede. And for that entente to keepe the Emperoris Cownsell in that opinion, my Lord of Worcestre, who needes nowe must goo by Parpinion, Don Inachus makenge his entre that waye, takenge the Corte in his way, will, if the rescriptes be commen whiles he is ther, if he maye have that leasure, execute them; and if he can not have that leasure, or that they be not comme, yet he will leve somme order ther for the execution of them, if that he can, except anye contrarie commaundement be from Your Highness; and so entendeth, aswell as maye be, by somme oodre to supplie my absence.

The preparation for the Emperoris passayge goeth mouche forwarde, and He still pretendeth constante purpose to pass, but nowe they write, that it will be Julie first in somme parte theron; albeit somme put heerunto, if He goo. He hath greate provision of wheate; the Kynge of Tremenys in Affrica, which is vassall to the Kynge of Castell, provideth for the Emperor a hunderd thowsande hanegas, which is more than the busschell of Englonde.

*There is nowe comme to the Courte a newe Nuncio Apostolico, which was the Popes Stuarde, and hath his Bischopriche under the French King, besids Avinion.<sup>1</sup>*

*The Dolphyne and his brodre be nowe broughte ferther into Castell, to a place called Pedrasa, wer is a stronge castell. Aboutes forten daies past an espie of the French Kingis was taken ther and quarterd, who, they saye, hath confessed of manye oodre.*

*Your Highness merchants resortinge to this contree complayne sore that the Frenchmen doth spoyle them on the sea. I think they take to greve that oure men bringe wheate to this contree: albeit they spoyled also afore, as our merchants say. I trowe nodre they, nodre the Spanyards, can putt anye defaulte in Your Highness subgietts hidreto. I thinke thees Frenchmen be pirates; pitie it is they should be sufferd. Ower Lorde banysshe this warr, and maigchteyne the prosperouse astate of Your Highnes. At Valolite, the 12<sup>th</sup> of June, 1529.*

Your Highnes most bownden preest,

(Signed) EDOUARDE LEE,

Almosinar.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

### CCXLVII. WOLSEY TO SIR GREGORY DA CASALE.

DOMINE Gregori, Salutem et Commendationem. Postquam obsignaveram, et jam complicaveram fasciculum harum literarum, easque ad Dominum Bryanum Tukam istuc destinandas miseram, applicerunt hue Dominus Stephanus et Dominus Franciscus Bryanus, quibuscum habita longa collocutione, et acceptis vestris literis, cumulate cognovi, quo in statu istic res essent, quidque in Regis negocio actum sit. Præterea tum ex eorum sermone et relatu, tum ex dictis vestris literis, abunde cognovi Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, præter omnem nostram expectationem, noluisse ulla in re Serenissimi Domini mei Regis votis et petitionibus adnuere; nihilque prorsus eorum, quæ ego de Suæ Sanctitatis benignitate Regiae Majestati pollicitus fueram, concessisse. Quod quidem auditu mihi omnium molestissimum fuit, et vehementissime doleo tam parvam haberi rationem meritorum hujus invictissimi Principis, tum erga Sanctitatem Suam, tum erga Sanctam istam Sedem. Verumtamen, licet hanc ob causam huic Regiae Majestati non parva occasio detur deserendi potius Sanctissimum

<sup>1</sup> Jerome Selade, Bishop of Vaison. See before, note p. 166.

Dominum nostrum et Apostolicam Sedem, quam pro eis quicquam agendi, tamen, quum ego intellexerim Ejus Sanctitatem magnopere vereri, ne ab His Principibus, in hoc pacis tractatu, vel excludatur, vel non satis conveniens ratio rerum ac dignitatis ipsius habeatur; conabor omni opera studio et intercessione apud Serenissimum Dominum, meum Regem, ita agere, ut dicta Sanctitas honorifice digneque in concludenda pace tractetur, ac bonum et honor Ipsius, Apostolicæque Sedis, ex Ejus sententia respiciatur. In quam rem Ejus Majestatem, licet non ita grate secum agatur, ut merita ipsius exposcunt, et tam parum expectationi suæ hactenus responsum sit, promptissimam tamen futuram non ambigo; quæ ut est suopte ingenio humanissima et singulari prædita generositate, pro comperto habeo, eam (me etiam intercessore) non minori affectu et efficacia quam semper antehac fecerit, commodum et dignitatem Sanctissimi Domini Nostri, istiusque Sanctæ Sedis, imprimis cordi habituram et tutaturam, eaque omnia officia præstaturam, quæ ab optimo devotissimoque Ejus Sanctitatis filio expectari possunt. Dummodo Eadem Sanctitas huic serenissimo Regi injuriam non inferat, nec tam ingrate secum agat, et præsertim si nihil in dictæ causæ avocatione tentaverit, molitave fuerit in prajudicium aut diminutionem honoris et existimationis Suæ Majestatis; aliter si (quod absit) dictam causam avocaverit, aut quicquam aliud, adversariorum instigatione, adversus eam egerit, pro certo habete, quod non solum regium animum, et totum hoc regnum, maxime irritabit, sed etiam a sua et Sedis Apostolicæ devotione penitus alienabit, ac me, humillimam et devotissimam Ejus Sanctitatis creaturam, omnino perdet et funditus destruet. Nam, quum huic cause favere, et Regijs votis adnuere et satisfacere nolit, non debet saltem ei adversari, aut in eam prejudiciale quicquam, intuitu vel metu adversariorum, concedere. Quapropter, Domine Gregori, quam efficacissime possum, vos ex animo rogo, ut vestra industria prudentia et sedulitate instare pergatis apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum; quod postquam Regiæ Majestatis petitionibus per vos aliasque suos Oratores propositis adnuere minime voluit, nolit saltem ejus causam avocare, aut aliquo pacto ei obesse; ne eodem tempore propria culpa Se ipsam et Apostolicam Sedem Princeps et Protectore omnium optimo amantissimoque Sua Sanctitas privet; mihiq; authoritatem, gratiam, reputationem, bona omnia, ac demum ipsam salutem eripiat. Quod si effecerit, præterquam quod invictissimum hunc Regem obsequentissimum Sibi filium perpetuo confirmabit; et me observantissimum Ejus servulum servabit, ex devinetissimoque devinctiorem Sibi reddet; omnino Sibi persuadeat me ita pro viribus apud Serenissimum Dominum, meum Regem, et apud Christianissimum, reliquosque confederatos acturum et curaturum, ut res Sanctitatis Suæ et istius Sanctæ Sedis omnino ex sententia compositas iri non dubitem, et fore ut digna earum ratio

ratio habeatur. Ad quod faciendum Serenissimum hunc Regem me facilius inducturum spero, si Sanctitas Sua bonas et efficaces literas in istam sententiam Suæ Majestati, cum omni celeritate, transmitti curaverit; mihique in Suæ Sanctitatis negocijs promovendis animum et spiritum dederit: constantissimeque, meo nomine, Sanctissimo Domino nostro affirmabis, non fore inutile Sanctitati Suæ ac Sedi Apostolice hunc potentissimum Regem non spernere, sed amantem et benevolum Sibi perpetuo conservare ac manuteneret; quoniam novus amicus, qualiscunque is fuerit, non erit similis Illi. Et bene valete. Londini, die 24 Junij, 1529.<sup>1</sup>

Vestri amantissimus,

(*Superscribitur*)

(*Signatur*)

T. CARLIS EBOZ.

Magnifico Equiti Domino Gregorio Casilio,  
Serenissimi Domini Regis Angliae et Franciae  
apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Oratori.  
&c., tanquam fratri carissimo.

### CCXLVIII. GARDYNER TO VANNES, &c.<sup>2</sup>

AFTER my most herty commendations. These shalbe to advertise youe that, our Lorde be thanked, I am savely arryved here, and have distinctly and at good lenght declared unto the Kinges Highnes, in what astate and condition I left his affayres there, with your diligent and good acquital in his affayres, for the which His Highnes geveth unto youe his most harty thankes. And albeit ye be nowe advertised, aswell by this post, as by other letters to youe before directed, howe ye shal demeane your selfes in the letting of the advocation of His Graces cause, at thEmperoures agentes or the Quenes pursute; yet I thought convenient by these my letters to advertise youe, that this advocation of the cause is gretly pondred and considred here, not oonly with the Kinges Grace, but also with al other nobles of the realme: for in eace the Pope, as God forbydde, shulde advocate the said cause, not only therby the Kinges Grace and al his nobles shulde decline from the Pope and See Apostolique, but also the same shulde redounde to my Lorde Cardinalles, our common masters, utter undoing. I doubt not therfor ye wil forsee that matier accordingly. And where as by the Kinges letters to youe directed

<sup>1</sup> The King's despatch to the Ambassadors at Rome (Benet, Gregory da Casale, and Vannes), dated on the 23d of June, is in the Museum (Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 165), and has been printed by Burnet, Vol. I. p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph. From the Museum, Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 166.

synnes my departing thens, ye wer advised and instructed to make an appellation and protestation tanquam a non vicario ad verum vicarium Jhesu Christi, bicause the Kinges Highnes perceyvith by your letters, wryten in cifre to His Grace, that the said appellation might irritate the Popes Holynes, and rather hindre his cause thenne doo good, his pleasure therfor is that ye shal forbere to make any such protestacion or appellation, notwithstanding any clause conteyned in his said letters to the contrary, but that ye shal by al dulce and pleasaunte meanes enterteyne the Popes Holynes in good benevolence and favour towardes the Kinges Highnes, soo that by exasperating Him He doo noon acte anew to the derogacion of his commission and processe to be made therupon here. And as towching the commen affayres of peace and other the Kinges mynde I remit youe to my Lord Legates letters.

Furthermore I shal desire youe to remembre, and specially youe, Master Peter, that my Lordes Graces bulles for his colleges of Oxforde and Ipswich be expedite with al diligence according to such instructions as I lefte with youe; wherof parte be nowe renewed by such minutes as my Lordes Grace sendith unto youe concernyng the same. In al the rest to be sped, to folowe suche instructions as I left with youe. Thus most hartely fare ye wel. From Westminster, the 25 day of June.

Yours assuredly to my litel power,

(Signed) STEVEN GARDYNER.

#### CCXLIX. VANNES to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SACRATISSIME ac Invictissime Domine Rex, et Domine mi omnium supreme. Post humillimam devotissimamque commendationem. Ex communibus ad Reverendissimum Dominum Eborum literis, majori ex parte in gifris scriptis<sup>2</sup>, omnia Sacratissima Majestas Vestra intelliget, que de sua hic causa agantur. Que vero suis ad nos literis de incepto istic processu sigillatim nobis significavit, maluimus generatim omnia Pontifici referre, quam ad illas particularitates devenire, quo advocationem differremus. Nam si Pontifex intellexisset de appellatione Reginæ, et quod istic ageretur contra illam de contumacia, certissimum est quod nunquam distulisset advocationem. Igitur ne Sua

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

- See Vitellius, B. XI, leaf 113.

<sup>2</sup> This portion of the letter is in cypher.

*Sanctitas dictas particularitates, et multo plures, cognosceret, retinuimus apud nos ad aliquot dies fasciculum Domini Cardinalis Campegij directum fratri suo. Proinde, si Campegius conqueratur quod suæ litteræ non fuerint redditæ, Vestra Majestas et Reverendissimus Dominus Eborum poterunt prætendere ignorantiam, admirationem, vel excusationem; et facile erit, quia nos dictas Vestræ Majestatis litteras accepimus incerto modo; nam si proprius fuit expeditus cursor, ille, ut opinor, ægrotat in itinere. Nos fecimus ut sumptibus nostris Pontifex expediret hunc tabellarium; quia hæc est visa nobis via securior.*

*Majestas Vestra poterit non omnia quæ scribimus Campegio ostendere; sed illa solum, quæ expedire putabit. Poterit etiam dicere, licet non verum sit, quod nos nihil timemus de advocatione; ne ipse, ea spe detentus, sententiam differat. Nos enim salvo meliori judicio putamus, quod Campegius non libenti animo veniat ad hanc sententiam, et quod non molestum illi esset, ut causa advo- caretur. Mihi parcat Vestra Majestas, si libere, sed fideliter, loquor. Sciat Majestas Vestra, si advocationem timet, quod nil magis potest nocere quam mora. Ideo festinatione est opus; et quamvis Pontifex dicat se velle differre advocationem, ego tamen timeo, ne, acceptis a Regina et Domina Margareta litteris, cogatur a Cæsarianis causam advocare. Bonum itaque esset, ut litteræ Reginæ in Flandriam interciperentur; cavereque, ne per illam viam aliquod impedimentum in Angliam afferatur.*

*Si Majestas Vestra voluerit obtemperare Pontificis petitionibus, expedit ut statim rescribat; sin minus faciat, quod magis utile fuerit, hoc certum est Suam Sanctitatem esse optimo erga Majestatem Vestram animo, et non minorem dolorem, quam Vestra Majestas, habet; et certe video quod non recusaret sanguinem effundere pro Vestra Majestate; sed in hac causa, et in hoc tempore, dicit esse impossibile. Bulle Majestatis Vestre adhuc non sunt expedite; sed omni diligentia illas prosequor; et ubi expeditas habuero, statim mittam. Morositas enim et continuus labor Sanctissimorum Quatuor, protervaque scriptorum negligentia, hanc expeditionem differunt.*

Deus felicissimum rerum suarum finem Invictissime Majestati Vestre concedat. Cui me humillime ac devotissime perpetuo commendo. Rome, die 9 Julij<sup>1</sup>, 1529.

Vestre Sacratissime Regie Majestatis  
Humillimus subditus ac sempiternum mancipium,

(*Superscribitur*)  
Sacratissime ac Invictissime Regie Majestati.

PETRUS VANNES.

<sup>1</sup> There is a letter of the same date from Benet to Wolsey (Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 192) printed by Burnet, Vol. I. Collection, p. 80. Several other letters of the same date, and on the same subject, occur in Vitellius, B. XI. leaves 184-194.

## CCL. WOLSEY to BENET, &amp;c.

MASTER Benet, Sir Gregory, and Mr. Peter, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. Lating you wit, that your letters dated at Rome the 9<sup>th</sup> day of July, sent by the berer hereof, arrived here the 22<sup>th</sup> day of the same, at eight of the cloke in the night, whiche berer, bifore delyvery of your paequet, had ben with my Lorde Cardinal Campegius, and made delivery unto hym of diverse letters to hym addressed.

*<sup>1</sup> By tenor of your letters the King perceivith the grete diligence and prudent enderor, which ye, by al waies and meanes to you possible, have, like right faithful and good Oratours and servauntes, used to move persuade and induce the Pope in no wise to condescende to the advocation of the Kings cause of matrimony, and the manifolde grete reasons by you inferred to that purpose, and howe that finally, after many and long discourses had therupon, ye coude no more by any meane conduce, then a good hope of respite therof, til such time as by this curror ye might in diligence receive answer from hens to your said letters; douting neverthelesse veray moche and being incertain for the daily change and novelte of thinges, whither such delay, til this answer had, should be by the Pope wel observed or not; like as your saide letters ful wel extended, purporte more at large: for the which your discrete and diligent demeanor and advertisement the King geveth unto you condigne thankes, like as I also do the semblable; assuring you that, sens ye have thus wel acquited yourselfes in the delay of the said advocation for such time as ye supposed, celerite being used, sentence might here have ben geven, no lesse lawde and praise is to you to be ascribed for your partes, then though the same had taken that effect. Howbeit to shewe unto you in grete and secrete counsail, and to be in any wise reserved to your selfe without disclosing therof to the Pope or any other person, suche discrepance and contrariete of opinions hath here ensued in the said cause, that no maner of hope is, the same opinions can be in any brefe time groundly trutinate, waied, and in every parte to the point pondred, but that it must require more long demore and tracte of time for the profounde digesting of the same, so as no certain time being knownen, howe*

<sup>1</sup> From hence to the concluding line, containing the date, this letter is wholly in cypher, and no contemporary decypher has been discovered. It is worthy of notice that the cyphers, used by Vannes and Da Casale in their correspondence with Wolsey at this period, although the writers were engaged in the same embassy, differed totally in character.

long it shal be, before the said opinions shal mowe be wel resolved, remembryng furthermore that nowe within on weke the dais judicial shall expire, wherin it is by the lawe used and appointed to procede in such causes, and so the course of processe must nedes of force ceace for two monethes or ther aboute, it is here taken for a thing not faisible so long to protract and put over the signature of the said advocation, as shal be requisite for a good resolucion to be had upon the said opinions; and finally rather than thus to stond contynually in the suspence and doubte of the said advocation, and at the last the same to emane and go forthe, al the labor to the contrary notwithstanding, it hath ben thought convenient to studie and excogitate some ither waies and meanes here for remedy of the Kings cause. Therefore, though percase the advocation be not yet past, which is herde to be bileded, seing the improtunite of the Cesariens, and that ye may be in some hope to protract it lenger yet; better it shall be to begin betimes to the experimenting and actual execucion of the said other waies and meanes, then upon trust of putting over the advocation, at the last to have it after a worse sorte then were mete to be here obeied. For this cause ye shal by your wisedomes and discrecions so rrdre your selfe herin, as that which ye shal do, ensuing the divice herafter folowing, be not noted or thought to procede of any instruccion from hens, otherwise than ye shal perceive must nedis be. For ye shal understande that my said Lorde Legate Campegius writeth in the same conformite as I do, geving knowlege to the Popes Holines, howe the graunting of this advocation is here taken; not, for that he shal move the Pope any further to delay the same, seing at the last it wol not faile to be graunted, and that, byfore the sentence can here be geven; but to the intent, that sens it shal nedis passe, it may be so qualified as it be not her disobeid. For, plainly to shewe unto you, if either it be alredy passed, or shal nowe or at any time herafter passe, with citacion of the King in person or by procurator to the Courte of Rome, or with any clauses of interdiccion excominicacion, incurring into contempte, vel cum invocacione brachij secularis aut penis pecuniarijs, wherby the King should be secluded from the taking his avantage otherwise, the dignitie and prerogative roiall of the Kings crowne, wherunto al the nobles and subgettes of this Realme wol adhere and stike unto the deth, may not tollerate nor suffer that the same be obeied. And to say the trouthe, in so doing, the Pope should not only shewe Himselfe the Kings enemy, but also as moche as in Him is, provoke al other Princes and people to be the semblable. Ne it shal ever be seen that the Kings cause shall be ventilated or decided in any place oute of this his oun Realme, but that if His Grace at any time should come to the Courte of Rome, He would do the same with suche a mayn and army roial, as should be formidable to the Pope and al Italy. But if the advocation

*advocation sounde non other wise, but as a bare and nude closing of the handes of me and my Lorde Legate my college, suffering the mater so to remayn in suspence without citacion of the King, or mencion of contempt excominication interdiccion or calling of temporal power or paines pecuniary, or secluding the King from any other remedy that His Grace may take in his said cause, or other thing don, wherby His Grace should be compelled to demaunde answer or defende by Him or his Agentes oute of this Realme, or suffer prejudice, or do thing contrary to his said prerogative roial, then shal ye suffer it to passe without any maner requisicion of tracte or delay; shewing planely to the Pope that, the Kinges said prerogative roial considred, if He take other waies then this, it shal be but a meane to excite and stirre not only the hottest war that ever was, but also make prejudice of the dignite of the See Apostolique, then is nowe mete to be reherced. For a citacion of the King to the Courte of Rome or to any place out of this Realme, either in his person or by his procurator, or suche comminacion of paine of contimacie interdiccion excominication or invocacion of temporal power or paines pecuniary, or clause secluding the King from his avantage otherwise, is no more tollerable than the hole amission of his said astate and dignitie roial, and that may ye wel assure the Pope; so that if the advocation, otherwise then in this forme, be alredy passed, ye shal say to His Holines ther is no remedy, if He intende the quiete of Cristendome and the conservacion of the dignite of the See, but to revoke the same, and sende a newe advocation, qualified as is aforsaid, and that with suche celerite as no besines arise of the first; which in the meane season, if it come, shal be kept so secrete, as no knowlege or mencion therof shall be made to the King, ne abrode in this Realme, but shal be reserved to my said Lorde Legate Campegius and me, to be remitted or cancelled upon the said revocacion of it, and the sending of a newe qualified advocation as is aforsaid. And by this way ye shal say His Holines shall sufficiently satisfie to the Cesariens, being sure that the cause shal not be decided before me and my said college here, and also avoide and put by the grete dangers which by the other way might ensue. I require you therfore, nowe ye knowe what is to be don herin, that applyng your wittis and studies herunto, and not to cosume the time in lenger protracting or delaing of the advocation or inhibicion, seing at the last it wol come, ye do so haddle this mater, as either the advocation being alredy past it be revoked, and a newe sent in diligence as is aforsaid, or not being passed it be qualified to the purpose bifore specified; and then, the sooner it come, the better it shal be for the experimenting of other thinges, to be set forth as the cace shal require.*

*Over this ye shal understande that the Bishop of Worcester, by often and*

many letters sent out of Spaine, and nowe newly by freshe letters, plainly and constanly affermeth the date of the Brife, alleged to be in the Emperors handes, evidently to prove the Brife to be false, and that the yere in such brives is accompted a Nativitate Cristi, that is to say, a 25<sup>o</sup> die Decembris, like as by an attestacion brought also by Master Stephins from the Courte of Rome was testified and declared. Howbeit the said Lord Legate Campiegus affermeth that Nativitas Cristi in such brives is used to be accompted a primo die Januarij, so that though the computacio be a Nativitate, yet the sme is understanden a primo Januarij. Therfore sens her is such variete and discrepance of opinions in that mater, expedient it shal be that ye, by as sure and substancial meanes as to you shal be possible, do perfittely and diligently enserche and knowe the trouthe and certeintie of the same, having special regarde to the profounde inquire herof, seing that ther may be subornacion of Secretaries, and other meanes used to color the trouthe, and therfore ye shal not omit to serche the veray botom herof in as sure maner as ye can divise; and amonges other, to consulte therupon with the Cardinal Ravenna, who in divising with Master Stevins said, that the yere is accompted a Nativitate, which wordes howe he understoode and ment them is wel to be inquired, and the trouth wel knownen to have it testified in such autentique and judicial forme, as it may suffise for a perfite and sure comprobacion of the trouthe in al places. For therin resteth the hole scope of the disproving the said Brife.

Wherupon, seing that the Bishop of Worcester is nowe in his way towarde the Courte of Rome, and that the thinges by you to be prosecuted there, over and besides the premisses, shall not require the presence of so many personages, it is the Kings pleasure that ye, Master Peter Vanne, retorne hither, bringing with you the said attestacion; and assone as the said Bishop of Worcester shal be arrived in the Courte of Rome, ye Master Benet, not abiding any other commaundement or licence, shal likewise retorne home; and not oonly ye al togidre, bifore your departure, but also ye, Sir Kregory, after the same, alwaies to inculke unto the Pope, as of your selfes, what high ingratitudo the King hath cause to conceive in the Pope, seing that in al the time sens this the Kinges cause was first opened unto Him, nothing hath ben don for His Grace, but that, which in on moment, for the Emperours pleasure, is totally frustrate and of non effect; and that ye doubt not but it is and wolbe merveile for the King to knowe, and here by your letters or otherwise, that the Poopes Holines, to shewe a demonstracion of kindnes to the King, would commit this cause to his Legates, to be decided in partibus, with promise, not only never to avoke it; but also to conferme their sentence; and nowe either to merveile that

*no sentence shal be geven, or for lak of such promise to passe the advocation. Therfore ye shal say, though ye, seing non other remedy, wol no lenger contende to protracte the advocation qualified as is aforsaid, yet for the perfite devocion, that ye beire towardes His Holines and the See Apostolique, ye thinke in any wise convenient that the same His Holines divise and studie some other meane and way to satisfie unto this noble Prince; whose conscience, what soever shal be said writen or don ther, can in no wise be removed for that scrupule which it hath meritoriously conceived, that bothe by divine and humane lawe this matrimony is not good, ne can by any living person be made good. And therfore sens His Holines, to please the Emperour, dothe so manifest ingratitudo to the King by this advocation, if He wol not as gladly studie a way and meane to satisfie His Grace otherwise by som such thing as may serve to the purpose of His Highnes herin, and that with al celerite, and without any lenger tracte demore or delay, surely ye see not but it wol be a meane to aliene this Realme from the obedience of that See.<sup>1</sup> Which thinges ye, Sir Gregori, shal extende by suche a confident maner, as ye ar accustomed to speike with His Holines, and finally do the best ye can with al the waiers to you possible, that som suche thing be don by the Pope, as may be to the Kings satisfaccion and contentement in this behalfe. The discrete and prudent handeling wherof after your accustumable maner the King remitteth to your wisedomes and discrecions to be with al dexterite and diligence handeled accordingly. And fare you hertely well. From my place besides Westmynstre, the 27<sup>th</sup> day of July.*

(Signed) Y<sup>o</sup>l lovyng frende,  
T. CAR<sup>TS</sup> EBOZ.

### CCLI. POPE CLEMENT VII. to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

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CARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Gratissimum habuimus, quamdiu apud Nos mansit, dilectum filium Petrum Vannem, Serenitatis Tuae Oratorem; cuius studium diligentiamque in rebus tuis agendis hoc testimonio et commendatione nostra dignum judicavimus. Perspexit is sepe molestiam quam cepimus ex difficultatibus, quæ impideverunt

<sup>1</sup> The Brief of Advocacion, dated 29th August 1529, (of which a contemporary copy is in the State Paper Office) is printed by Herbert, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph.

cupiditatem nostram gratificandi Serenitati Tuæ; cui ut satisfacere possemus, Nos quidem nichil pretermisimus. Si id desiderio nostro non fuit satis, voluntatem tamen nostram Tibi gratam et probatam esse cupimus. Deus custodiat Serenitatem Tuam. Rome, secunda Septembris, 1529. .J.

(*Superscribitur*)  
Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro, Henrico  
Angliæ Regi, Fidei Defensori.

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### CCLII. GHINUCCI TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SERENISSIME Princeps. Disposueram me ad respondendum gratissimis literis Majestatis Vestræ, quas ad me Andreas meus portaverat. Jamque operi principium dederam, cum appulit huc unus cursor, asserens se ex Urbe ad Majestatem Vestram cum diligentia missum, per quem quidem hominem meam respcionem mittere voluisse. Sed cum cursor expectare non possit, non licuit, nolui tamen ut omnino absque literis meis veniret, quibus nunciarem quod intra duos aut tres dies redibit ad Majestatem Vestram cum diligentia dictus Andreas, per quem mittam ad Eam et dictam respcionem, et aliquid aliud, per quod ut spero percipiet non esse verum, quod aliqui Majestati Vestræ persuadere conati sunt, in brevibus Sanctitatis accipi datam a Nativitate Domini, et illa die incipere annis, sed quoad scripturam non fieri mutationem usque ad diem primam Januarij, quia immo judicio meo re ipsa et veritate comperiet die Nativitatis Domini incipere annis in brevibus, et eadem die quoad datam et scripturam mutari annum. Ego etiam me ad iter mihi per Majestatem Vestram mandatum præparo, et spero intra eosdem duos aut tres dies ambulare. Commando me cum omni humilitate Majestati Vestræ, quam Deus Nobis diu felicem et votorum compotem conservet. Ex civitate Parisiensi, die 13 Septembris, 1529.

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Serenissimæ Majestatis,  
Humillima creatura,  
(*Superscribitur*)  
Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati.

HIE. EP̄S WIGORNEÑ.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

CCLIII. THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. *to King Henry VIII.*

TRESHAUT, Tresexcellent et Trespuissant Prince, treschier et tresame bon Frere, Cousin, et bel Oncle. A Vous tant cordialment et effectueusement que faire pouvons, Nous recommandons. Nous escrivons presentement a notre ame et feal Conseillier, Maistre aux Requestes Ordinaire de nostre Hostel, et Ambassadeur vers Vous, le Docteur Messire Eustace Chappuis, aucunes choses pour Vous dire et requerir de nostre part, concernans grandement, et tres necessairement empourtans a lhonneur et service de Dieu, preservacion de nostre mere saincte Eglise et foy Catholique, et au bien de toute Christiente. Nous Vous requerons, treshault, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, croyre nostredict Ambassadeur, comme nostre propre personne, et a leffect Vous employer comme dung vray Prince Christien, Deffenseur de la Foy, se doit esperer, et que croyons fermement ferez. Et aussi Vous pouvez persuader que de nostre couste y ferons tout extreme de possible sans y espargner les biens y la personne, puis que en mclieur ne plus saincte oeuvre nen scaurions faire service a Dieu. Auquel, Treshault, Tresexcellent et Trespuissant Prince, treschier et tresame bon Frere, Cousin, et bel Oncle, prions Vous avoir en Sa tressainte garde. Escript en Plaisance, le 24<sup>e</sup> de Septembre, 1529.

(Signé)      Vrē bon frere et Neveue,  
CHARLES.

(Contresigné)      A. PERZENUS.

(Suscrit)

A Treshault, Tresexcellent, et Trespuissant Prince,  
nostre treschier et tresame bon frere, cousin, et  
bel oncle, le Roy d'Angleterre et de France,  
Deffenseur de la Foy, et Seigneur d'Yrlande.

CCLIV. SIR GREGORY DA CASALE *to Wolsey.*

REVERENDISSIME in Christo Pater, et Illustrissime Domine, Domine mi colendissime. Post humilem Commendationem &c. Cesaris Oratores literas a Sua Majestate mihi ostenderunt, quibus significat maximam se letitiam ex pace confecta pro publico Christiani nominis bono concepisse, imprimisque maximo affici gaudio ob reiteratam cum Serenissimo Rege Anglie amicitiam, cuius Majestati

Majestati multum se debere fatetur, et quam semper boni amici loco consanguinei et benefactoris habere concupivit, et cum qua inimicitias exercere miro dolore afficiebatur. Preterea ijdem Oratores mihi confirmarunt Cesarem velle Oratorem ad Regiam Majestatem mittere, simulque humanissimas literas Dominationi vestre reverendissime conscribere, ostendens eam Se patris loco semper habiturum; et ad hanc sententiam multa placidissima verba adjunxerunt. Hec ea de causa scripsi, ut, si Regie Majestati et Dominationi vestre reverendissime visum fuerit, quum Cesaris Oratores hujusmodi mihi literas ostenderint, mihi, vel cuiquam alteri, quem magis hoc officio fungi libeat, mandetur, ut gratie Cesari agantur de tam bona in Regiam Majestatem voluntate, que mihi per Sue Majestatis Oratores significata fuit, et multa ad eandem sententiam accommodata dicantur: neque ab re fore judico, si ita visum fuerit, literas ad Cesarem dare, fidem verbis facientes.

Preterea sciat Dominatio vestra reverendissima Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum et Cesarem decrevisse Bononie convenire, ut res, que inter Ipsos vertunt, queque ad totius Italie statum pertinent, componant; qua de re necesse erit ut Bononie aliquandiu commoren tur. Unde si Regia Majestas volet Oratorem cum aliqua pompa et dignitate, ut par est, ad Cesaream Majestatem destinare, neminem commodiorem ad id munus, si ejus operam non aspernetur, Protonotario fratre meo, qui Venetij est, eligere posset; qui quum satis numerosam et ornatam familiam habeat, Bononie etiam multos consanguineos et familiares habebit, qui omnibus honoribus ejus personam sunt prosequuturi. Neque hoc sine causa dico, ut enim ex apparatu colligi potest, congressus iste magna cum pompa fiet.

Quod autem ad Cesarem pertinet, Ejus Majestas adeo bonam voluntatem erga Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum hucusque ostendit, ut nihil amplius ab Eo desiderari possit; idque Legati, et Nuntius, et omnes denique alij uno ore predictant, comprobaturque a Sue Majestatis actionibus. In hac enim adversus Florentinos provincia Cesar et Cesaris ministri nihil, quod non ex Pontificis prescripto esset, egerunt. Cesar vero secundis Ferrarie Ducis Oratoribus respondit, velle Se ut Dux Ferrarie Pontifici reddat quecunque tenet a Leone X. possessa; Regeum videlicet, et Mutinam, quam vult liberam esse, Pontificis jure ei condonato, quod Cesarea Majestas in ea obtinet civitate. Insuper jubet ut Carpem relinquat, dicitque velle Se deinde Ferrariam ei adimere, et Pontifici tradere.

Cum Duce vero Mediolani res multum retractate fuerunt. Nihil tamen ad ultimum concludi potuit ea de causa, quod Cesar petebat Alexandriam et Papiam in Sue Majestatis manibus prius deponi, et deinde videri an Dux erraverit, nec ne. Dux vero non modo eas civitates, sed seipsum deponere vellet.

vellet. Verum in manibus tantum Pontificis nihilominus creditur Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum in hoc congressu eam rem compositurum esse, quoniam re vera id, quod Dux Mediolani vellet, continetur in fidere Barchinone inter Pontificem et Cesarem inito.<sup>1</sup> Creditur etiam quod Pontifex in hoc congressu disponet Cesarem ad res Italie ita componendas, quod facile toti Italie pax oriretur, quod procul dubio confici posset, si amborum postulata aliqua ex parte moderarentur, ut certe ipsa hec tempora requirere videntur, ac ipsi velle libenter facere deberent. Scire nanque oportet Turcarum exercitum multum processisse. Budam enim accepit, et inde Viennam versus se convertit: Venetorum vero lactantia facit, ut multi credant ipsos istius provincie a Turcarum Rege suscipiendo conscos fuisse, et adventum sollicitasse; et nunc, quum sint undique destituti, Turcis colligatos aut jam colligandos esse, adeo quod non sint postmodo ausuri a Turcis deficere. Venetorum quidem hujusmodi sunt consilia. Nullam Oratorem ad Cesarem mittere decreverunt, quanvis Cesar Protonotarium Caraciolum mittere voluerit. Volunt insuper civitates omnes sue ditionis defendere, nec Bergomum modo, verum etiam Vicentiam, quam nullo alio unquam tempore defendere decreverunt, propterea quod id oppidum natura loci nulla ex parte ab oppugnatoribus tutum est. Quinetiam volunt unicuique persuadere facilem defensionem fore, ad eamque singulos cohortantur; enimvero non ab omnibus eorum dictis fides habetur. Solent quoque sepissime per ambages significare Turcas quecunque ipsi voluerint facturos. Quibus ex rebus, si ita Dominationi vestre reverendissime visum fuerit, non ab re fore judico, quod Regia Majestas commissionem transmitteret ad Pontificem et Cesarem cohortandos, ne velint singula ad vivum resecare, sed minoris momenti rebus posthabitis majora conservare, a quibus ipsorum et totius Christiani nominis salus pendet, si ad hunc Turcarum processum respicere velint, quem credo in Ungaria remansurum, vel potius Vienne, ut proximo anno gravissimam stragem Christiano nomini infligat. Ad quod opus peragendum Lutherani sedulo operam dabunt, quocirca non modo bonum et laudabile, utrum etiam necessarium, mihi videtur hujusmodi manus obire. Ad hec sperandum quidem est res cum Venetis sine magna difficultate componi posse, quoniam ab ipsis dictum emanavit nullam se propter Ravennam et Cerviam moram paci facturos. Caput illud, in quo inter Pontificem et Cesarem de Venetorum rebus decernitur, de quo alijs literis ad Dominationem vestram reverendissimam perscripsi<sup>2</sup>, ita dicit quod, si Veneti

<sup>1</sup> The treaty between the Pope and the Emperor was concluded at Barcelona on the 29th of June 1529. Herbert, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is not found.

Ravennam et Cerviam Pontifici, Appulie oppida et portus quos tenent Cesari, reddiderint, Pontifex et Cesar teneantur eos in foedus accipere, et post modo de jure videri debeat, quam pecunie summam Cesari solvere debeant ad resarcienda damna quae sequuta sunt ob ruptum foedus quod Hadriani Sexti tempore initum fuit. Et profecto, quod ad oppida et portus Appulie spectat, Veneti non erunt admodum difficiles. Si enim ea loca retinere velint, sumptus immensos facere oportet. Quod vero ad pecuniam pertinet, quam Cesar petit, res ejusmodi est, ut facile sopiri possit; ideoque de Venetis bonam spem concipio. Si qua vero in illis difficultas erit, in eo puto futurum, quod nunquam se ad offensionem Turcarum, meo quidem judicio, declarare volent. Venetorum igitur res, et Ducis Mediolani, citius meliusque, quam Ducis Ferrarie, componi posse puto, qui Mutinam civitatem satis validam munire non desistit; quam nisi recipient, nunquam Pontifex et Cesar foedus cum ipso Duce inibunt. Verum enimvero si Dux Ferrarie a Venetis se destitutum videbit, credo contentum fore Regium Mutinam et Carpem relinquere. Ex his igitur rebus omnibus apparet undique moderatione opus esse, et idecirco necesse est Regiam Majestatem et vestram reverendissimam Dominationem ex solita bonitate instare apud Pontificem et Cesarem atque omnes alias potentatus, ut tandem resipiscant. Cesar in Italia valde potens est. Habet in Lombardia novem milia Hispanorum, et Germanorum octo milia. In Hetruria et Appulia quinque milia. Hispanorum habet et Germanorum duo milia et quingentos. Existimatur Cesarem tres exercitus habiturum, unum sub Antonio de Leyva contra Mediolani Ducem, in quo erunt quatuor milia Hispanorum. Reliqui vero Itali alterum sub Marchione Mantue contra Venetos, qui constabit ex Germanis, qui nuper in Italiam descenderunt; et ex quinque milibus Hispanorum tertium habet in Hetruria, qui accepta Florentia adversus Ducem Ferrarie ibit.

De Florentie rebus scripsi<sup>1</sup> vestre reverendissime Dominationi, omnia Pontificem obtinuisse, que tunc desiderabat. Nunc vero eo res devenit, ut Pontifex et Cesar credant non aliter ipsorum honori consultum iri, quam si Florentini in eorum manus se traderent, ex Pontificis voluntate tractandos. Qua de re exercitus proprius Florentiam accessit, et Florentini obstinatores promptioresque ad se defendendos facti sunt; adeo ut nullum aliud finem huic negocio inveniam, nisi quod Florentia hostiliter sit diripienda, aut per longam moram, quum nullus amplius defensionis modus erit, deditio sit factura.  
<sup>2</sup> Illud facit, ut credam Turcas facilem pacem reddituros, quod secreto nunciatum fuit Turcas Viennam ire; Viennam male munitam esse, Ferdinandum

<sup>1</sup> This letter is not found.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is in cypher.

*parum fortē esse, quia Cæsar petit ut sibi tria millia peditū, qui archibusarij dicuntur, mittat. Cæsar vero ne unum quidem militem extra Italiam pedem ponere vult, quousque res Italie sint compositæ. Id meæ fidei creditum fuit, mille jurejurandis adhibitis; nulla tamen res unquam penes me erit, quam Dominationem vestram reverendissimam latere velim; quam rogo ut operam dare velit, ne Campegius quicquam de hac re resciscat; nil enim amplius isti meæ fidei committerent. Cæsar vult profectionem Pontificis accelerari, quo possit, Italie rebus compositis, quamprimum in Germaniam transire, quo aiunt necesse esse sibi ire. Et bene valeat Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio, cui me humillime commendō. Rome, die 25 Septembris, 1529.*

Excellentissime Dominationis Vestre Reverendissime ac Illustrissime

(*Signatur*)      Humill<sup>3</sup>r

(*Superserbitur*)

GREGORI<sup>2</sup> CASALI<sup>2</sup>.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri et illustrissimo  
Domino Domino Thome Cardinali Eboracensi.  
Sanetissime Romane Ecclesie [*Legato*] de  
Latere &c. Domino meo colendissimo.

#### CCLV. BENET and G. DA CASALE to WOLSEY.

REVERENDISSIME in Christo Pater, et illustrissime Domine, Domine colendissime. Post humillimam Commendationem &c. Ut Dominatio vestra reverendissima nostris literis intelligat, quo in statu presentes Italie res sint, eam scire volumus quem ad modum Sanctissimus Dominus noster et Cesar constituerunt Bononie convenire, atque ideo intra octavum diem Ejus Sanctitas Roma discedet. Hujus vero congressus illam Ejus Sanctitas causam affert, ut videlicet de rebus Italie decernant, constituantque quo pacto componi possint, sive pacem inter Christianos componant, ut postmodo ab omni alia cura liberi Christiane reipublice bono et saluti vacare possint, et hac hieme (quod utinam Deus velit et adjuvet) eos apparatus faciant, quibus Turcarum validis conatibus obsistere possint, qui nisi mature fiant, nullum ferme amplius remedium tanto imminenti malo reperietur. Quam quidem istius congressus causam cupiens Sanctissimus Dominus noster Serenissimo Regi Anglie et Regi Christianissimo significare, ad eorum Majestates Nuntios destinavit. Ad Christianissimum quidem Regem mittet Episcopum Comi, ad Regiam vero Anglie Majestatem Dominum Paulum Casalium, qui Ei Sanctissimi Domini nostri nomine etiam exponet, quemadmodum Ejus Sanctitas in hoc congressu multa aget, ut dicto

Majestati inserviat. Petet insuper ab Ea, ut et apud Cesarem, et Christianissimum Regem, ceterosque omnes Italie potentatus, suis literis instare velit, quo omnes unanimes concurrant ad solidam veram et perpetuam pacem firmandam, omnesque simul vires et conatus adversus Christiani nominis hostes convertant. Quoniam vero Dominus Paulus Casalius non potest diutius iter suum deferre, non erimus in presentibus literis longiores; ipse enim secum afferet uberes et plenissimas instructiones, tum a Sanctissimo Domino nostro, tum etiam a nobis separatis, quibus omnia sigillatim et preterita et presentia significabimus. Nobis quidem pergratum fuit Dominum Paulum potissimum venire, quoniam, preterquam quod ipse est Pontifici gratissimus, talis etiam est, ut ei non minus quam nobis ipsis fidere possimus.

Preterea sciat Dominatio vestra reverendissima Cesarem<sup>1</sup> adhuc Placentie commorari, ac exercitum unum ex militibus, quos secum duxit ad oppugnandum Papiam, misisse, quoniam inter Ejus Majestatem et Mediolani Ducem post multam disceptationem nihil omnino firmari potuit. Alterum exercitum ex Germanis, qui nuper in Italiam descenderunt, et ex parte Hispanorum confectum, Bergomum, que Venetorum civitas est, sub Marchione Mantue mittere decrevit. De Florentie autem rebus nihil aliud dicere possumus, nisi eas in eodem nunc esse, in quo prius erant, statu. Multa quidem fuerunt hinc inde missis oratoribus tractata; nihil tamen adhuc constitui potuit, quanvis spes sit rem componi posse. Pontifex enim Archiepiscopum Capue ad Florentinos misit, et Princeps Orangie 20 milibus passuum a Florentia constituit, non ulterius cum exercitu processurus, quoisque Archiepiscopus Capue Florentie commorabitur. Qua provincia utcunque expedita statim exercitus ille ad oppugnandum Ravennam convertetur, adeo quod Venetis bellum ex duabus partibus erit. He sunt que in presentia scribenda occurrunt. Bene valeat vestra reverendissima ac illustrissima Dominatio, cui nos humillime commendamus. Romæ, die 28 Septembris, 1529.

Excellentissime Dominationis Vestre Reverendissime ac Illustrissime  
humiles servitores,

(*Signatur*)      W. BENET.

GREGORI<sup>O</sup> CASALI<sup>O</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, et illustrissimo  
Domino, Domino Thome Cardinali Eboracensi,  
sacre Romane Ecclesie Legato de [Latere], &  
Domino nostro colendissimo.

<sup>1</sup> In this letter are contained four inclosures, dated from Genoa on the 20th, 23d, 28th, and 30th of August, giving an account, in Italian, of what was passing there, the Emperor being at that city till the last of those dates, when He moved to Piacenza.

CCLVI. KING HENRY VIII. *to Benet and Sir G. da Casale.*

(Signature) HENRY R.

HENRICUS, Dei gratia, Rex Angliae et Franciae, Fidei Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniae. Dilectis Consiliarijs nostris Domino Willielmo Benet, juris utriusque Doctori, et Domino Gregorio Casalio Equiti &c., nostris apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Oratoribus, Salutem. Postquam dilectus Consiliarius noster Reverendus Dominus Episcopus Wigorniensis, functus Oratorio munere a Nobis sibi demandato, ex Hispania huc ad Nos reversus sit, considerantes ex præteritis suis officijs, quæ Nobis inserviendo semper præstare studuit, quanto nostris istic actionibus et occurrentibus negocijs sua opera industria fide consilioque usui esse queat, ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum impresentia eum Oratorem mittimus, ut vobis cum res omnes nostras de tempore in tempus conjunctim promoveat agat et curet, assidueque vobis cum una, Domine Gregori, apud Ejus Sanctitatem noster Orator existat. Quamobrem volumus, vobisque mandamus, ut rerum nostrarum statum et seriem omnem præfato Domino Wigornensi (certissima prius suis dictis fide adhibita) penitus aperiatis et declaratis, omniaque sigillatim secum communicetis, et junctis cum illo animis viribusque vestris occurrentias nostras magnamque illam causam semper toto corde amplecti ac diligenter tractare studeatis. In quo sedula vestra obsequia probabimus, grataque habebimus. Et bene valete. Ex regia nostra WyndSORÆ, die 5 Octobris, 1529.<sup>1</sup>

(Superscribitur)

Dilectis Consiliarijs nostris Domino Willielmo Benet, juris utriusque Doctori, et Domino Gregorio Casalio Equiti &c., nostris apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Oratoribus.

<sup>1</sup> Ghinucci's credentials to the Pope are dated on the same day. (Vatican Papers.)

CCLVII. GHINUCCI TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SERENISSIME Princeps, Fœlicitatem. Dixi Regi Christianissimo, quod mihi jussit Majestas Vestra, solicitavique apud Magnum Magistrum expeditionem; responsumque est mihi quod, licet res nunc videatur esse longe a casu, propterea quod Sanctissimus Dominus noster venit Bononiam, quod videtur arguere bonam valitudinem, tamen providebunt utrum videretur eis quod etiam cogitandum sit illo casu de successore, super quo innuerunt velle Majestatem Vestram consulere. Ego ob hoc non retardabo discessum meum, sed rogabo Dominum Brianum, ut eos sollicitet; et casu veniente faciam unacum collega quod Majestas Vestra jussit. Dixit mihi Dominus Brianus Dominum Gregorium Casalium scribere, quod opinio est in Italia Cæsarem brevi in Germaniam profecturum; quod si succederet, posset forsitan a Sanctissimo Domino nostro in causa Majestatis Vestrae aliquid sperari, quod hactenus speratum non fuit. Visum mihi est non errare, si de hoc verbum facerem Majestati Vestrae, ut posset Ipsa me monere, si quid ultra id, quod mihi mandavit, in ipsa causa fieri velit. Posset forsitan induci Sanctissimus Dominus noster ad committendum causam in aliquo loco, ubi posset Majestas Vestra confidere; et forsitan isthic ad quod non esset ab re, ut unacum libellis allegationum, qui ad me mittendi sunt, etiam copia processus mitteretur, qui in hac causa tam ante quam post adventum reverendissimi Domini Campegij factus fuit. Audivi quendam fratrem Dominicanum Italum ex fama doctissimum theologum esse Avinioni, quare intendo me illuc conferre, et videre quid ab eo, quod ad causam Majestatis Vestrae faciat, hauriri possit. Quod autem successerit inde, scribam, mittamque literas ad manus Oratoris Majestatis Vestrae hic residentis. Audivi etiam quendam Dominum Theodericum Hezium, qui fuit Secretarius bonæ memoriæ Adriani Pape VI., esse Lovanij vel Leodij. Censeo non esse ab re, ut Majestas Vestra per aliquem fidum et aptum faciat eum tentare super data Brevium, etsi aliquid ab eo elicetur quod ad casum nostrum faciat. Poterimus cogitare modum quomodo ab eo testificationem habeamus, quod forte medio meo sub prætextu particularis mei interesse obtineri possit. Licet autem hæc a pluribus seiri possint, tamen videtur mihi expedire ut tentetur iste. Et moveor ex duobus, primo quia vir iste bonus est et sincerus, ac talis ut sperem omnino eum veritatem dicturum, si præventus non sit: etsi præventus sit, non credo eum aliquo modo

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

mendacium

mendacium dicturum, sed p[otius] oblivionem ficturum. Secundo, moveor, quod cum hic homo ex partibus illis inferioribus sit, videtur quod, si pro nobis diceret, multo plus nobis accederet, quam si id diceret, qui ex alia patria esset. Majestas Vestra pro sua prudentia faciet quod Sibi videbitur. Meum erit Ejus mandata fideliter et diligenter executi. Fœliciter diu vivat Majestas Vestra, cui me cum omni humilitate commendabo. Ex civitate Parisiensi, die 14 Octobris, 1529.<sup>1</sup>

Non scribo ad Majestatem Vestram de novis quæ in hac curia habentur, quia non vereor Dominum Brianum ad plenum id facere; quare non ponam falcem in messem alienam, nec Majestati Vestræ frustra labore addam.

Eccellentissimæ Vestræ Serenissimæ ac Potentissimæ Majestatis

Humillima creatura,

(*Superscribitur*)

HIE. Eps WIGORNIEN.

Serenissimæ ac Potentissimæ Regiæ Majestati.

### CCLVIII. BRYAN to KING HENRY VIII.

Yr may plese Your Grace to understande, that syns my last letter wryttyn unto Your Grace, beryng date the 14<sup>th</sup> day of thys present, my Lord of Worcester and I went unto the Court to take hys leve, in the after none, wher we had the Kyng at a very good leysure, Who shewyd us, sumwhat dowtfully, that Pavea was takyn. Nevertheless I thynke yt very lyke to be tru, for at my last beyng ther I thought yt not the towne that could long be kept, yf yt wer assawtyd.

Moreover the Kyng here has desyryd my Lord of Worcester to comynycat and trete of Your Graces grett matter with the Pope, and to desyre Hym in hys name, as He wold He shuld consent or agre to hys desyrys or do for Hym any thyng that in Hym lay, that He wold favour Your Gracys sayd cause, and put to hyt a ende, settynge aparte any lenger prolongacyon; showyng us farther that He wolde wryte to all hys frendys, Cardynalles and other, desyryng them in hys letters to stycke as holly and fermely unto Your Gracys sayd cause, as they wold yf hyt concernyd Hym self, and that in ther so doyng yt was not possible for them to do Hym any

<sup>1</sup> Ghinucci appears from Bryan's letter of this date to have arrived at Paris on the 11th. It is in the State Paper Office, but contains nothing material, except the substance of the information from Rome, and that which is given by Ghinucci.

gretter plesure, promysyng them that, yf by ther menys yt toke the soner effect, that thynge He had not in hys realme, that shuld not be at any of ther commaundementes.

Also he desyryd the Bysshopp of Worcester to shew the Pope that, yf the Emperour wold relese the sum of mony that in my former letter I have rehersyd unto Your Grace, that then He ys content to go with a grett army in propre parson agaynst the tyrannus infydelis. And further He has requyryd the sayd Bysshopp of Worcester to desyre the Pope to reson thys matter with the Emperour, and lykewyse to shewe Hym, yf He thought by that yt wold the soner cum to passe, that He wold be content to mete with the Emperour at a towne in Pyamount, callyd Tueryne, ther to debate and determiny the sayd matter. The Bysshopp of Worcester to thys made Hym a gentyll answere, shewyng Hym he wold fulfull hys commaundement in every thyng; notwithstandingyng, incontynent as we wer departyd, the sayd Bysshopp of Worcester desyryd me to wryte unto Your Grace to know Your Gracys plesure in hyt, saying he was Your Graces Imbassadore, and not hys; wherfore he sayd he wold take no suche commyssyon of Hym, tellyng me he wolde ryde on hys journey, and never speke on that matter, onlesse Your Grace sent hym worde by som currer that shulde overtake hym in the way, whyche he thought shuldbe esy to do; desyryng me to adertyse Your Grace on hyt with sped, that he myght know Your Gracys plesure with dylygence.

Moreover He hath desyryd my sayd Lord to speke to the Pope for to make the Archebysshopp of Bugeix<sup>1</sup>, Cardynall. Thys Archebysshopp ys he that was in Inglande with the Admyrall<sup>2</sup> that dede ys, who at that tyme was callyd Mons<sup>r</sup> Dambrune.<sup>1</sup>

Also the Kyng here wyll commaunde all the Cardynalles in hys reme to sende lyke commyssyon unto Rome, as my Lord Cardynall has done; and lykewyse wyll wryte to hys Imbassador ther beyng, that he shall at all tymys speke to suche Cardynallys, as be hys frendys, to do lykewyse when cace shall requyre.

May yt plese Your Grace forther to know, that thys day the Kyng tolde me that He knew that the Emperour was amazyd, and wist not well whether to go, for He was gretely destytute of mony, in so myche he rekenyd that He had almost no mony at all. Sir, I have not harde of a man that has brought so myche to passe with so lytyll mony, as He has don; and, as farre as I can here or persevye, He ys rather lyke to wyn more, then to lese, in the partyes of Italy.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I. p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Bonnivet, who died in 1525.

Bycause

Bycause I wyll nat be sloughefull in doyng my dewtye unto Your Grace, I wryte to Your Grace oftyn, besechyng Your Grace not to regarde my folysshe wrytyng, but to accepte my powre hart accordyng to my dewty. Thys Jhesu preserve Your Grace with long lyff and myche honour. From Parrys, the 15 day of October.

Yt may plese you to knowe that in my former letter datyd the 14<sup>th</sup> day of thys present, wheryn I wrote unto Your Hyghnesse that the castell the Turke wan was callyd Dannuby, I have syns lernyd yt ys callyd Bude.

(Signed) Yow<sup>1</sup> humble suggett and sarvant,

FRANSYS BRYAN.

*Superscribed*  
To the Kyngys Hyghnesse.

### CCLIX. GHINUCCI to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SERENISSIME Princeps, Fœlicitatem. Significavi per alias literas<sup>2</sup> heri Majestati Vestræ invenisse me hic theologum illum, quem Avinioni esse putabam, eumque quoad causam nostram resolvere se in partes Majestatis Vestræ; et licet non viderem impedimentum aliquod, quin literæ fideliter ad manus Majestatis Vestræ pervenerint, tutius tamen judicavi parcius scribere. Nunc habita occasione certi et fidi Nuncij, viz. Domini Petri Vanni, visum est mihi particularius ad Majestatem Vestram scribere. Dixit mihi hic theologus sentire, quod præceptum hoc, ne frater accipiat uxorem fratris defuncti sine liberis, sit partim morale, partim judiciale, et magis morale; et quod Papa non possit contra præceptum hoc dispensare, et quod matrimonium contra præceptum hoc contractum debet per ecclesiam dirimi, et ad hoc habere plures celebres doctores quos etiam novissime legit; et quod in hanc sententiam scribet; et quod aliquis doctor visus est etiam sentire quod præceptum hoc sit fundatum jure naturæ. Ego autem ei dixi quod discurreret omnes doctores qui haberit possunt, et in scriptis suis omnes accumularet, ita ut non videretur aut minus fideliter aut minus diligenter processisse. Si enim aliquis inventiretur, qui secus sentire videretur, proculdubio aut de infidelitate aut de negligentia taxaretur, et in speciale monui eum ut omnes antiquos doctores videret, et quod isthic fuerat mihi dictum adversarios sumere potiora argumenta eorum ex Aug[ustino], monui ut Augustinum bene discurreret, quod fecisse et de novo facturum esse dixit. Quum tamen non omnino certi et securi

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

esse possumus, ut hic omnes doctores videat, aut etiam si videat de omnibus mentionem faciat, et contrarium sentientes si qui sint declareret, aut eorum argumenta solvat; judico ad rem facere, ut omnia quæ pro adversarijs facere videantur, sive ea sint in libellis, sive non, huic homini exhibeantur, ut nullus excusationi locus sit. Sic enim securiores erimus, et hac lege merces ei promissa est, ut omnia contraria solvat, videturque ipse valde cupere allegationes et fundamenta adversariorum videre. Et certe nisi ulterior diligentia aut studium eum tepescere faciat, visus est mihi multum pro hac parte resolutus, et habere rem pro clara. Sed scripta sua melius declarabunt. Commendo me semper Majestati Vestrae, cui Deus omnia ad votum concedat. Ex Lugduno, die 21 Octobris, 1529.

Excellentissimæ Vestrae Serenissimæ Majestatis

Humillima creatura,

HIE. EP̄S. WIGORNEÑ.

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati.

## CCLX. HACKETT TO TUKE.<sup>1</sup>

THIS present salbe to advertis your Mastership that this day, at after dynner, Monsieur de Rossynboix and Master John de Lassaux intendys to parte here hens, toward Ingland, and I have yeven the sayd Rossynboix a lityll letter of my to my Lordes Grace, and another for your Mastership. And as for sych tedynges as we have here at this tyme, I send your Mastership, with this inclossyth, the cope of letter wych be the last tedynges that we have here fro Dowtchland, comyng hiddyr fro Andwerp. The Frenche Kyng has ratifyyd the peace at Parris the 20<sup>th</sup> day of this monyth, and is concludyth that Monsieur de Humyers, in the sayd Kynges behalfe, sall delywyr the castell of Hesdyng to the Emperors Comyssioner the 5<sup>th</sup> day of the next monyth of Novembre.

The 22<sup>th</sup> day of this monyth ther is a publicasian doen in the Emperors name trow all this contre of Brabant, that all the Nyewe Testementes translatyth in Frenche, Dowtehe, or Inglys, salbe broght to the Justyce handes, to be bowrnyth, within the 25<sup>th</sup> day of November next comyng, apon grett payns every man for hym, and that from hens forward is comandyth no more sych erctyk bookes to be wryttyn, copeyd, or imprimyth, ne reddyth, nether

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

kept

kept publyk, nether secretly, apon lyke payns: and yf ther be any man that sustenys heresy, he salbe justyssyth with the swerd; and yf any woman be fauty, to be qwyk bride, cast, and couchyd in a pit under the gerde: and that yf ther be any man fownd that has ben afor tyme aqwssyth and pardont, that tornys agayn to his erours, he salbe bowrnd withoutt any ferder delay; with many other good artycles contenyng in the sayd publicassion, right conuenient for the exaltacion and incree of the holy Catolyke fayth, and for the extyrpcion and anychyllacion of the falce heretykes intenssions and openyons.

Thomas Leygh wryttes to me that he hath no word yit that your Mastership hath cawssyth any mone to be payd in my behalff, which commys very il to my porpoce, wher of I ham sory for towe cawssys, the toen for I dowth me that I trawayll your good Mastership tow sore, and the todyr is that I aloen hath the suffrance. God remedyt all. Fro Brussellis, the 27<sup>th</sup> day of Octobr, 1529.

Enteyr and faythfully your own,

(Superscribed)

JOHN HACKETT.

To the ryght honnorable [Sir] Brian Tuke, Knyght,  
and [Treasu]rer of the Kynges Chamber.

### CCLXI. BRYAN TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Highnes to be advertysed, that your letters given under your signett att Yorke Place the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, I receaved att Bloyes about 7 of the clocke in the morninge the 19<sup>th</sup> of the same, therebye perceavinge the right detestable practyses and conspiracyes, newly compassed and sett forthe by the Lorde Cardynall Archebishope of Yorke, as well to the Corte of Rome, as within your Realme, expreslye against your most noble estate and royll dignytie. The contenntes of Your Hyghnes letters after in my mynde studyouslye I hadde resolvye, without delaye, accordinge to the tenour thereof, resortid to the Corte, desiringe to speake with the Greatt Master; and whoe, immedatelye after he sawe me, demaunded if newes out of Englande latelye I hadde nott herde. I then, desiringe to knowe whatt shold move him to enquier, hadde for answeare of hime thatt the Kinge his Master

<sup>1</sup> From a copy in the Harleian Collection, No. 296. leaf 38.

was advertysed from his Ambassadour there, that the Lorde Cardynall Archebishope of Yorke was, by Your Highenes commaundement, in holde ; but, whatt offences he hade made, was to him utterlye unknowne. Nottwithstandinge he sayde the Kinge your brother was of the opynyon, that He thought he had well meryted his sayde imprysonment. Wherunto I answered that Your Highenes for the great seale and perfitt love Ye bare towardes the Kinge your brother, and to prevent all untrewe relations and surmyses that myght be made unto Him, hade sente to me his currour in dilygence, with a letter from Your Highenes, therein comaunding me to desyer and praye yowr sayde brother, my Ladye, and also him, thatt in case He or any of them shuld here of this matter other wise then good, He and them, beinge thus from Your Highenes of the truthe advertysed, will take the same accordinglye : shewinge him thatt if the particularyties, which I sayde did cheflye concerne presumteous senestre practyses made to Court of Rome, for reducinge him to his former estate and dignytye, contrarye to his faithe truthe dutye and allegyaunce, were so well knowne to the Kinge your brother, my Ladye, and hym, as they were to Your Highenes, there were no doubte butt he and they wolde muche abhorre the same. Whereunto he made this answere, that notwithstandinge the Kinge your brother nor he hade no knowledge of suche his sedycyous and trayterous mysbehavyours, yett they both judged allwayes You to be a Prince so juste, that, without his hayenous desertes, wolde give hime no punishment. Herewith the Greatt Master toke me to diner with him, and sayde that ymmediatelye after dinner I sholde speake with the Kinge your brother. There dyned with him the Cardynall of Lorayne, the Marquesse of Saluce, the Countye S<sup>t</sup> Polle, the Countye de Taunte, and the Emperours Ambasadour, who shewed to me there very good countenaunce, howe soever he thought.

After dyner the Great Master brought me to the Kinge your brother, thEmperours Ambasadour beinge there present, and avancinge him self forthe to have spoken with the Kinge your brother, Whoe seinge me, arose out of his chaire and sayde to thEmperours Ambasadour, " You must pardon Me, " I will first speake with the Kinge my brothers Imbasadour, and after with " you." This was done in the face of the whole Courte, great in nomber and cheflye of Italyons. I then, after your most hartye and lovinge recomandations made, repeated to Hym the sedycyous detestable and malycyous practyses, compassed and sett forthe by the afore sayde Lorde Cardynall Archebishope of Yorke, aswell to the Court of Rome as within your Realme, resytinge to Him that before I hade shewed the Greatte Master: Whoe answered that on his behalfe, so ferme and stable was the hartye love He bare unto

unto Yow, trustinge no lesse Ye bare to Him, thatt no maner of talys or rumors, to Him related, or by any manour of person or persons surmysed, sholde perswade Him to geve credence to anye thynke thatt sholde sounde oprobryouslye against Your Highenes honour and renowne ; nott withstandinge He sayde, yt was done like a very naturall brother to advertyse Him of the truthe wherebye, the more boldelye He might reprove the mysreporters of anye suche, hereafter that shold fortune Him to here ; demaunding me the particulerities of his sayde offences, whiche I shewed as yett I knewe nott, butt sayde that Your Hyghenes wrote unto me that after your accustomed lovinge maner Yee wold advertyse Him of the hole with all convenient speede, sendinge your letters in all diligence unto me, to prevent all maner of ill relations myght be made unto Him. The which answere He accepted verye well, sayenge He perceaved muche faythefull kyndenes in Yow, and thought ever that so pompeos and ambysyous a harte, spronge out of so vyle a stocke, wold once shewe forthe the basenes of his nature, and most comonlye against Him that hath raysed him from lowe degree to hyghe dignytye, as Yee have done ; and sayde He thoughte, by his owteragyous mysbehavours he hade well meryted other a lyffe worse then deathe, or else of all deathes the most cruell. Sir, as farre as I can perceeve, the relation made unto the Kinge your brother by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux, his Ambasadour, was of verye good sort, in disclosinge the mysdemenour of the sayd Cardinall. And touchinge the Popes ingratytude and refusall of Your Hyghenes reasonable requestes, or your sayde brothers requisytyon in that behalfe, I, makinge overtture to your sayde brother of it, hade for answere, that He well perceaved that the Pope wold doe, in your sayde matter, no other wise then thEmperour wolde have Him, att nether your requestes or desyers. Then He shewed me He harde sayd thatt the Pope shold be greatlye moved agaynst Your Hyghenes for an order Yow shold take within your Realme, comaunding all your subjectes, as well spirytyewall as temperall, upon the payne of theire alegyaunce, to make no sute to Rome in no matter, butt by lycence of Your Hyghnes. Wherunto I answered thatt of truthe it was butt soche ordre and proclamation as Yee hade ordeyned and proclaimed within your Realme, concerninge your prerogatyve and dignytie royall, for the executyon of soche statutes, as have bin devised by your assemblyes and parlementes concerninge the welthe of your commons ; and that other wise Your Hyghenes hathe taken awaye no prerogatyve or profite that maye belongethe to the sayde Pope, no maner of wise, which He maye reasonablye requyer in your sayde Realme of righte. Wherefore I then sayde ferther unto the Kinge your brother, thatt He might well perceave thatt the Pope might of malyce conceaved, seke peradventure to doe

or cause some acte to be made, and it to be published, in prejudyce of Your Hyghenes, where as Ye might be favoryde ; trustinge that, if He wold seke or goe aboute to purchaice any soche thynge to be published within your sayde brothers realme, prejudycyall to Your Grace or your causes, I sayde I knowe very well your sayde brother wold suffer no soche thynge. Whereunto as it did seme to me, He vehementlye answered, that nether Pope nor other in no domynyon of his sholde publishe any acte or other thynge thatt myght seme prejudycyall to You or your causes. And farther, accordinge to your pleasure, I allwayes lyenge in awayte, shall advertyse Your Hyghenes whatt farther I can perceave in Him towchinge your answeres.

And farther, for the agreable service that Your Hyghenes doth writh that the Cardynall of Gramonde hathe done in your cause att Rome, I have nott onlye given your most hartye thankes to the Kinge your brother, but have also desired Him in Your Hyghenes behalfe to give his condigne thankes to the sayde Cardynall ; and according to your pleasure I sayde farther unto Him, that Ye were advertysed by your Ambasadour att Rome thatt the sayde Cardynall hadd some other good expedient devyce to be sett forthe for the furtherance of your matter ; the secresyne and partyculartyes whereof he wold first open to your sayde brother. Unto the which your sayde brother answered and sayde, thatt there sholde be no sugett of his, but shold allwayes studye as muche the settinge forthe of Your Highenes causes, as yf it concerned his owne proper causes ; and whereas He within 6 or 7 dayes lokyd for the sayde Mons<sup>r</sup> Tarbus, sayde that at his cominge He wold knowe what he hadd brought in fortherance of your sayde cause, and wolde make me as privye unto it as He Him selfe wolde be.

And whereas your pleasure is that I shold advertyse Your Hyghenes of the entervewe and personall mettinge betwene the Emperour and the Kinge your brother ; as ferre as I can lerne or perceve, there is yett towardnes no soche thynge ; notwithstandinge, upon the comon brute harde here, I asked the Greate Master, whether anye suche thinge shold be : he answeringe me that foles did bable theye wist nott whatt. I then sayde I thought that the Kinge your brother wolde enter in no suche matter without the advyse of Your Hyghenes : he answered that therunto I myght be well assured. And furthermore, as in my former letters I have written unto Your Hyghenes, thatt where there hathe been certayne overture made to the Kinge your brother concerninge a generall Counsell to be hadd for the appeasinge of manye trubles in Christendome, He hath made answere, as he saithe, that to seme to be agreeable unto it He hath nott refused, bycause He wold nott be thought clerelye to refuse, consyderinge that otherwise the great nomber of Lutheryans might be stired

stired to doe some ill acte, which might be to the greatt hurte and anoyc of all Christendome; wherefore He hath for resolution referred that matter to an indyfferent place that maye be chosen, which He thynketh will nott shortelye be agreed one; allwayes makinge me answere, that nether in that, nor other thyng concerninge the substance of that matter, He will agree, without the consent of Your Hyghenes.

Farther the Kinge your brother, of his ounē mere motion, shewed me that thImbasadour of Venice, latelye beinge with Him, asked Him howe your great mater went forwardes, and whether yt shold take effecte; farther sayeinge that your sayde brother shold doe well to writte unto Your Hyghenes, exhortinge You to cease and goe no farther in attemptinge of your sayde matter, which he sayde myght nott be lawefullye done. Wherunto your sayde brother sharpelye answered, and as He shewed me sayde to him, he spake unlerned, consyderinge your matter hadd bin examyned by greate nombers of clarkes, as well of his countrye of Italye, as of other partyes; of the which the most nomber has ever bin one Your Hyghenes parte. Wherupon thAmbasadour sayde, that ever the most nomber were folis. To the which the Kinge your brother answered, and sayde to him, "your comon welth of "your Signeorye of Venice, which is ordered by the most nomber, by your "sayeinge is governed by manye folles." At the which, the Kinge your sayde, he was greatlye abashed, shewinge me was so aged that he was waxin a childe agayne, dotinge for age, like a fole: farther sayenge to him thatt nether Pope, Emperour, nor Seignorye shold lett Him to doe for Your Hyghenes, knowinge the matter so good and juste, as He knewe it; sayeinge that, if He sholde, theye and all other myght thynke Hym the most unkynde and unnaturall Prynce lyvinge, consideringe the manyfolde kyndenes He hadd founde in Your Hyghenes. Other newes I have nott to sende Your Hyghenes att this tyme, but shall daylye indeavour my selfe to learne, and after to adver-tyse Your Hyghenes with dylygence. This knoweth Our Lorde, who sende Yow longe life, in helth, with your moste gracyous hartes desyer. From Bloyes, the 21<sup>th</sup> daye, att 12 of the clocke in nighte.

Your most bounden subiecte and  
humble servant,  
FRAUNCES BRYAN.

CCLXII. GHINUCCI TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SERENISSIME Princeps, Fœlicitatem. Postquam ex Parisijs primo, et deinde ex Lugduno, nonnullas literas ad Majestatem Vestram scripseram, quarum posteriores portavit Dominus Petrus Vannes; scripsi etiam alias ex Janua<sup>2</sup>, quibus Majestati Vestrae significabam infelicem successum Capitanei Fortundi, qui cum septem triremibus Cæsaris a Mauris captus fuit. Postea huc perveni, unde citius ad Majestatem Vestram non scripsi, quia (quod ad mei notitiam devenerit) nullus abinde citra cursor discessit, qui isthuc vel in Galliam veniret. Nunc autem habita commoditate unius cursoris, qui in Galliam venit, visum mihi est has literas ad Majestatem Vestram scribere, in quibus brevibus agam, ne ei gratis molestus sim. Cum enim sciam Magnificum Dominum Gregorium ex sui dexteritate, ac apud nonnullos magnos consuetudine, omnia fere intelligere, quæ a quoconque alio intelligi possint, nec verear eum in omnibus Majestati Vestrae significandis esse diligentissimum, videor videre quod nil aliud meæ literæ Majestati Vestrae possent afferre, nisi frustratorium laborem. Scribam tamen aliquid ex his quæ ad mei notitiam devenerunt, ne videar omnino illotis manibus transire. Tractatum fuit superioribus diebus, promovente Rege Christianissimo, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster Cæsar et ipse Christianissimus, qui etiam dicebat se operaturum ut Majestas Vestra aliquem mitteret, Taurini convenienter, tractaturi de rebus publicis, et presertim de concernentibus Turcam, nec potuit hactenus aliquod circa hoc concludi. Proposuit etiam Christianissimus, si Cæsar vellet, contentus esse pro redemptione filiorum ipsius Christianissimi recipere solum sexcenta milia scutorum; paratum se esse unacum exercitu 50<sup>ta</sup> milium hominum in Austriam profecturum, quo posset Turcæ Viennam tunc obsidenti resisti; et in hoc alia sexcentamilia scutorum Cæsari promissa, et ultra ea unum alium milionem scutorum expositurum, et similiter nihil potuit concludi. Postea venit huc sub salvo conductu Cæsaris Dux Mediolani, inter quem et Cæsarem ac Venetos prius, medio præsertim Pape, tractata fuerat concordia; resque ut dicitur est eo deducta, ut quoad Ducem solum videatur difficultas consistere in tempore solutionis. Vult enim Cæsar quandam pecuniarum summam nunc in promptu habere, et Dux dicit esse sibi impossibile, pro qua difficultate tollenda laboratur, et modi queruntur quoad Venetos, dicitur solum difficultatem esse in eo quod Cæsar velit fieri foedus defensivum inter Eum et Ducem ac ipsos Venetos. Veneti autem in hoc

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.<sup>2</sup> Not found.

se reddunt difficiles, propterea quod, ut asserunt, ex fœderibus etiam defensivis saepe oriuntur bella, ipsi autem ita vellent concordare, et pacem firmare, ut omnino securi et immunes essent a bello. Et circa hoc etiam laboratur, et media queruntur, ita ut communiter speretur, quod tandem concordia inter Cæsarem et Venetos ac Ducem Mediolani habebit effectum. De Duce Ferrariæ nihil ad presens audio, nisi quod etiam cum ipso fiet aliqua concordia. Quoad Florentinos autem pro nunc non videtur aliqua spes concordiæ; immo ipsi videntur duriores quam unquam fuerint, et Sanctissimus Dominus noster ac Cæsar quotidie majores præparationes faciunt pro illorum debellatione, pro qua ad presens mittuntur multa tormenta bellica, et multi milites Cæsarei qui erant in Lombardia.

Sanctissimus Dominus noster, attenta longa et gravi infirmitate qua diu laboravit, satis bene se habere videtur; quotidie cum Cæsare de negocijs tractat, etiam privatim, nam Cæsar hospitium habet contiguum hospitio Sanctitatis Suæ, ita ut solus unus paries intermedius sit, in quo porta est per quam alter ad alterum venire ad libitum potest, et consuevit.

De Turca non dubito quod Majestas Vestra audiverit, quod discesserit in Ungariam, et, relicto ibi magno exercitu, abijt, ut nonnulli dicunt, Belgradum, ut alij asserunt, Constantinopolim; omnes tamen sentire videntur quod in vere iterum in Austriam sit redditurus. Ob quod credunt Cæsarem, rebus Italiæ concordatis, ac suscepta Romæ corona imperiali juxta mentem Electorum Imperij, visitatoque regno Neapolitano, in vere personaliter in Austriam se collaturum. Reliqua ex introcluso folio<sup>1</sup> intelliget Majestas Vestra, Cui me humillime commendo, Deum rogans, ut omnia Majestati ad votum concedat. Ex Bononia, die 28 Novembris, 1529.

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Serenissimæ Majestatis

Humillima creatura,

HIE. EP̄S WIGORNIEN.

(Superscribitur)  
Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati.

### CCLXIII. BENET TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEAS yt Your Hyghnes. Concernyng the advocation off the cawse, for the whyche Your Grace chargyth the Pope, forasmuche that the Cardinal Anchona

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> This is a fair copy, wholly in the handwriting of Benet. There is a rough minute of it, also in his writing, but some parts of it vary considerably in expression from this fair copy.

and Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor and the hole Signature ware yn the opinion that yt schuld be suspendid, and nat advokyd ; and thys natwithstondyng, the Pope, for satisfying of thEmperours minde, did, agenst the opinion of the foreseyd persons, advoke the cawse ; verili, Sire, I sorow it gretly that Your Grace schuld be thys informid ; for I ensure Your Grace, on my trewyth and fidelite that I owe unto the same, that thys thyng ys nat alonly untrew, as yt may appere by my letters, whyche I wrote to my Lord Cardinal of Yorke the 9 day of Juli<sup>1</sup>; wheryn I wrote that the hole Signature was in opinion that the Pope was, of those cawses expressyd yn the Qwenis supplicacion, bownd to advoke the cawse ; but also the Pope, for avoydyng of many inconvenientes, whyche we perswaded schuld folow undoubtedely, yn case He dyd advoke the cawse, dyd at our instance and schute experyment, whether He myght have browght thEmperours and the Kyng of Hungreis Ambassadors to be contentyd, that He schuld have suspendyd the cawse oonly for a tyme. For the Popis Cowncell seyde that, folowyng this devise, the Pope coulde nat do yt withoutt ther consentes, but that He schuld have expresly greavid the parte adverse ; and so willyd and expresly commaundyd Cardinal Anchona and Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor to do what they myght possyblely with the foreseyd Orators, to induce and to perswade them to be contentyd with a suspension of the cawse. And also He sent Jacobo Salviati to them for the seyde purpos, whyche with most diligence did sollicite to have browght them unto hyt : but by no mean they woold be browght unto hyt. So then He admitted the Qwenis appele, and advoked the cawse, yn dede, before we reacevyd an answer from Your Grace to our letters of the 9 day of Juli, contrary to hys promes that He made unto us ; with whiche Your Grace may charge Hym. Thys ys the veray trewyth. And yt was muche to my hevynesse, when His Holynes called M<sup>r</sup> Gregory and me byfore the Byschop of Woorcettour, M<sup>r</sup> Carew, and M<sup>r</sup> Deane yn wytnes hereof, whyche beyn so notoriusly trew cowde nat denie yt. Wherfor ther was none thyng yn thys woorld that grevyd me so sore, that Your Grace schuld be informed so muche agenst the trewyth, and therby charge the Pope with hyt, wheroft He may so easely and evidently purge Hym self. I beseche Your Hyghnes most humbly to pardon me that I wryte thys playnly unto Your Grace ; for I ensure Yow I do yt nat for to excuse the Pope, but seyng that yt touchyth Your Graces honor and cawse so hyghly at thys tyme, I am compelled of my dewty trewyth and fidelite towardes Your Grace to certifie that same of the trewyth heryn.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, Vol. I. Collection, p. 80.

At M<sup>r</sup> Pawlis arryval here he delyveryd me, yn presence of M<sup>r</sup> Carew, thys letter, herewith inclosed, whyche I sent, by hym, to my Lord Cardinal of Yorke<sup>1</sup>, supposyng at that tyme that he had byn yn credite and authorite with Your Grace, as he was at my departyng; signifiyng unto hym summarie what was done yn Your Graces cawse syns my cummyng to Rome tyl that tyme, and what myght be hoped of the Pope yn tyme to cumme, as I thought then. I am most sory that M<sup>r</sup> Paule dyd nat delyver yt to Your Grace at hys fyrist cummyng unto Your Highnes; and to thentent that Your Grace may see what I wrote then, I have now send yt herewith inclosed.<sup>2</sup> And thus most humbly I commend me to Your Hyghnes, besechynge Almighty God to continew your most royal astate in prosperite many yerys.

CCLXIV. Instruccions geven by the KINGES HIGHNES to his trusty and right welbeloved Counsaillours GEORGE BOLEYN, oon of the Gentlemen of the Kinges Privey Chamber, and M<sup>r</sup> JOHN STOKESLEY, Doctour of Dyvynite, whom His Grace nowe sendeth on Ambassiate to his derest brother cousin and perpetuel alye the Frenche King; as foloweth<sup>3</sup>;

FIRST, the Kinges said Ambassadours, taking with them the Kinges letters directed to the said Frenche King, and other to the Lady his mother, shal, at thair commyng to the Frenche Courte, first have conference with Sir Fraunces Brian Knight, nowe Ambassadour resident ther for the Kinges Highnes, upon the state of suche affaires and maters ther, as rest and be committed unto his charge; and namely, touching the mater of the Duk of Albany, for whose repaire hither, and so into Scotland, on ambassiate from the said French King, for the [empechin]g and interruption of the enterprises set forth for aliance betwene the said King of Scottes and thEmperour, mencion hath ben sundry

<sup>1</sup> Paul da Casale was accredited by the Pope to Wolsey on the 4th of October. (Vitellius, B. XI. leaf 220). Wolsey was deprived of the Great Seal on the 18th, and convicted of præmunire on the 23d.

<sup>2</sup> The fair copy ends here, and the conclusion is supplied from the rough minute.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, was advanced to the earldoms of Wiltshire and Ormond on the 8th of December 1529, by which his eldest son, George Boleyn, acquired the honorary title of Viscount Rochford, and he is in the next month styled "Lord," see pp. 227-229. These instructions therefore must have been issued in the early part of December. The document is slightly injured by damp.

tymes made, and devices had therin, sens the commyng of the said Sir Fraunces Brian into that Courte. And amonges other thinges, ordre was lately geven unto hym that, handeling hym selfe so as the Frenche King might perceve that the Kinges Highnes myndeth the interrupcion of the said aliance more specially for the inconveniences that therof may ensue unto Fraunce, than for any other thing; and nevertheles not shewing hym selfe more colde in soliciting suche mater then he was afore, he shuld diyise with the said Duke to serche understande and knowe of hym, what waies and meanes he hathe, or can studye and excogitate, by the whiche, commyng into Scotlande, he might empeche the said aliance, and therof to advertise the Kinges Highnes for knowlidge of his further mynde and pleasure, bifore any resolucion shuld be taken for the repaire and commyng hither of the said Duke; wherin the said Sir Fraunces Brian hathe hitherto made unto the Kinges Highnes no direct answer, but, as it semeth, hathe contynually solicited the depeche of the same Duke. Knowing therfore the Kinges said Ambassadours in what termes that mater stondeth, they shall all 3 joyntly, at tyme therunto to be prefixed, repaire to the said Frenche Kinges presence, and with the Kinges most cordiall and affectuous recommendations, presenting unto Hym the Kinges said letters to Hym directed<sup>1</sup>, they shal say that, forasmuche as the said Fraunces Brian, who hathe of a gret season travailed and [been ab]sent out of this Realme as Ambassadour, aswell at the Courte of Rome as nowe in Fraunce, hathe made instante poursute unto the Kinges Highnes to licence hym for a season to herken and loke unto certeyn his oun causes and maters here in this Realme, being by his said absence not in due trayne and ordre; His Grace therfore, condescending unto his reasonable peticion in that behalfe, and mynding to use and employe hym in other besynes of His Grace aboute his most Royal Person, hath sent the said George Boleyn and Mr John Stokesley bothe to visite see and salute his said good brother on the behalfe of His Grace, and also to remayn and be resident for a season in his Courte, in the lieu and place of the said Sir Fraunces, as the Kinges Ambassadours; and from tyme to tyme to communicate unto the said Frenche King suche thinges as shalbe committed unto thair charge, and semblably to advertise the Kinges Grace of thanswer of his said derest brother upon the same: desiring and praying Hym therfore not oonly to geve licence unto the said Sir Fraunces Brian to departe, but also from tyme to tyme to commaunde them his good pleasures in any thing, wherin they, as the Kinges Ambassadours and Counsaillours, may do unto Hym honour gratuite and pleasure; whiche they

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

shall

shall say they be commaunded to do as effectuelly and diligently, as they wolde do unto the Kinges Highnes thair soverayn Lord and Master, like as they woll not faile to endevour themselves to the best and uttermost of thair powers and entendementes accordingly.

And thus declaring and shewing to be the principall cause of thair commyng, and entering with the Frenche King into further divices, they shal say, that the Kinges Highnes, considering right well the manifold inconvenientes that might ensue unto the house of Fraunce by any newe alliance to be made bitwene the King of Scottes and thEmperour, hathe of a good season loked to here and understande from the said Sir Fraunces Brian, what answer hathe ben made unto hym by the Duke of Albany, for knowlaike what shulde be the waies and meanes, whiche passing into Scotland he wold use for empeching and interupcion of the said alliance; to the intent that, or ever he were depeched and shuld determyn his voyage thider, it might be well seen and knownen that honerable frutefull and good effect might ensue of the same; elles in vayn were it for so grete a personage, as he is, to be sent from the Frenche King, onles it might appere howe and after what fourme the King of Scottes, refusing percace to folowe the Kinges and the said Frenche Kinges holsom and frendely admonicionis avice and exhortacions in that behalfe, might otherwise be trayned and brought therunto. Wherfore they shal desire the Frenche King to appoyn, that a consultacion and communicacion may be had therupon bitwene them and the said Duke, with suche other as the Frenche King shall name to be made privey therunto; so as, before any final resolucion shalbe taken of his going, the Kinges Highnes may be ascerteyned in the specialties of the hole discourse, and therupon the opynyon and avice of His Grace herd in the same. Wherin the Kinges said Ambassadours shall order them selfes with suche dexterite, as not only it may alwaies appere to the Frenche King, and also to the Duke of Albany, that they speke hereof chifely for the Frenche Kinges weale, seing that such alliance bitwene the King of Scottes and thEmperour were a direct way to bring a totall dissolucion of the old amyte and intelligence that hath ben bitwene Fraunce and Scotland, and shuld be no smale increace of thEmperours power and reputacion, and no lesse dymynucion to the same of the house of Fraunce, but also to be well ware that in dividing and speking, to knowe first what the Duke of Albany may or can do herin, they shewe not them self as though the Kinges Highnes were any thing refrigerate in his desire for commyng of the said Duke, if it may appere the same to be any thing frutefull and expedient; but in no wise they shall conclude or agree upon his commyng, or that he make any greate preparacions for that purpose, till suche tyme as, the premisses knownen, they shalbe  
advertised

advertised of the Kinges further pleasure in that behalf. For, if it shalbe founde expedient, that the said Duke shall passe into Scotland, then necessary it shalbe the same be with as little knowlaige or brute as possibly may be, lest the King of Scottes, percease not contented therwith, shal devise or studye somwhat to the empêchement therof. And therfore the mater is to be [handled] with suche secrecye and dexterite, that, going, he be not interrupted; and not going, the device or communicacion therof be not knownen or divulged. And what they shal do therin, with thanswers to be made unto the same, the Kinges said Ambassadours, aswell by Sir Frances Brian, at his retorne as afterwarde, shall diligently advertise His Grace by thair letters, for further knowlaige to be had of the mynde and pleasure of His Highnes in that behalfe.

They shall also specially remembre, at some convenient tyme sone upon thair first audience, to conferre with the Frenche King upon the mater of the General Counsail, shewing unto Hym that, forasmuche as in a General Counsail thEmperour (having the Pope at his devocion) may conduce maters, whiche shulde percace be to Hym more beneficall then were convenient, and likewise to the Kinges Highnes and the Frenche King prejudicall and daungerous; the Kinges Highnes doubteth not, but that his good brother, having in remembrance suche treatye as hathe ben passed and concluded bitwen Them in that partie, albeit the wordes in the same treatye be not so amply and largely couched, as resorting to the tenour therof, and folowing the sence of the same, it might extende so ferre: yet, forasmuche as it was alwaies ment, thair accions procedinges and doinges shuld be so conjoyned, as by no meane without thair good contentement and agreement they shuld be dissevered and divided; the Kinges Highnes truste is, that his said good brother woll have speciell regard and respecte not to [consent] to the indiccion of any suche Counsail either to be proponed by the Pope aparte, or thEmperour and Hym conjointly, without the knowlaige and agrement of the Kinges Highnes, so as therin thair bothe consentes do concurre and accorde, any pacte or convenaunt made with thEmperour, if any suche be passed, notwithstanding; and to promise the same to the Kinges Highnes by summe newe pacte and treatie to be conceyved for that purpose.

And, forasmuche as the Frenche King hath, by sundry waies and meanes, shewed Hym selfe veray desirous, not only to further and avaunce the Kinges Highnes greate cause, but also to knowe the specialties and particularities therof; His Grace therfore hath specially sent unto his good brother his said trusty Counsaillour M<sup>r</sup> Doctour Stokkesley, who shal at the Frenche Kinges good leysure, yf it shalbe by Hym so required, open and declare unto Hym the same,

same, adding therunto of what opynyon he and many other greate clerkes be of concerningyng the divine lawe in that behalfe; wherin, forbiecause the Kinges Highnes hath ben advertised by his good brothers Ambassadour here resident, and also by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Langy at his late being here, that diverse and sundry lerned men in those partyes be of semblable opynyon and sentence in that cace, the said Master Stokkesley shall say he hath speciall charge to commen and speke with the said lerned men therin; and therfore shal desire [*the said French*] King, that for his direccion in that behalf he may use the counsail and avice of the said Mons<sup>r</sup> Langy, whiche the said M<sup>r</sup> Stokkesley shall folowe. And having conference with suche lerned men as the same De Langes shal name unto hym, either in the Frenche Courte or elleswhere, he shall extende his witt and lernyng to conduce them, and atteyne thair opynyonſ and sentences conformable to the Kinges purpose; like as His Highnes, for the confidence His Grace hath in the said M<sup>r</sup> Stokkesley, doubteth not but he shal facilil do.

Over this, the Kinges said Ambassadours shal understand that, sennes the conclusion of the treatie nowe passed at Cambraye<sup>1</sup>, the same treatie hath been, aswel in tyme of communication therof, as also bifore and aftre, kept soo secret, as noo certain or perfit knowlege of the specialtes and particularites therof coulde be had, eyther by the Kynges Ambassadours being at the said Cambray, or by His Grace sennes that tyme, but oonly such copies as hath been sent by the said French King by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Langy, and nowe lately by the Bishop of Bayon his Ambassadour here resident. In which copies have been deprehended such contrarietes, as it is veryly to be thought that the very playnes therof is not yet signified unto the Kinges Highnes, specially seing that by the overtures and relations of the said Bishop, who hath made mention of certain conventions not comprised in the said copies, but himself confessith to be in a treatie aparte; which maner of dealing is very straunge, and movith the Kinges Highnes to thinke, that synnes they be soo loth to make His Grace pryye to the hol, and that also the Kinges Ambassadour resident with the Lady Margaret, who hath been commaunded to recover a true copie there, hath also answered that the same is semblably kept secrete in that Courte, and commaundement geven that noo such copye shal passe, that there be som prive pactes and conventions, other thenne they wold shuld cumme to the Kinges knowlege. For these causes the Kinges said Ambassadours, not making

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the Recueil de Traitez de Paix, Tom. II. p. 170, dated the 3d of August 1529. Herbert, p. 306, gives the substance of the treaty at considerable length as signed by the Archduchess Margaret and Duchess of Angoulême.

mention of any suspition conceyved by the Kinges Highnes herin, but rather imputing the want and lak to the negligence of such ministres as shuld have wryten and copied the same treaties, shal by good maner and meanes desire of the French King that, for ther better information in the thinges to be doon, they maye see the original treatie, with other particular treaties, and that, as hath been promysed, a copye of them maye be had under a Secretaryes signe seen and examyned; which may be to the satisfaction and contentment of the Kinges Highnes.

(Signed) HENRY R.

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### CCLXV. GHINUCCI *to KING HENRY VIII.*<sup>1</sup>

SERENISSIME Princeps, Fœlicitatem. Scripsi ad Majestatem Vestram decem diebus ab hinc ea quæ mihi occurrebant. Postea nihil aliud mihi occurrit quod dignum videatur ut ad Majestatem Vestram scribatur, nisi id quod in incluso folio<sup>2</sup> continetur. De reliquis non dubito quod alij Oratores Majestatis Vestrae copiose scribant; propterea non ero Ei molestus. Summa eorum, quæ communiter dicuntur, non quidem a vulgaribus tantum, sed a gravibus, est, quod Sanctissimus Dominus noster dixit Oratori Veneto, ut pro differentia pecuniaria, quæ inter eos et Cæsarem vertebatur, quæ in Sanctitatem Suam remissa fuerat, provideant de 100000 ducatis, unde creditur quod solutis per eos 100000 ducatis Cæsari omnia inter eos remanebunt concordata: quoad Ducem Mediolani videtur conclusum esse ut nunc det 50000 ducatos, et per totum mensem Januarij alias 50000, et successive reliquos paulatim usque ad numerum 300000 intra annum exnunc, residuum vero usque ad totalem summam ad rationem 50000 quolibet anno, et quod loca et arces, quæ Cæsar asserebat velle habere seu tenere pro sua securitate, ut sibi primi 300000 ducati solverentur, videtur quod convenient ut arces [*et loca*] hujusmodi deponantur in manibus alicujus indifferentis. Quis autem futurus sit hic indifferens, nescitur. Communiter creditur quod erit Papa. De Duce Ferrarensi nihil penitus nunc dicitur. De rebus Florentinorum, quod sunt in eodem statu quo per ultimas scripsi. Expecto magno cum desiderio scire aliquid de bona valetudine Majestatis Vestrae per literas suas aut suorum. Per literas enim aliorum satis habemus, cum dicant Cæsarei per literas isthie datas 16 mensis preteriti de ejus bona valitudine per eorum Oratorem isthie existentem esse certioratos.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

Commendo

Commendo me semper cum omni humilitate Majestati Vestrae, quam Deus nobis diu in columem et felicem conservet. Ex Bononia, die 10 Decembris, 1529.

Excellentissimæ Vestrae Serenissimæ Majestatis  
Humillima creatura,  
*(Superscribitur)*  
Serenissimæ Regia Majestati.

HIE. EP̄S WIGORNIE.

### CCLXVI. · SIR NIC. CAREW and SAMPSON to KING HENRY VIII.

PLEAS it Your Highnesse to understand, that we are by necessite constreynyd to advertise Your Grace of oure importun charges here, in these parties.

Your Grace by your wysdome easely consideryth the causes, though that we should make no mention of theym; the utter destruccion of the hole contrey, with the great nombre of men of warre that yett are; the great company that lyeth here now, booth by reason of the Pope and thEmperour; so that in a maner every thing is sold for the weyte of gold. Of a trewith, Sir, it is extremely deare, owther for horse or man, and many tymes for money cannot be found nor hadde; and thinges are of suche a skarsenesse and dearthe, that, except we shuld make our moost humble suyte to Your Grace to ayde us with your excessyve charge, wherunto we wold be very looth, by all the meanes that we may fynde we shall not be able to continew here ony long space, in ony wyse to Your Graces honnour; and yett this is now the best place of all Italie, for, yf we shuld remove to any other, yette would it be wourse.

The Admirall of Fraunce come hyther with a trayne and oonly remaynyd here 3 dayes, and so retournyd by poost. The Buisshop of Tarbys was here by post with thre or 4; Mons<sup>r</sup> de Morette is here by poste with 2 or thre varletes. We advertise Your Grace of this, to the intente that we shuld not remayne here, but to Your Graces honnour. Wee are not yett, Sire, in no suche nede, we thanke God and Your Grace. But iff it shuld be Your Graces pleasure, that we shuld remayne here any tyme, we shuld be nothing able to susteyne it; for the thing, that we thought to be sufficient for 3 monethes, wyl not serve us oone moneth. Wherfore, Sir, we moost humbly submytte our selffe to Your Graces pleasour, not regarding in this thing our owne selfe, but highly Your Graces honnour.

It is, Sire, the moost pitie to see this contree, as we suppose, that ever was in Christyndom; in some places nother horsmete nor mans mete to be found, the goodly townes destroyed and desolate.

Betwexe Vercelles, belongyng to the Duke of Savoye, and Pavye, the space of 50 miles, the moost goodly contree for corne and vynes that maye be seen, is so desolate, in all that weye we sawe oon man or woman laborers in the fylde, nor yett creatour stering, but in great villaiges 5 or 6 myserable personnes; sawyng in all this waye we sawe thre women in oone place, gathering of grapis yett upon the vynes, for there are nother vynes orderyd and kepte, nor corne sawed in all that weye, nor personnes to gather the grapes that growth upon the vynes, but the vynes growyth wyld, great contreys, and hangyng full of clusters of grapes. In this mydde waye is a towne, the which hath been oone of the goodly townes of Italye, callyd Vegeva; there is a strong hold, the towne is all destroyed and in maner desolate. Pavye is in lyke maner, and great pitie; the chyldryn kryeng abowt the streates for bred, and ye dying for hungre. They seye that all the hole peuple of that contrey and dyvers other places in Italya, as the Pope also shewyd us, with many other, with warre famine and pestilence are utterly deadde and goone; so that there is no hope many yeres that Italya shalbe any thing well restored, for wante of people; and this destruction hath been as well by Frenche men as thEmperours, for they sey that Mons<sup>r</sup> de Lautreyght destroyed muche where as he passyd.

We were, Sire, at divers places well entreatyd. At Turyn the Duke of Savoye, to whome with Your Graces recommendations we delyveryd Your Graces letters, sent us every mele 6 flagons of wyne, and more over sent us at oure departing a present of capons partryches and other thinges; offryng ony other pleasour that he myght for us.

We sent also from Leons to M<sup>r</sup> Gregorie booth for oure lodgynges, and also that we myght have thEmperours ayde, to passe the more surely by the waye. We had wourd again from hym that thEmperour was very glad of oure commyng, and immediatly caused a generall salveconduict to be sent to us, with other especiall lettirs to Mileine and Pavie. The Popis Holinesse, also by M<sup>r</sup> Gregories advertisement, sent lettirs unto Plesance and Parme, where as we were well entreatyd. The Duke of Ferare in Regia and Modona causyd us, by his capteynes, booth to be visite with offres of pleasures, yf they myght doo any for us, and also we hadde in booth places right honnorable presents.

And in Regia a freend of M<sup>r</sup> Gregories loged us in his howse, preparing very well booth oure supper and brekefast the next day for us, at his coste.

The

The same M<sup>r</sup> Gregorie also, Sire, hath and dayly dooth us muche pleasour in this skarse and desolate contree. As knowyth Oure Lord, who preserve Your Highnesse in your moost Royall estate. At Bononic, the 12<sup>th</sup> day of Decembre.

Your most humble subjectz and servantz,

(Signed) NICOLAS CAREW.

RICH. SAMPSON.

(Superscribed)

To the Kinges Highnesse.

### CCLXVII. STOKISLEY TO THE EARL OF WILTSIRE.<sup>1</sup>

RIGHT noble, and my moste singulier good Lorde, my bounde dutie remembred, with my moste humble commendation and moste hertie thankes for your incomparable goodenes towardes me, allwayes and now at all occasions declared effectually, wherby your good Lordeshipe hath fastly bounde me to be your bedesman and servitour at your commaundement dureng the lytell rest of my lyfe. It may lyke your goode Lordeshipe to be advertised that, yestreday the 15<sup>th</sup> of this month, my veray especiall goode Lorde your sonne, in goode and prosperouse helth and estate, took his journey with his honorable trayne towardes the Frenche Kyng, now beyng ten leeges beyond Troies in his journey towardes Digion, as well to be in a redynes against the cummyng of M<sup>r</sup> Barlow, as in the meane tyme to procure and purchace ther suchē remedies, as we, with our counsell here, have divised and thowght expedient for the stayeng and repressing of the autoritiie of Doctour Beda, and of the furye of the unlernyd Spanyard Doctour Petre Garay, whiche by his importune sute, and beryng abowte to certaine simple Doctours (as here be many soche) a byll, whiche the saide Beda, notwithstanding the Greate Maistreis monition, hath with his adherentes sith Christmas signed and delyverd to the saide Spanyard against our opinion, hath circumvented a fewe of the saide Doctours. How be it, diverse of them be glad now canere palinodiam, and to subscribe with us, and hath promised to undoo ther former subscriptions, by the Spanyardes circumvention, undre the colour and shadow of Beda and certaine of his feloes. We have the Deane of the Facultie now at our devotion, soo that wee be sure therby that no thyng shall passe publice in the congregation of the Facultie

<sup>1</sup> This letter (which is holograph) has no superscription, but was evidently addressed to Lord Wiltshire. See p. 230.

against our opinion ; and elles the autoritie of Beda and of his feloos, that hath now agayne subscribed against us, oone except, myght have made to us a greate prejudice, whiles the Greate Maistre and Mons<sup>r</sup> Langis excused themselfe to us allwayes of their long deliberation and brethyng in procureng or settynge forth our opinion, by declaration of the Frenche Kynges pleasour or his Counsell favour towardeus us, for that they feerid that therby thEmperour myght make a colour to dilaye the deliverance of the Frenche Kynges children ; promyseng moste lyke feithfullye that, after that delyverance, we shulde have of the Frenche Kyng and of them all ayde and fortherance that we wolde desyre. But yet we had levyr have that oon half now in hande, and at the tyme of our neede of them, whiles they have soo greate neede of us. God knoweth what they will doo, when they have of us all their desyres. In . the meane season our ennemyes hath undremynded moor therby, then elles they shulde. How be it, if my Lorde spede of our desyres, we shall revoque their subscriptions, and bryng them to our handes, and sett those simple Doctours agayne at their libertie, withoute brute or suspicion of any partialitie on the French Kynges partie. And, if the Kyng and his Counsell denye our requestes, my Lorde your sonne will spent hym somwhat streightlye, and as I trust in all chaunces we here shall avaunce, and abate our adversaries factions, or at the lest stay them for any farther increase of signenges and subscriptions against our opinions. The auncient Blak Frere, called Valentinus Lemini, Inquisitor heretice pravitatis, and two of his feloos Doctours of the same ordre, oon of them is regent and redar in their convent, hath now subscribed this Christmas that our case is prohibite jure divino et naturali, without any mention makeing de potestate Pontificis, whiche hiddreto they be loth to declare in writeng by cause of Cardinale Gaietan, thowgh if it cumme to the determination of the Facultie, then they say they will with others affirme quod non possit dispensare ; and soo say other moo, that now have writt and, by circumvention, subscribed the contrarie. And assuredly, my Lorde, if the Frenche Kyng or Mons<sup>r</sup> Lysott (whiche is now here Primiere President, made by the favour of thAdmirall at this Christmas, and before was the Kynges Advocat, and oone of the chefe of counsell with the Lady Regent at Cameraye) wolde oones shew them selfe to the Facultie and Doctours of Theologie her, to take our matier to hert, it wolde passe within a month ; for this Mons<sup>r</sup> Lysot maynteigned the Facultie moche late in a certayne debate that they had, and hath many of them at his devotion. He is thowght moche papale, and a mervellose greate dissembler, and therfor we doubte how to use hym, but yet we trust by a frend of his, one of our Doctours, to knowe his opinion and affection in our matier. And oone of our devises,

that

that my Lorde your sonne doth now sollicite, is to have veray effectuall letters to hym, aswell from the French Kyng as from the saide Admirall his promotour.

We here no worde of the Bisshop of Bayones retourne from Englund, save oonely that his horses, that cumme from thens and arrived here 8 dayes past, be gone to the Courte, by cause he wolde cumme after by post, and tarye here noo while to doo us goode. He sent with his horses suche letters as he had to M<sup>r</sup> Poole, but noone to us; nor his bredren here can, as they say, ascertaigne us of his cummyng hiddre. It shulde be necessarie for us that his brodre, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Langes, tarye here with us continually, after the reporte of his message to the Frenche Kyng. God send them to neede us after his despachyng from yow, for elles they can and will be slak enowgh; and to moche I feere me. And this I beseche our Lorde long to preserve your noble estate, with thencrease of honour and prosperose felicitie, as your oone noble hert desyreth. Scribbled in hast, and rudely, (and therfor, my Lorde, of pardon I beseche yow) at Parrhis, the 16<sup>th</sup> day of Januarie, with the rude blotteng hande of

Your feithfull and unfeyned servitour  
and bedesman,  
Jo. Stō, Preste.

I have no thyng yet worthye to write to the Kynges Highnes sith we wrote last, and therfor I beseche Your Lordeshipe soo to use thes billes encloosed<sup>1</sup>, that I bere no blame for not writeng to His Grace.

### CCLXVIII. KING HENRY VIII. to GHINUCCI and G. DA CASALE.<sup>2</sup>

(*Signatur*) HENRY R.

HENRICUS, Dei Gracia, Rex Angliae et Franciae, Dominus Hiberniae, Reverendo in Christo Patri, Domino Hieronimo Episcopo Wigornensi, ac Domino Gregorio Casilio Equiti, nostris apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Oratoribus, quam plurimum dilectis, Salutem. Quum ob nonnulla nostra negotia

<sup>1</sup> The enclosures are not extant.

<sup>2</sup> From the British Museum, Vitellius, B. XIII. No. 11.

Illustrissimum Dominum Thomam Comitem Wylerie<sup>1</sup> et Ormondie, Consanguineum nostrum carissimum, Privatique nostri Sigilli Custodem, nec non venerandos viros Dominum Johannem Stokley et Dominum Edwardum Leum, Sacre Theologiæ professores, et Consiliarios nostros quam plurimum dilectos, ad Cesaream Majestatem Oratores impresentia mittamus; in mandatis illis dedimus, ut quedam nostro nomine vobiscum communicent, copioseque ac distinete de hijs loquantur: quapropter non solum fidem plenissimam ipsis habebitis, sed etiam omni vestra industria atque opera sedulo ac diligenter aderitis: ob diligentiam autem prudentiamque, qua in rebus nostris indefesse utimini, ingentes vobis gratias habemus, rogamusque ut in fidelissimis vestris erga Nos officijs perseveretis; quæ sic memori pectore retinemus, ut aliquando percepturi sitis ea fuisse apud gratissimum et vestri amantissimum Principem collocata. Et bene valete. Ex regia nostra Londini, die 20 Januarij, 1529.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendo in Christo Patri Domino Hieronimo  
Episcopo Wigornensi, ac Magnifice Domino  
Gregorio Casilio Equiti, nostris apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Oratoribus plurimum dilectis.

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the instructions to Wiltshire and his associates in this mission, in the French language, is in the State Paper Office. They are directed to declare that the reasons which have hitherto hindered the King from communicating with the Emperor were, first, the intimation of war; and, secondly, a wish not to intrude. The King then proceeds to state his motives and proceedings with regard to the divorce, and his arguments with respect to the Bull and Brief, to the same effect as in his instructions to Knight, &c., when sent to Rome in December 1528, supra, p. 117. After various topics appealing to the Emperor's feelings, He directs the Ambassadors, if they find Him adverse, to threaten covertly the withdrawal of English support; and if He is still adverse, Wiltshire is to withdraw, and leave Benet, with a declaration to the Emperor that Henry, having done all in his power to effect his purpose with the good will of his friends, since He can not do as He would, must now do as He can, and discharge his conscience. If the Emperor determines to abide the law, and refers to the Pope's judgment, they are to say that the sacking of Rome by the Spaniards and Germans has so discouraged the Pope and Cardinals, that they fear for body and goods, which is contrary to God's lesson to St. Peter, when he said "Get thee behind me "Satan," &c. And further that the King's cause requires a clerk profound in the Divine law, and not merely in the Canons; and seeing that the Pope has, both by his letters to Henry and by his Ambassadors, declared Himself ignorant of that law, the King can not defer to his judgment. The King concludes with declaring his resolution to fear God rather than man, and his full reliance on comfort from the Saviour against those who abuse their authority.

CCLXIX. KING HENRY VIII. *to Pope Clement VII.*<sup>1</sup>

BEATISSIME Pater, post humillimam commendationem et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Etsi confidamus Sanctitatem Vestram adeo benivolo esse erga Nos animo, ut etiam, suggeste nullo, petitionis nostræ, simulque sui promissi facile recordetur, nullam quidem Nobis gratificandi occasionem pretermissa: voluimus tamen desiderium nostrum his litteris in Vestrae Beatitudinis mentem redigere, ut nostro hoc recenti testimonio non obscure cognoscat, quam constanti pectore in eos exornandos simus, quorum fidem perspectissam habemus, et quos nostra benivolentia semel dignos judicavimus. Sextus jam agitur mensis ex quo Reverendum Dominum Episcopum Wigornensem, Oratorem Consiliariumque nostrum plurimum dilectum, ad Cardinalatus fastigium in summam nostram gratiam promovendum ita studiose Beatitudini Vestrae commendavimus, quod neminem, utcumque Nobis carum, potuissemus vehementius commendare.<sup>2</sup> In hoc certe assequendo voto, tanto obnixius nunc contendimus, quanto suis officiis et meritis Dominus Wigorniensis indies charior Nobis est. Nostris tunc Oratoribus jussu nostro de hac re apud Vestram Sanctitatem sedulo agentibus, promisit in proxima Cardinalium creatione, Dominum Wigornensem, nostrarum precum interventu, in Cardinalem omnino velle creare, benignissimo deinde suo ad Nos Brevi multa de virtutibus egregiisque Domini Wigornensis animi dotibus accumulans, ingenue affirmavit Se et desiderii nostri et ejus meritorum velle rationem habere, unde spem certam collegimus, hac nostra expectatione ad primam occasionem neutiquam frustratos iri. Ceterum, ne Sanctitas Vesta suspicetur, optimam nostram erga Dominum Wigornensem mentem immutatam esse, aut in eo exornando Nos esse tepidiores factos, presertim quum in hac causa, honoris dignitatisque

<sup>1</sup> Copy from the Vatican Papers.

<sup>2</sup> The application here alluded to as having been made in the autumn of 1529 has not been discovered, but among the Vatican Papers is a similar one, dated the 12th of December 1528; and the King repeated his importunities on the 9th of April 1530 for Ghinucci together with Gregory da Casale, and on the 6th of January 1531 for the former alone, as appears by the same papers, and by the King's letter to Benet of the 8th of January. The State Paper Office contains also a letter from the King to Benet of the 24th of November 1530, in which He states that He had again written to the Pope for the same object, and directs Benet to endeavour himself to procure the accomplishment thereof: and another letter from the King to the College of Cardinals, dated the 19th of May 1532, repeating his urgent recommendation of Ghinucci.

nostre ratio agatur, quod in aliorum Principum gratiam tot jam Cardinales Vestra Sanctitas creaverit, unumque Nos Wigorniensem exoptemus, Eam, quam vehementi studio animique conatu possumus, rogamus, ut in proxima, quemcumque illa fuerit, Cardinalium creatione velit Dominum Wigorniensem in Cardinalem creare; petimusque, si hac in re, quam tantopere cupimus, Nobis gratificari voluerit, nostrique extimationis sueque promissionis meminisse, et Nobis Cardinalem concedere, ut solum unumque Wigorniensem, pro quo nunc tantopere instamus, Nobis concedat, cuius viri ornamentum, quum non temere cupiamus, sitque Nostrum de ejus virtutibus judicium Vestræ Sanctitatis ad Nos Brevi confirmatum, suspicari possemus, parvam istic nostri rationem haberí, si absque fructu, quod non credimus, ab hac nostra nunc petitione repellamur. Et felicissime valeat Sanctitas Vestra, quam Deus Altissimus longevam tueatur. Ex Regia nostra Wyndsore, die 28 Martii, 1530. Devotissimus atque obsequentissimus filius, Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,

HENRICUS.

(*Superscribitur*)

Sanctissimo Clementissimoque Domino  
nostro Papæ.

### CCLXX. JOHN DA CASALE to NORFOLK.

Illustrissime Domine, mi observandissime.

ACCEPI literas ex Anglia, 10<sup>a</sup> die Martij datas, statimque Dominum Crocum adivi, cui omnia ostendi et communicavi, ut et ipse mihi quocunque habuerit et senserit in causa regia aperiat, plurimum enim refert ut hæc communi tractemus consilio, quod spero me ei facile persuasurum, cum hoc causæ regiæ profuturum cognorit, in qua ipse et ardentissimus et diligentissimus est. Bonum fuit quod Serenissimus Rex ad ipsum et ad me scripsit, majori enim cum fiducia quæ agenda fuerint exequemur, cum hoc nobis a Rege nostro mandatum esse ostendere poterimus. Bonum etiam fuit ad fratrem Franciscum scripsisse, nam et ipse audacter de hac re loqui poterit, ostendens se a tanto Rege rogatum hanc causam suscepisse. Ego eum statim adivi, ac rogavi, et hortatus sum ut causam Regis ex animo susciperet defendendam, ac me constitui fidejussorem Regiam Majestatem gratias ei esse acturam et cumulate relataram. Ipse, cum literis regijs respondebit, animum suum aperiet, quem semper mihi declaravit erga Ejus Majestatem se habere promptissimum. Spero etiam

etiam ipsum fore authorem, ut et alij docti viri super hoc. Curabimus preterea ego et Dominus Crocus, ut et alios undecimque habeamus: puto tamen hoc magis ad rem nostram facere, ut ex multis doctiores et alicujus authoritatis eligamus, qui scribant quæ libere doctis viris ostendi possint. Curabo etiam quod ad doctores Patavinos attinent, ac ipse eos convenientiam, sicut alias feci, sed nunc liberius hæc exequar, cum habeam in mandatis, et pecunias ad eos conducendos, quas scribit Dominus Vigorniensis se brevi missurum. Scripsit ad me frater eques optare Episcopum Londinensem<sup>1</sup> ut habeatur epistola Basilij, quam alias scripsi esse apud Leandrum, quod adhuc non potui nec prece nec precio impetrare. Promisit tamen mihi, si cui unquam amico ejus facturus sit copiam, se mihi imprimis esse facturum. Verum aliqua arte conabor ab eo extorquere, quæ si haberi non poterit, ego semper fidem faciam me eam vidisse ad causæ nostræ corroborationem, ut alias Dominationi Vestræ scripsi. Habebeimus preterea hic preter fratrem Franciscum multos alios, et ejusdem ordinis, et aliorum, et alios qui non sunt religiosi, ac duos Hebreos, quorum alterum jam Dominus Crocus allocutus est, alter vero est mihi amicissimus, de quo alias scripsimus ex Bononia, qui est doctissimus, et Romæ pro Pontifice et Episcopo Veronensi quasdam partes Veteris Testamenti ex Hebreo in Latinum traduxit. Sed hæc melius re quam verbis declarabimus. Ex his quoddam scribo ad Dominum Guronem, cui etiam quædam mando ad privatam causam pertinentia, quam Dominationi Vestræ commendo.

Quanto vero ad res publicas attinet, post discessum Cæsaris ex Bononia, recessit Pontifex fere de improviso. Multi dicunt ut quam celerrime Romam perveniat, ubi commodius pecunias colligere poterit ad bellum contra Florentinos sustinendum, quod vix diutius sustineri poterit, cum ipse Pontifex tantas impensas ferre non possit, et Florentini indies ardentes fiant, ac Cæsar's exercitus ob ejus absentiam refrigescat. Dux Ferrariae, Cæsare authore, cum Pontifice res ita composuit, ut Mutinam in manibus Cæsar deponeret; non tamen quemquam adhuc misit Cæsar, qui eam custodiat. Dux autem Cæsarem Mantuam secutus est, ubi nunc est, ac usque Tridentum se iturum affirmat, ut Cæsari quæ velit persuadeat. Nihil adhuc statuit Cæsar de rebus regni Neapolitani, nec de ejus promoribus. Hi domini in hac pace quiescunt, qua maxime lætantur. Hic sunt rumores Regem Turcharum parare classem,

This must mean Stokisley, who was with Gregory da Casale at Bologna, for Turcharum is translated to Durham in March, and Stokisley may have been nominated to the See of Durham, though he was not consecrated till November 1530. *Le Neve Fasti*, 180. It appears, indeed, that in the commission of the 21st of January he is styled "elect of London." *Rymer*, Vol. XIV. p. 354.

et terrestrem exercitum. Quidquid intelligam, Dominationi vestræ significabo, cui me plurimum commendo. Venetijs, die quinta Aprilis, 1530.

Illustrissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*) S<sup>or</sup> Jo. CASALIUS, Prof.

(*Superscribitur*)

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Domino meo  
observandissimo, Domino Duci Norfolciæ,  
Angliae Magno Thesaurario, &c.

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### CCLXXI. WILTSIRE to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLESYTH it Yowr Hyghnesse to undyrstond, that now that Mastyr Awmoner, thys berar, commyth to Yowr Grace. By hym Your Hyghnesse shall know how styfly thEmperour is sett in the contrary part of Your Graces gret matter, and how ernest He is in yt; and also by the facyon of hys speche, and by oftyn repetyng of the same, that He gadyrth myche of that He seythe, specyally of hys Chanseler, or of somme of hys lernyd Counsell: and how extreme the Chauneler of the Emperours is in affermyng the nombre of the dyvyns bothe in Italye and in France to be ageynst Your Grace in thys gret matter: how also thEmperours Ambassador, being resydent with Yowr Grace in Inglonde, by many lyklyhodes is myche lede and guydyd by the Chanseler. Yowr Hyghnesse shall also perceyve by M<sup>r</sup> Awmoner how myche the Pope is lede by the Emperour, so that He nowdyr woll nor dare dysplese Hym; the mynd also of dyvers of the Cardynals, and of the yowth and lythenesse of some of them that Yowr Grace hathe gret trust in, and also of the most party bothe of the dyvyns and lawyers in Italye, how myche they be sett to maynteyn the Poopys autorite. And in all odyr thynges passyd in thys vyage Your Grace shall trewly be certyfyed by M<sup>r</sup> Awmoner. The best thyng that I can perceyve in Italye is that thEmperour is no thyng so myche estymyd in Italye, as He was before He cam thyder; for they sey He hathe don no thyng syns He cam in to Italye, but satysfyde and plesyde them that hathe ben and wolbe hys enymys; and don no maner of thyng for hys servaunts and frendes, so that the most part of them be nat content. An odyr thyng there is, that may grow to a mater of gret importance, wyche is a dyvision and hatrede that is fallyn betwixt the Spanyards and the

Holograph.

lanseknyttes

lanseknyttes of thEmperours, in so myche as many litly bathe be slivn on bothe sydes, so that I rekyn thEmperour shall hardly have any oon Spanyard with Hym in to Almayn. And also yf heraftyr He wold retorne in to Spayn, ther is no Allmayns, that wold go thyder with Hym, yf thys hatrede incrase, as yt dayly dothe; so that He shulde be but slenderly acompenyde, whan so evyr He wolde retorn. And thys is theffecte of that I perceyve how the thynges go at thys present. But yf heraftyr yt shall fortune the French Kyng any thyng to attempte ageynst thEmperour, I thynk verely thEmperour wolde seeke to Your Hyghnesse; and specyally, if any thyng shalbe attemptyd in Italye by the Frenche Kyng, I suppose the Pope wolde soon revolte from thEmperour. What shalbe, I can nat imagyn; but whan I shall comme to the Frenche Court, I shall, acordyng to suche instructions as Your Grace hath sent me, endevour me to serche to know by all meanys yf any practisys or entreprysys be sett forward. And therupon, acordyng to suche knowlege as I shall have, I shall lykwyse advertise Yowr Grace with dylgens. And for that purpose I kepe stylly here with me Alysaundyr the messenger, that I may send hym to Your Grace whan nede shall requyre. Besechyng the Holy Trinite evyr to preserve yowr Hyghenesse. From Lyons, thys morow next aftyr Seynt Georges day by

yowr humble Servaunt and Subgett,

T. WALSHER.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Kynges Hyghenesse.

## CCLXXII. WILTSIIRE to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SIRE. It may plese Yowr Highnesse to undyrstond, that the 13<sup>th</sup> day of thys present monyth I wrot to Your Grace my last lettyrs<sup>2</sup>, and sent them by Alysaundyr the messenger. And the next day aftyr hys departyng, wych was Satyrday last, the Bysshop of Bayon was in hand with me, showyng me at great length of the Kyng hys mastyrs extreme charges, seyng how now of late the Emperour, by hys procuryng and meanys, hath styryd the Swysys to be very hasty on the Kyng hys maistre in askyng suche money as the Kyng heer owyth them, so that He is now compellyd to send to them two hondryd thowsand crownys. Also he told me that, now that thEmperour is in Almayn, all such Princes and odyrs of those partes as hath pension of the Kyng heer

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Of these there is no trace.

and be behynd onpayd, somme of them for 2 or 3 yerys, the Kyng, he seyth, is now fayn to send to them their hoole dewtye, or elles they shuld fall in with thEmperour; with many odyr rehersalles of issuyng owt of money: and in the end showid me how both the Kyng and my Lady had gyvyn hym in charge to desire me that I wold wryt to Your Hyghnesse, that yt might plese Yow to respytt thys payment of Yowr Graces pension, that is dew now in Maij, for 3 or 4 monyths; and, radyr than fayle, offryd to ley pleges and bagnes for the suer payment of the same. Wheronto I answeryd, that I marvelyd mich the Kyng heer or my Lady wold meve any such thyng; for fyrst I seyd I knew ther was no such nede, and that I was suer the Kyng hath receyvid twys more money, what of hys clargie, of the gentylmen, and of the peple of thys realme, than shall serve for the rawnsom of hys chyldryn. And also I seyd that in case He lakkyd in dede to content all folkes, yett He owght to have a regard to the just and trew payment of Your Grace, hys so neer frend, than owdyr to the Swysis or to the Lordes of Almayn, or yett to any odyr, consideryng the gret frendlynesse of Yowr Grace towarde the Kyng heer in all hys necessitees. And wher in many and dyvers thinges that Yower Grace had showid yower liberalitie and bowntye to them, in thynges that Ye nede nat to have don, but of your gentylnesse and plesur; if they on their syde that hath but one thyng to do, and woll nat kepe that trewly and justly, I told hym I thought it a very straunge delyng, and prayid hym nevir to meve yt, nor by myn advyse the Kyng nor my Lady shuld nevr spek of it, for I knew verely Your Grace wold thynk very straunge if any suche thyng shulde be mevyd; and told hym, yf they wold nedes meve any such thyng, they shuld meve yt by whom they wold, for I wold in no wyse be the never of any such thyng, wherof I was suer shuld comme no good, but harm. And so, aftyr many warm wordes betwixt the Byshop of Bayon and me towchyg the same mater, he swar at the last he knew well the Kyng cowd nat nor was nat able to paye Yowr Grace now at thys tyme. Wherupon I prayid hym to be ware, or he shuld gyve the Kyng hys mastyr any such advis, to fayle in any thyng that He was bound onto, or to do any thing that might hynder or abate the entier love betwix Yowr Grace and Hym, as I thought the fayling of thys payment myth do. And so aftyr mich ernest communication of thys mater betwixt hym and me, he departyd. And I am suer he hath shewid both to the Kyng and to my Lady, what I have seyd to hym consernyng thys mater; which by lyklyhode plesyth them so well, that nevr syns nowdyr the Kyng nor my Lady nor Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bayon spak any word to me moor of yt, nor I suppose woll nat do, for the small comfort I have gyven hym in atteynyng the  
same.

same. But I thynk verely the French Ambassadour in Ingland shall meye to Yowr Hyghnesse, as the Byshop of Bayon hath don to me; wherin yf he shall so do, I am of the mynd Yowr Grace shuld gyve them no lenger day, for I thynk suerly they may pay Yowr Grace well inowgh. And, withoutt dowte, yf Yowr Highnesse shuld gyve them lenger day now, ye shalbe wors payd of them, whan a gretter some shalbe owing heraftyr, than now; and so long it may fortune to rone onpayd, that yt shuld by ronnynge of tyme mownt to a gret dette, which shuld provoke inimytye radyr than payment. Nevrthelesse, Sire, in thys matter Yowr Hyghnesse knowyth bettyr what is to be don in it, yf any such thyng be mevyd, than I can consider.

Fordermore by as far as I can perceyve, both in the Kyng and in my Lady, they putt no maner of dowte in havyng of their chyldern now at thys 25<sup>th</sup> day of thys monyth<sup>1</sup>, or by the end of thys monyth, or in the begynnnyng of the next monyth, at the fordest; they styk nat heer at a week or 2. They sey they see many small thynges aryse now at the delyverance of them, the which must nedes cause tracte of tyme.

And as for any entrepryse, or any pryy intent towchyg the Qween, or ordyrwyse, aftyr the delyverey of hys chyldern, I can nat perceyve that He is determinyd upon any such thyng: yett have I assayd Hym and my Lady both, as farr as I cowd; but I perceyve well that, aftyr He shall have hys chyldern, yf ther shuld comme any occasion to do any entrepryse in any plase, He is myndyd to advertyse Yowr Grace therof by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaulx hys Ambassadour, whom both He and my Lady trustyth specyally.

I have also, accordyng to Yowr Graces fyrst instructions, delyverd Yowr Graces lettyr consernyng Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaulx hys avaunsement to the Cardinalite, wherin the Kyng here thynkyth that he shall do gret service and sted both to Yowr Hyghnesse and to Hym in that rome, and hath promysyd me both to wryt to Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaulx for hys assent, and also to the Pope for hys avaunsement to the same.

Also, Sire, towchyg Yowr Graces gret mater, the Kyng and my Lady rehersyth to me dayly that, what so evyr thyng Yowr Grace can dyvise that is in them to do for the forderance of the same, Yowr Hyghnesse shall always be sewer therof, and that they spek with as mich affection as is possible.

<sup>1</sup> On the 26th of May 1530 articles were agreed upon between Marshal Montmorenci on the part of Francis, and the Constable of Castille on the part of the Emperor, for the delivery of the French King's children, in conformity with the treaty of Cambray. Recueil de Traitez de Paix, Tom. II. p. 184. They were delivered in June. Mézéray, Tom. II. p. 481.

Also, of such lettyrs as yestyrday I resseyved from Yowr Grace, directyd to my felaw Wellysborn and me, towchynge salt and odyr thynges, Yowr Grace shall resseyve the answer herwith in an odyr lettyr wryten by us both.<sup>1</sup> And what yowr plesure shalbe that I shall forder do heer, I beseche Yower Hyghnesse I may be advertysid, and I shall always ordyr me therasty; for I am heer logyd in the Court, and contynually festyd yett dayly by one or by odyr, so that in all my lyffe I had nevyr such cher, and so gret famlyaryte with them, as I have heer dayly for Yowr Graces sake. Besechyng the holy Trinite evyr to preserve Yowr Hyghnesse. From Anguolesme, thys 18 day of Maij, by the ill hand of

Yowr most humble servaunt and subgett,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Highnesse.

T. WYLSHER.

### CCLXXIII. SIR GREGORY DA CASALE to KING HENRY VIII.

SERENISSIME et Invictissime Domine Rex, Domine supreme, humillima commendatione præmissa, Salutis &c. Ex literis Reverendi Domini Episcopi Londinensis<sup>1</sup> Majestas Vestra cognoscet, quid actum fuerit cum jureconsultis et cum theologis qui sunt Bononiæ, et in his provincijs Lombardiæ et Romandiolæ. Videbit etiam ex ijsdem literis Domino Londinensi visum fuisse necessarium me Romam contendere, unde cras hinc proficiscar, eo quidem animo ut laboris et diligentiae non minus ibi collocaturus sim, quam Bononiæ in his rebus factum sit, quas mihi videor in bono statu ac in tuto relinquere. In posterum autem quæcunque agenda erunt, omne laboris onus me subitum polliceor, adeo ut neque industria neque fides in me desideretur. Atque utinam Majestati Vestræ placuisset hæc negocia mihi mandare, dum hic essent Pontifex et Cæsar, etenim commodius uberius et expeditius confecta fuissent, ad quæ nunc magno opus est labore; neque illud cui nunc mederi non possumus evenisset, ut videlicet isti Cæsariani aliquot ex ordine Prædicatorum sibi compararent. Sed de omnibus copiose ad Guronum perscripsi, qui ea Vestræ Majestati explicabit. Tantum dicam me theologorum, qui de collegio Bononiensi sunt, subscriptiones separatim habere, et antequam hinc discedam, a Collegij congregacione approbationem

<sup>1</sup> This letter does not appear to be extant.

cum Collegij sigillo habebo. Optime valeat Vestra Majestas. Datum  
Bononiae, die 9 Junij, 1530.

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis  
(Signatur) Humill<sup>2</sup> S<sup>r</sup> GREGORI<sup>E</sup> CASALE.

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissimo et invictissimo Domino, Angliae et  
Franciæ Regi illustri, Fidei Defensori, Domino  
Hiberniæ &c. Domino meo supremo.

#### CCLXXIV. STOKISLEY TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASE it Your Highnes to be advertised that this Monday, in the mornyng, camme to my handes a lettre fro my Lorde of Worcetour, dated at Rome upon Whitsonelyn, the whiche, by cause in my simple jugement importeth somme thinges necessarie to cumme also to Your Graces knolege, I recogne my dutie to certifie Your Grace of the contentes of the same. And for as moche as the self lettre herafter may be requyred, and at the writeng herof I was not provyded of a sure messengier, I exemplified the same with myne oone hande and enclosed it herin.<sup>3</sup> And morover my Lorde of Worcetour,  
notwithstondeng

<sup>1</sup> In a letter of the 4th of May from Bologna he announced his intention of staying six days there, and then proceeding by Faenza, Rimini, and Ancona, to Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph.

<sup>3</sup> "Reverende in Christo Pater, &c. Fui, post eas quas ad te pridie ad longum scripsi, bis cum  
"Serenissimo Domino nostro, ut remedium aliquod obtinerem adversus Breve illud, quod Sancta  
titas Sua fieri fecit, et de quo tunc scripsi, et copiam misi. Tandem Sanctitas Sua respondit quod  
"Reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis Sanctorum Quattuor, non obstantibus his que contra Breve  
"opponuntur, dicit Breve illud bonum esse, et velle se ipsum et in eo contenta defendere et  
"manutener; et sic nihil a Sanctitate Sua ulterius obtainere aut habere potui. Quo vero ad  
"adhibendum aliquod remedium his quae Venetijs per Episcopum Vasionensem gesta sunt, et  
"providendum ut hij quos Regius Orator nominaverit possint libere et absque timore aut respectu  
"dicere quid in causa Regia sentiant, dixit Sanctitas Sua non videri sibi honestum ut univer-  
"sitates aut particulares homines dent sibi legem, et autoritatem suam metiantur; et de hoc  
"loquendo iterum conquestus est quod clam pro parte nostra procuratum fuit, ut homines in  
"causa nostra scriberent, quod non clam sed aperte dicit fuisse faciendum. Tandem post multam  
"et magnam instantiam dixit, prout dixerat per Breve supradictum, provisum fuisse petitioni  
"nostræ, quum in ipso Breve Sanctitas Sua hortetur homines ad habendum Deum pre oculis, et  
"dicendum juxta eorum constantiam quid in causa sentiant; et in hoc semper perstitit. Ego ad  
"hoc replicavi, quod nos petebamus precipi hominibus ut in hac causa scriberent, quum putaremus  
"quamplures esse, qui, timentes Sanctitati Sue in hac re displicere, non audebant scribere, et quod

notwithstondeng that he coulde not perceve any commoditie to ensue, but moche hindrance to Your Graces cause of the Breve, that both I and he sent unto Your Grace this last weeke a copie, yet he sent to me, with his saide lettre, that Brefe, sealed and enclosed as custome is, to the intent that, as he saide, if I sawe any goode myght comme therof, I myght eithre use it, or sende hym my mynde therin. The uncertentie of a messangier cawseth me also to reteigne it, for ells it myght peraventure comme to soche mennis handes as wer not convenient; and what pleasour or commoditie may ensue to Your Grace by the sendyng therof I see noone at all. Your Grace may now evidently see both what favour is to be trusted or hooped at the Poope, and what opinion He hath of Your Grace, or of your Counsell, that wolde have Your Grace or your Counsell to beleve that by this Brefe He had declared His Holynes to be content that every man shulde write accordeng to his conscience, and that He did exhorte and encourage them therunto; where the very truth is that the principall cause of his makeing and sendyng forth soo subtilye this Brefe, both to Venece and to Fraunce, was, by cause that they shulde perceve therby that His Holynes was not content that any man shulde favour your cause against his power, and soo discourage all them, that heng upon the Court of Roome, or upon the Poopis benevolence or mayntenaunce, as all freris of Italye doo, and the most parte of lawiers also. He was, as I suppose, irritated and provoked to displeasour by the reaporte made unto Hym of Your Graces wordes concerningg Florence, for He regardeth his pleasour in yt moore then evyr He did any victorie in his lyfe before; and therfor now that the Bisshope of Vasona, that camme from Vincentia and Veniece to Roome, showid the Poope of the sollicitation and successes of your Agentes there, He with all hast devised and sent forth thies inhibitions. The currier, that arryved here the first Satreday of May and passed to Roome for the Quenes besognes, as I wrote to Your Grace in my last letters, confessid that

he

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“ ad hoc in Brevi non providebatur; ulterius quod quum in Brevi diceretur aperte sequendam esse  
 “ canonum et juris dispositionem, et sic viderentur excludi theologi, rogabam ut Sanetitas Sua, ad  
 “ occurrendum difficultatibus, dignaretur saltim scribere ad Legatum seu Nuncium summ Venetijs  
 “ existentem, ut nominandis per nostrum Oratorem diceret non displicere Sanctitati Suæ, quod  
 “ sine timore aut respectu aliquo dicerent libere, quid in hac causa sentirent. Ad quæ tandem  
 “ respondit, quod scriberet suo Legato seu Nuncio quod omnia faceret quæ facienda essent, et quod  
 “ gratificaretur hominibus regijs in omnibus quæ posset, modo non lederetur honor suus, quem  
 “ totis viribus volebat defendere, et ut ipsum dictus Nuncijs defenderet volebat ei precipere.  
 “ Volui itaque Dominationem tuam de hoc certiorem reddere, ut ea magis resolute cogitare et se  
 “ resolvere possit quid sit faciendum; quod quum mihi significaveris, conabor pro viribus et  
 “ Dominationi tuae obtemperare, et debito meo erga Regiam Majestatem satisfacere. Puto tamen  
 “ parum me in omnem eventum posse facere. &c. Ex Urbe Roma. 4 Junij. 1530.”

he went from Englonde to Flunders, and soo left both Dover and Calais, as I suppose for feare of serchyng. Antonio de Vivables despatched him.

Her be newys that the Prince of Orenge with parte of thoste departeth from Florence to besege Pises, and that thEmperours Chauncelour is departed ex subita apoplexia; and that the Marchiese of Mountferrate was slayne at Venice with a fall offe his horse; and soo now his systre is his heire, that the Marchiese of Mantua did now late forsake, post sponsalia, for the Quenes Dowghtier of<sup>1</sup> at thEmperours request.

And thus besechynge Your Grace to pardon this my rude writeng, for that of my journey this day to Venece; I beseche Our Lorde long to conserve Your Moste noble Grace. At Bonony, the 13<sup>th</sup> day of Juigne, with the hande of

I have in my hande the determination of the College of the Theologiens of this Universitie undre their commune seale, accordeng to the tenour of the copie<sup>2</sup> that I sent this last weeke unto Your Grace.

Your Graces moste humble Subject,

Servaunt, and Bedesman,

(Signed) Jo. STOKISLEY.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

### CCLXXV. CROKE TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>3</sup>

PLEASE yt Yowr Highnes to be advertysed, that I have sent unto the same sondry lettres off importance, with divers lettres bylles bokes and wrtinges; the whyche as yet I am uncertayne whether they be commen unto your mooste gratiouse handes, and I fere leste, to the great hynderance off your mooste high causes here, that other thole, or a greate parte off my lettres be kept from the knollege off Your Highnes.

I assuyre Your Highnes I trowye there was never noble Prince so abused by crafte and malice off them whom He puttethe in truse, as Yowr Highnes ys, in this yowr mooste juste cause, and the whyche (yff men had or wolde have done theyr diligence), no dought longe or thys tyme, had bene approved

Blank in the original.

<sup>2</sup> This does not appear to be extant.

<sup>3</sup> Prefixed to this is a concise letter from Croke to the King, recommending Him to have the long letter read to Him, and not to take the trouble of reading it Himself. Both the letters are holograph. None of the enclosures alluded to are now extant, except in the volume noted in p. 244.

by al the Doctours off Italy; consyderinge that now, albeyt the Pope and thEmperour, by theyr lettres, hathe and dayly do manace and threten them, who They kan perceve (according to conscience and good lerning) to approve, other by subscription or counseyl, your mooste gratiouſe and trew opinion, with those that ar in myne handes, Your Highnes hathe subscriptions and counſeyles, by my diligence and yowr procurement, to the nombre off 80, besydes them that were brente, beyng in nombre, as Father Fraunceys saithe, 30; whereoff there were 9 Doctours, whose names, with the names off them that Simonetus, and Thomas, and Franſeys, hathe gotten off new, the whyche as yet ar not in Yowr Highnes handes, I sende unto Yowr Highnes herein enclosyd. So that, in al, Yowr Grace hathe, and had concludyng with the same, on hundred and ten, whereoff be Doctours seventy four, and thother be Observantes, off good lernynge and great reputation here; and as yet Yowr Grace hathe none off Joannes Franciscus Marinus, nor from Verone, where ye have manye excellente men, that promyſed, and yet wyl (yf they may have licence), ſend theyr wrytynges and subscriptions to Yowr Highnes. But yowr Embassadour hathe bene there, and syns his beyng there the Pope hathe writen to my Lorde of Verone a meruelous sharpe lettred, dated, as my Lorde saithe, the 21 off May, whyche lettred was procured, as he saythe, by thEmperours Embassadour, by whom and Vasonus there was also made serche for the lettred that my Lorde off Verone made in the favor of yowr cause, to the Bishoppe Theatinus.<sup>1</sup> I ſaw and red divers lettred ſent to my ſaid Lorde, avysinge hym off the same. To theſe lettredes was no body privy here, but your Embassadour and I; the whyche ys familiar with thEmperours Embassadour, and lay with Vasonus in the contrey whan he came to Vincence to burne Father Fraunceys writinge, and lay with on Marcus Antonius de Godis, a Doctour in Law in Vincence, the whyche was, as Father Franceys saythe, contente to wright for Yowr Grace, and make Yowr Highnes frendes, and upon that condition toke instructions off Father Franceys; the whyche, after the commynge off yowr Embassadour, he rendred ayene to Father Franceys, and wolde in no wyſe medle. And, gratiouſe Lorde, al that he writethe to Father Franceys in the lettred here incloſed, I have provyd to be his crafte and falſhod, and nothing trew. I beseche Yowr Highnes to cauſe that lettred to be red unto Yow, and Yowr Highnes ſhal perceve what he entendyth in thus handellynge off hym ſelfe; and what Gregorius, his brother, had done at Millayne, and what reaortes he made off yowr cauſes there, I committe unto yowr mooste high wysdome,

<sup>1</sup> John Peter Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV.

to be judged by the copye off Crucinus lettres I recead evyng, whom,  
apperteineth by an other off his lettres (the copy whereoff is sent with the  
presents) Father Fraunceys hathe reconcyled to us ayene. I send also unto  
Your Highnes, instructions off my Lorde off Worcestres servantes hande; the  
whyche I came to by a frend; in the whyche instructions the cause off yowr  
protestation, by a Notarye expressed, merveylously slauderythe yowr cause,  
and hathe alienate many menys myndes. I assuyre Your Highnes that yowr  
cause ys so good, in every good and lernyd mannys judgement, that yt nedynthe  
not to begge any favor by any suche pretext; and I beseche Yowr Highnes to  
pardon me, for my fidelitye and trew harte wol not suffer me to hyde my  
opinion from Yowr Highnes. I thynke verly that thys clause was put in,  
for the nonste, to hurte your moost egal cause by these Italions, whom I can  
not perceve any thinge to prefer the same, but by cloke and color to go  
abought to hynder the same, and to ascribe other mennys payns to them selff,  
and to acertayne the Pope off every manys doyngs to theyr harme. The  
Pope now knowethe off Pagninus writynges. The Senates answer ys by the  
procuremente of Yowr Embassadour, off whose behavyowr more at length  
writeth Father Fraunceys, in his lettres, the whyche I send with these. And  
my Lorde of London by experence now can tel, and dought not but he wyl  
informe Yowr Grace off the same, whatsomever information he hathe had  
from hens afore tyme. But to wright thus openlye every thinge unto Your  
Highnes ys no smale daunger to me, and other, that trewly and faythfully  
labour yowr causes here. For Cassalis and other be so frendyd abought Yowr  
Grace, that they have avyses of al the tenour off yowr mooste honorable lettres  
writhen hyther ten dayes or yowr sayd lettres arryve here. Farther, by  
certayne men they ar advySED off al thinges that I and other do wright unto  
Yowr Highnes, insomoche that to the greate prejudice off yowr maters here  
al theyr faulghtes be cloked. Yt ys not longe a go syns the Bischoppe off  
Worcestres seruaunte, in the Bishoppes name, solicited a seruaunte of myne,  
beyng an Italion, to espyc whan I shulde retorne in to Englonde, and with  
al haste to advertyse the Bishop; so that at my retorne I fere not only harme  
off my body, but also losse off al the originalles off all suche wrichtinges and  
subscriptions, as men hathe gyven, off theyr owyne handes, in the corroboration  
of yowr mooste high causes; onles in remedye off all these mischevys Yowr  
Highnes vouchesauff to shew unto them, that ar abougt the same, that Yowr  
said Highnes wol require off theyr handes ovr dethes, and harmes that here  
do chaunce unto us that faythfully do serve Yowr Highnes: and by sutche  
avyses (as my Lorde of London I thinke can tel) yowr maters here hathe be  
merveylously hurte, and my lettres I dought not be kept, many, or a greate

parte off the tenour of them, from Yowr Highnes knollege, the copyes whereoff I have regestred in a boke.<sup>1</sup>

I beseche Yowr Highnes that I may have som commission with instructions, the whyche I may use to the better profermente off yowr causes, and also for my discharge in tyme to come, in case that I be, other here or in Englande, demaundyd reason off my service done unto Yowr Highnes in thys behalffe. Gratious Lorde, my diettes ar expendid, and I have no money to prosecute yowr causes accordingly, and here wolbe litle more or no good done, but the profight wolbe in the towynes abrode undre the dominion off Venice, and the Dukedom off Millayne, and other towynes in the way homewarde; that yff yt may stande with yowr mooste high pleasuyre, that I so shulde travayle from place to place, I muste in mooste humble wyse beseche Yowr Highnes off provision, as wel for my dietes as retaynyng off men. The Pope hathe sente for Father Fraunceys a Brefe, the whyche yestreday was delyvred unto hym, as men say, to make hym Cardinal, the whyche I truste shalbe to the greate profrement off yowr high causes, whyche he here could litle or nothinge prevayle more. And thus the mooste Blyssyd Trinitye preserve Yow, my mooste dere and drad Soverayne Lorde. At Venice, the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June, Anno Domini 1530.

Yowr mooste humble Servante,

(*Superscribed*)

To the Kinges Highnes owyne hande.

RICHARDE CROKE.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vitellius, B. XIII., in the Cottonian Collection, is most probably the book here alluded to. It almost wholly consists of entries in Croke's own handwriting of all his proceedings at this period, not only with the English government, but also with ambassadors, agents, and various learned men, principally with the object of procuring the subscriptions of the latter in favour of the justice of the King's cause.

<sup>2</sup> There are in the State Paper Office seven other letters from Croke to the King, viz. from Venice on the 24th and 31st of August, from Reggio on the 9th of September, from Bologna on the 16th and 17th of September and 1st of October, and from Venice on the 30th of November, and one to Cranmer from Bologna on the 12th of September, all relating to the pains he had taken to obtain opinions on the King's cause, and the various successes and disappointments he had met with, and the expenses he had incurred, and imputing treachery to John da Casale. But none of these will be printed, as Stokisley's letter of the 23d of September contains the summary of these matters.

## CCLXXVI. SIR NICHOLAS HARVY TO KING HENRY VIII.

PERAS it Your Highnes. Sythe my commynge hidderwardes I have wrytten to Your Grace two my former letters, the one beryng date at the toun of Meghelin the 22<sup>th</sup> of the monnythe laste paste, and the other from Coleyn the 27<sup>th</sup> of the same monnythe, whiche from Coleyn I deliverde into the handes of Sir Herman Rynge, addressyng it to Your Highnesses Ambassadour with the Ladye Margarite; *and apon rapporte of the sayde Sir Herman, made therin mencion a leghe to be takin with the Turke, and an appointement betwixte Don Fernando and Vyralde apon certen condicions: howbeit, I can here fynde no sayenges, but rather apperance to the contrarie.*

Furthermore it maye pleas Your Grace to understande, that apon Fridaye 8<sup>te</sup> of this monnythe I atteignyd hidder, and the seconde daye affter myne arrivall by one of the Maisters dostell, callid le Maistre Mouqueron, I was conveyed from my lodging unto thEmperors presence into his bedde chamber, wher I deliverd Your Highnesses letter, with Your Graces hartye recommendacions unto Hym; bothe which He accepted in right lovyng and frendelye wise, makynge in semblable facion recueil unto me, and thankyd Your Grace hartelye in that it had lykyd Your Highnes to send to be recident with Hym one, by whom He might have knowledge of Your Graces good estate from tyme to tyme. And affter declaracion of the firste parte of my charge, *He attempting noo thing of Your Graces greate cause,* with a verry sobre manner sayd, that at all seasons when I shuld have any affaire to be shewyd Hym from Your Highnes, I shulde be hartelye wellcom unto Hym, and wolde gladlye geve me audience at all seasons.

The daye followinge I repairid unto the Kynge of Hungarie at his lodgynge, widder I was conveyed allso by one of the Maisters of his Howsehold; and deliveryng Hym Your Graces letter, with Your Highnesses effecteous recommendacions, He shewed in his maintien and countenaunce to be gretelye rejoysid and satisfied therewith, and usid me in my recueil affter a kynde and familier facion, sayenge that He shuld be righte glad at all tymes to here of Your Graces good convalescence, and was verry wele contentid to knowe that by me He myghte have meane to geve Your Highnes advertisment from Hym at all tymes when the cas shall so require.

<sup>1</sup> The passages printed in Italics are in the original in cypher.

Moreover,

Moreover, it maye like Your Grace to be ascertenyd that a grete companye of the Estates of thEmpire be here assembled, and all the Princes, saving the Bisshop of Trere<sup>1</sup> and the Conte Palentine Ludovic, whiche two personaiges be absent by occasion of som diseases, and have made theyr excuses, consentinge, as I here saye, to all that shalbe decreed and done by thEmperour and the other Electours here, as farforthe as iff they were them selffes present. *Daylly counsailles be had upon the Lutherian secte, whiche as yet bringe furthe litle towardnes to that purpose, and somewhere men doubte that thEmperor shall have to moche to doo to redresse that affaire, for their supporters holde their opinyons stronglye, and shrinke not a deale therat; and so it shuld seme, aswell in that thing as other, thEmperor shalbe sumwhat used, as his predecessors have been; that is to saye, as it shall please them. Neverthelesse by the Cardinall of Luke, with whom I supped yesternight, and had of him, for Your Highnes sake, as gentle loving and frendely chere as ever I had, being veraye to here of Your Graces good estate, I perceyved that the heddes of that secte inclyne sumwhat to thEmperours mynde; wherby good hope is had, that with som leysor and faire meanes they shalbe reduced, for in other maner is no holsom medling with them. In whiche and other behauolves as I shall ferther fele and knowe, I shall not fayle from tyme to tyme to assartayne Your Grace.*

*The said Cardynall shewed me also that thEmperour had worde how aswell the toun as campe at Florence is infectid with the plaghe, and that thEmperour is in doubte of the Prince of Orenge his chieff capten, and the residue of his people ther.*

Som men judge that in this enterprinse thEmperour hathe been unto the Pope aswell a scourge as a frende, for under conforte of Hym the Pope hathe in the same entreprinse wastid hys frendes people and substaunce to small effecte.

*Your Highnes shall herewith receyve a letter from the Duke George of Saxon, whiche is answere to Your Graces letters sent unto him by me, at the deliveraunce wherof he willed me from tyme to tyme to repaire unto him.*

And thus I beseche Allmyghtye God to have Your Highnes allwayes in Hys moste blessid preservacion. Writtyn at the towne of Osbourghe, in the cuntrey of Swethin, the 11<sup>th</sup> daye of the monnythe of July, anno 1530.

*I send Your Grace the dubble of this by Sir Herman Ringes handes.<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Richard Grieffenklau, Archbishop of Treves, died in the following year.

<sup>2</sup> This duplicate is still with the original.

No manner person as yet, sithe my beyng here, *hath moved me of Your Graces greate cause.*

*Duke George letter is, with the dabble herof, sent by Sir Harmon Ringes handes.*

By Your Highnesses moste humble subiect and servant,

*Superscribed:*  
To the Kinges Highnes.

(Signed) N. HARVY.

### CCLXXVII. GEORGE DUKE OF SAXONY to KING HENRY VIII.

SERENISSIME Rex, Domine et Amice observande, Salutem, et promptam obsequendi voluntatem. Literæ, quas Regia Celsitudo Vestra ex Regia sua Hamptoncourtis mense Junio ad nos dedit, hoc ipso quo hæc rescriptsimus die, ad nostras manus per Oratorem Regiæ Celsitudinis Vestræ sunt perlatae; quæ quanto nos gaudio afficerint ac voluptate, verbis sane consequi non licet, nam quæ voluptas nobis major obtingere queat, quam quod talem Regiæ Celsitudinis Vestræ erga nos animum et candorem vere ac re ipsa licuit apprehendere? qualem jam inde exoptavimus, et nos erga Regiam Celsitudinem Vestram sedulo gerere solumus; etenim idem ille animus et favor nos extimulavit, ut Regiam Celsitudinem Vestram de sinistro illo per Germaniam sparso rumore candide et per amice submoneremus, quo tantum abest ut Regiam Celsitudinem Vestram quicquam sentiamus offensam, ut nobis magnas propterea gratias agat; quare merito lætamur illud nobis feliciter cessisse: porro hanc eandem lætitiam conduplicavit expurgatio, qua Regia Celsitudo Vestra rumorem illum excusat, videlicet illam nullo privato affectu, sed solius Dei respectu, atque quorundam magni nominis consilio et suasu, eo pervenisse. Etsi vero semper eam cum prudentiam tum pietatem de Regia Celsitudine Vestra nobis persuasimus, ut illam nihil unquam tentaturam crediderimus, cuius non probabilem rationem reddere possit; optaremus tamen Regiam Celsitudinem Vestram jam inde ab initio hue nunquam deductam. Jam vero honoris vestri causa lætamur nos habere caussas, quibus hoc factum, siquando in obtrectatores quosdam inciderimus, possimus excusare, id quod, pro nostra virili et amore erga Regiam Celsitudinem Vestram, nos sedulo facturos pollicemur. Neque vero dubitamus quin in Regno quoque vestro aliquam multi sint probatæ, vitæ doctrineque, qui ad tollendum illum conscientiæ scrupulum facile poterunt asserere, et evidenter ostendere matrimonium Regiæ Vestræ Celsitudinis nulla

alia

alia legittimatione egere. Cæterum, quod cum Oratore Regiæ Celsitudinis Vestræ hodie non sumus collocuti, in caussa fuere cum negotia nostra quibus propter comicia hic præpedimur, tum quod seorsim sine interprete in sua illum lingua non potuimus intelligere; nam cupimus ei quædam fideliter communicare, quamobrem non committemus, quin eum primo quoque tempore in fidele colloquium sumus admissuri. Hæc vero interea, quando nobis præpropera rescribendi occasio est data, Regiam Celsitudinem Vestram noluimus celare, nihil addubitantes quin grato animo sit studium nostrum acceptura, nosque perpetua benevolentia prosecutura, quam eandem Deus Optimus Maximus sospitare atque incolumem conservare dignetur. Datum ex Augusta Vindelicorum, 15 die Julij, Anno 1530.

Georgius Dei Gratia Saxonie Dux,  
Lanthgravius Turyngiae, et Marchio  
Mysniæ.

(*Signatur*)      GEORGI<sup>9</sup> DUX SAXONIE, &c.

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissimo Principi, Domino Henrico, Regi  
Angliae et Franciae, Fidei Defensori, ac  
Domino Hiberniae, Domino et  
amico observando.

### CCLXXVIII. BRYAN TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

*Yt may plesse Your Hyghnes to understande, that syms the deparlyng of Alexandar your curre<sup>2</sup> yt hath ben told me that the French King dothe send to the Emperour to ratyfy nue artyclys, sayng, those that wer before wer to hard to be kept, and that he thinketh that the Emperour wold agre to suche as He sendys nowe. What they be, I can not tell, but the common voyce goys here, that they be suche, that yt will be the occasyon of the breche betwene Them. And here yt is reconnyd no other, but to have war shortly with the Emperour. I have hard thys of sum substancyall men, and also of others of lesse degré, but not of none of the Councell; but thys day Monsyr la Geshe told me in*

<sup>1</sup> The two first paragraphs are in cypher.

<sup>2</sup> There is a letter from Lord Wiltshire, dated on the 19th of July at Ortonay, which place he had reached on his road home, from whence it appears that Alexander had there overtaken him.

*gret secretnesse that he shuld go to the Emperour; wherof as yet I cannot assarten you.*

Here is stylly a marvelus gret hatered betwene the Gret Master and the Admirall. The Spaynyssh ladies and the Frenche ladies be viso in a jarre; the Frenche ladies mocke them every day, and that the Spaynyssh ladies spe very well. Yt is feryd here that the Quene<sup>1</sup> and the French Kinges mother will not long agre. Ther ar a gret mayny here that, for the yll wyll they bere to the French Kynges mother, wold that the Quene shuld rayne, and put the other downe. But for a trawthe here will be hard hold, so myche I spy. Lykewyse here is myche labor made of the Florentynys partye for to have ayde for the helpe of ther towne. What the French Kyng will do, I can not surely say, but the common voyce goys that He will not medyll. I ynsure Your Grace the Italyons that be in thys Court say, and sum of them that be of the best told me, that if the French Kyng suffer yt to be lost wyth out succuryng of yt, that never after He shal have credyte in Italy. Syr, syns the wrytyng of thys, the goyng of Monsyr la Geshe is tornyd, and in hys stede goys on callyd Rober dAngy.

Further yt may plese you to understande, that I have resceyvyd for the dyscharge of the Flower de Luce, that I had in my charge, the oblygacyon, in the whyche Your Graces Father of noble memory, whose sowle God pardone, was bounde to the Emperour Maximlyan to redelyver the sayd juell, when the som of 10 thousand pounde starlyng shuldbe payd to Hym or to Your Grace, the sayd oblygacyon beyng sygnyd with the hande of your sayd Father.<sup>2</sup> I have also causyd Mons<sup>r</sup> de Pratt and Mons<sup>r</sup> Gylam de la Barrys to indoce the ressayt of hyt on the bacsyde of the oblygacyon, mencyonyng ther the day and yere that they resceyvyd yt of me, and ther handys put to the same.

Also withyn thes 6 dayes the Vycount de Tyrayne and the Bysshop of Bayon ar sworne to be of the Kyng your brothers Prevye Counsell. The sayd Byshop of Bayon lokys to be dyspachyd toward Your Grace withyn 3 or 4 days.<sup>3</sup>

Syr, now that all that Your Grace has commaundyd me to do here ys fulfyllyd, I beseche Your Hyghnesse that I may know further of your pleasure what I shall do. That ons knowne, I shall fulfyll yt accordyng to my dewty with as obedient a wyll as any sugett or sarvant Your Grace has. As knowys our Lord, who ever preserve Your Hyghnesse, and send you long

<sup>1</sup> Eleanor, whom Francis had married.

<sup>2</sup> See Herbert, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> This is also mentioned by Lord Wiltshire.

lyff, with as myche honour as your most gracyus hart can desyre. From Angoleme, the 23 of July.

(Signed) Yow<sup>s</sup> most hūble suggestt and boundon ſvant,

(Superscribed)

To the Kyngys Hyghnesse.

FRANSSYS BRYAN.

### CCLXXIX. WELLYSBURN TO KING HENRY VIII.

**I**t may pleas Your Highnes to be advertised that the Frenche Kyng, the Quene, my Lady, the Daulphin, and the Duc of Orleans, came yesterday, being the 22<sup>th</sup> of this present monethe of July, in to this town of Angolesme, at 8 of the clocke in the night, with no very great compayne with them. The Kyng came not in to the town with the Quene; my Lady rode with Her in the lytter. The Kynges childern rode afor them. The Quene was well receyved here for suche a town as this is. The Kyng intendethe to go from hens towards Paris by Conyac; whithre from thens, I cannot ascerteyn Your Highnes at this tyme. As He shall passe, You shalbe advertised. He woll make no hasty journeys, but as He may come to Paris aboute Mychelmas, wher shalbe the grettest triumphe made at the commyng in of the Quene, that hathe ben seen in France thes many yeres past; what for Her, what for the Kynges childern, all the noble men of Fraunce shalbe ther. Wherfor I most humbly beseche Your Highnes, if it shalbe your gracious pleasur that I shall tary here so long, that it may pleas You to send me your gracious reward, to bye me apparell ageinst that great tryumphe. At this present tyme ther is noone Imbassatour in Fraunce so slenderly apparelled as I am. As it shall pleas Your Highnes, so shall I ordre myself in this and all othre thinges with the all diligens.

Pleas it Your Highnes to be advertisid of suche newes as be here, not fully open yet, that the Abbot of Farfara, on of the chief of the Ursines, whom the Pope loveth not, and hathe ben aboute to take soome of his castelles, is gon to the Cardinall of Colone, and hathe made alliance with hym. He hathe maried the Cardinallis niepce, and therby the 2 houses of Colone and Ursine be now on, and do make skarmoses daylye ageinst the Pope; in so muche the Pope is withdrawn into Castell Aungell for fere of them, and is sikke in dede, or els makethe hymself sikke for fere and anger. The Abbot is no prest, nor toke never orders.

The Marquis of Guaste is gon from the siege of Florence with 3 or 4 hundred

hundred men withe him, as it is said, because he shalbe chief captain for the Emperour ageinst the Turke. Ther is very great dethe in the campe; ther do dye dayly 2 or 3 hundred a day, wiche is haulf a rescous for the Florentines. The Popes army, that was at Voltier a place of the Florentines, is gon from thens to the siege of Florence, to suplye the places of theym that be dedd ther of the plague; wherby the cite of Florence shalbe now dayly the better vitayled.

Other newes there be noone here at this tyme to wright unto Your Highnes, but ther is an Embassatour commen hitre from Hungry. Wherfor he is comme I cannot ascerteyn you at this tyme. I shall herafter, when I shall have knowledge, with the grace of God, who send Your Highnes long lief in helthe with your gracious hartes desir. From Angolesme, the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of July.

Your humble subget and most bounden servaunt,

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

(Signed) JON WELLYSBURN.

### CCLXXX. SIR GREGORY DA CASALE *to King Henry VIII.*

SERENISSIME et Invictissime Rex, Domine supreme, Felicitatem &c. Quoniam de minimis etiam quibusque quæ ad Vestrae Majestatis causam pertineant ad Vestram Majestatem mihi scribendum esse existimo, quod sequiter ita ut accidit recensebo. Anconitanus, quum ego secum loquerer, et de Pontifice super causæ dilatione quod non daretur conquererer, secreto mihi dixit, orans ne cuiquam propalarem, quod, quanvis Pontifex ab adversarijs nostris extorquere non posset ut supersederent in causa, sed illi procederent nihilominus ad ferendam sententiam per contumaciam, non ita celeriter veniretur, sed annus integer, atque etiam duo, prius volverentur; quod si aliter fieret, se mendacem et malum appellarem. Ego vero dixi mihi id non videri verisimile, quoniam Pontifex adeo cupit Caesari obtemperare, ut ne diem quidem unum in processu causæ sit impediturus. “Non ita est,” inquit Anconitanus, “quia, quanvis “processus celerrime fieret, tamen latio sententiae in longum protrahetur; “tuncque invenientur causæ, quibus Cæsarianis probabitur nondum sententiam: “ferri oportere: atque hoc mihi credas volo.” Præterea dixit se nunquam vidisse, quod in causis, quæ ad aliquem principem pertineant, Sedes Apostolica temere aut festinanter egerit, sed prudenter et mature; mihiq[ue] etiam juravit se nunquam in tota via meminisse causam in qua plus dubitationis inesset,

quanvis ipse aliquando nobis ostenderit sese pro contraria parte sentire. In illo vero puncto, an prohibitio juris divini sit, magis se quam in reliquis dubitare, quamquam aliter dixit. Insuper non cogitandum neque credendum esse ullo pacto, quod Pontifex vellet ad ferendam sententiam veniri, re tota prius non optime cognita. Si enim Pontifex id faceret, hac una tantum de causa posset ad concilium vocari, ideoque non esse ferendam sententiam, nisi ambabus partibus ostensum et declaratum sit, utra opinio melior sit. Hic ego duo respondi, primum, Majestatem Regiam non posse suam opinionem magis probare, quam ostendendo consilia et scripta majoris partis doctorum virorum in toto orbe Christiano; deinde, causam, ut ipse Anconitanus dixerat, dubiam esse, et in dubietate verendum esse, ne gratia Cæsaris præponderaret propter negotium cum Duce Ferrariæ, et similia. Ad quæ Anconitanus respondit, non debere Vestram Majestatem super declarationem academiarum se prorsus fundare, quoniam Cæsariani plura etiam habere poterunt. Et hoc quantum ad meam primam objectionem. Quantum ad secundam dixit, quod antequam veniatur ad sententiam, Pontifex erit extra has omnes tricas et privatos respectus. Hæc ego ita ut acta sunt perscribo.

Cardinalis Tranensis, postquam literas Vestræ Majestatis habuit, a Pontifice licentiam scribendi petiit, qui respondit id non convenire ut suam sententiam proferret, quod in literis, quas ad Dominum Secretarium scripsi, Majestas Vestra fusius videbit. Ipse Tranensis nunc ad Vestram Majestatem scribit, rogavitque ut veniam apud Vestram Majestatem pro ipso peterem, si magis particulariter non scribit, quoniam ob dictam causam aliud non potest; quod, si detur occasio pro parte Vestræ Majestatis disputandi, eam se usque ad ultimum sustentaturum. Optime valeat Vestra Majestas. Romæ, die 18 Septembris, 1530.<sup>1</sup>

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis,  
(*Signatur*)      Humill<sup>o</sup> S<sup>r</sup> GREGORI<sup>s</sup> CASALI<sup>s</sup>

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissimo et Potentissimo Domino, Angliæ et  
Francie Regi, Fidei Defensori, Hibernie  
Domino, &c. Domino meo supremo.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Casale on the same day communicated to the King the Pope's proposal that Henry should have two wives, which is printed by Herbert, p. 330. The original remains in the State Paper Office.

<sup>2</sup> Under the superscription is written by Henry VIII. "De Angonitano loquens."

CCLXXXI. STOKISLEY TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it Your Highnes to be advertised, that your lettres, dated the 16<sup>th</sup> day of August<sup>2</sup>, wer delivred unto me at Venice the 29<sup>th</sup> of that same month towardes nyght, at the which tyme both M<sup>r</sup> Crooke and the Protonotarie de Casalis wer absent at Padua; and thowgh M<sup>r</sup> Crooke retorne to me to Venece, upon my lettres, the Wednesday the last of the saide month, yet the Protonotarie, by cause of the honoreng of the commencement of his greate frende, called Monsicur Stampa, coulde not retourne unto the Thursday the first of this month; wherby I was enforced soo long to tarye in Venece, to dispose with them, and also with others, the forther conduceng of Your Graces affaires in thoose parties; and incontinently therupon, I tooke my voyage that same day towardes Bononie, and arrived ther the Satreday at night: at whiche tyme the moste famose Doctours of that Universitie, Doctours Beroo and Gozadinus, wer absent; that oone in the Poopeis besognes, to examine witnes at Modena and therabowts, for the matieres depending betweene the Poope and the Duke of Ferrara; that other, to vewe his oone landes, oone dayes journey from Bononye; wherby I was constreigned to make my demoure ther unto the Wednesday next foloweng, viz. the 7<sup>th</sup> of this month, and in that meane tyme I renewid the first determinacion of the Theologiens ther, in the presence of the Notarie of that Facultie, and of other credible witnes, by cause of soche slaunderoose rumours, as a Spanysh Chanon (whom thEmperours Embassatours hath sent all abowts to empeche and interupte the prosperose successe of your cause in thoose Universities) had divulged at Padua and in other places. I communed also with thoose Doctours of Lawe, that wer ther at hoome and had promised to defende Your Graces cause by thir writenges; but of them oonely oone had perfourmed his writeng, his name is Doctor Hieronymus Prevattillus; an other of them, called Doctor Ochi, excused hymself not oonely by his reding unto August, but also by soche besognes as he had in persueng the murderors of his brodre; that other, called Doctor Ja. de Fastenninis, the whiche was hertofer redar to Doctour Benet, excused hymself that his counsell was not perfourmed, not oonely by his lessons, but also by that, that he yet labored and studied for, the justification of that parte de indispensabilitate, wherin he was not as yet (as he saide) fully satisfied, though in that other twoo partes de jure viz. dominico, et insufficientia cause, and also in questione de integritate

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.<sup>2</sup> Not term'd.

(wherof

(wherof Your Grace hath all redie his opinion in writeng) he is resolved accordengly with otheres. Doctor Hieronymus putteth no doubte, but, by that tyme that he hath seen and consydred his counsell, he will agree hoolye with hym, etiam de indispensabilitate. That other twoo principalls, at their retorne excused them selfes, not oonely by their saide besognesses and plessours, but also saide that they pondred the waight of the cause, and Your Highnes honour and their oone, upon whom they do recogne the burden will lye; and therfor they required soome moore tyme, before they put forth their counselles in wreteng. How be it, all thies hath feithfully promised to perfourme and accomplish their counselles, before thende of this month of Septembre, and to delyver them to Sir Andrea Casali, or to Syr Gregorio, if he retorne thiddre, in soche wise that your Counsell shall have them at Roome in the begynneng of this next month, and Your Grace the copies, with their subscriptions, before thende therof; and yet before my departour from Bononye, I appointed with Doctor Hieronymo, bycause his counsell was then perfight, to exemplifie it forthwith, and to subscribe it, and to send it by the next to your Embassatours at Roome; and soo I doubt not but they have it before this day, with twoo autenticall transumptes of the determinations of Bononie and Padua, that I sent to them from thens, besides twoo odre transumptes, that I had prepared and made redie at Venece to sende to them, before the receipt of Your Graces lettres, though noone of them wroote to me oone worde of such things, as Guron broght unto them, nor of no odre thinge concerningy your affaires, after Gurons arrivall to Roome, whiche was the 20 of August. These fyve Doctours be the moste excellent of all the Universities in these partes of Italie, and they put no doubt, but that the rest of that Universitie, whiche be to the nombre of 17, besides them, will subscribe to their counselles, oons perfourmed, and soo afterwarde to have them ratified collegiatim, both of the Canonists and of the Civiliens; whiche Sir Andrea de Casali and Doctour Hieronymo hath taken upon them to solicite diligently and effectuallye, as soone as the said counselles be perfourmed. Oon of the said 17, a redar, called Doctor de Pinu, whiche at my former being at Bononye was desyred to subscribe, and to giff his consent to the collegiall approbation of the saide counselles, now, at my last being ther, exhibited unto me a counsell of his oone, conformable to our request, and hath promised to doo his best for the obteyneng of the collegiall consent, wherin, not oonely for his lernyng, but for his odre goode qualities, he may doo veray moche; diverse odre of the College hath lykewise promised their favours, soo that ther is no doubt of prosperose successe ther in Your Graces cause, except that Gambera, the Governatour of Bononic (of whom I wrote at Whitsontyde to Your Highnes),  
the

the whiche upon our Lady day last, viz' the morow after my departour from Bononye, made a shamefull rofell with some of the Theologiens for their determinations, (as by oone of M<sup>r</sup> Crokes lettres<sup>1</sup>, and by a lettre of Doctour Pallavicinus sent herwith<sup>2</sup>, Your Highnes shall partly perceve) doo cause some empacement to be made emonges the lawers; which if he doo attempte, Your Grace shalbe soone advertised by the saide Sir Andrea and Doctor Hieronymus. And as tocheing Your Highnes affaires at Venece and Padua, I trust Your Grace is advertised by this tyme, as well by my lettres that I sent from thens, as by M<sup>r</sup> Crookes, and your Embassatours ther resident. And yet thus moche I recogne necessary to advertise Your Highnes at this tyme, concernyng the refourmation that Your Grace requireth of the determination of Padua, that as well for soche demonstrations as the Senatours of Venece hath made of their partiale indifferencye, as for soche exclamations and threttenynges as thEmperours Embassatour hath made in all thoose parties, ther is no hoope of a new collegiale determination ther. How be it we devised a way for to have of the most and best parte of them an autenticall confirmation of their first determination, with a moor perfight declaration and expression of that that Your Grace desyreh; and they, that wer the cheefe dooers of the first, hath put me in comfort to performe this with some leasour; whiche to solicite, I committed to M<sup>r</sup> Crooke at my departing emonges odre charges, accordeng to Your Highnes commaundement to me gyven in your saide lettres. How be it, Sir, if M<sup>r</sup> Croke in his copie of the saide determinations wroote "debere," thoriginall hath in his place "posse;" and though ther be no expression de indispensabilitate in matrimonio contracto, yet the odre wordes, and the reasones alleged ther de indispensabilitate in matrimonio contrahendo, will bere aswell indispensabilitatem in matrimonio etiam contracto. At the first impetraction therof I shewid unto Leonicus and to Symoneta thoriginall of Bononye, and left with Symoneta the copie therof, prayeng hym to see that in ther determination the substance not to be alterid, though the preface wer chaunged to a moor commodiose and eloquent; whiche he promised to make moche bettre. And to the intent we shulde be the moor assured therof, when Symoneta and Leonicus, abowtes 3 dayes after, sent to me for thoriginall of Bononye, for the contention of some of the College that ells wer difficil and loth to agree to a collegiall determination, I sent M<sup>r</sup> Crooke thiddre to Padua, with the saide originall of Bononye, three dayes before the determination of Padua was sealed; but he trusteng to Symoneta (as he now saith) nevyr desyred to see the copie or

<sup>1</sup> To the King of the 9th of September, before referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

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forme of their determination, nor nevyr spake with any of the College, for that neithre at that tyme, nor before, unto that Frater Ambrosius broght it unto hym all redie sealed and subscribed, with the Notarie, and with the Secretarie of the Potestate for his legalitie, accordeng as I had appointed it to be corroborate, for feere of any encumbrance by the Venecians or thEmperours Embassatour; and as soone as I sawe it, some thinges displeased me in it, whiche to refourme I appointed M<sup>r</sup> Crooke to retourne thiddre agayn at that same tyme, but thEmperours Embassatour had knowlege therof within twoo dayes after it passed, and caused Frater Ambrosius to be called before the Duke, and to be tossed soo betwene thOrdinarie and the Counsell, that therby both he and his feloos wer put in soche feere, that as yet they dare not medle openly ther abowtes. How be it they have stonde constantly in mayntenynge of their determination, notwithstandingeng greate terrores of the saide Emperours Embassatour and his agents, wherof Your Grace is moor largelye advertised by our former lettres. And as tocheng the thre lawers ther at Padua, that wer this tyme twelvemonth reteigned for Your Grace, without expression of the cause, they wer at mydsomer (as I wrote unto Your Highnes) unadvertised of any specialtie concernyng your cause; and then, being by me enfourmed and instructed, promised to studie therfor, after that they had performed their lessons, whiche was in thende of Juli; and now at my departure from Venece, they wer not fully resolved for Your Grace. Petrus Paulus Perusius, whiche is the chefe of them, and was a long practicien in the Court of Roome, and of goode estimation both with the Poope and the Court ther, and in the State of Venece most highlye reputed and estimated, saith that he hath founde a counsell for our opinion in terminis, and did put me in comfort to resolve hym with us: that other too doth lykewise, but they depende of the knolege of his resolution, and he espieth yt, and will not make them privey therunto as yet. They have promised, soone after their resolutions, to write and perfourme their counselles. Others of name ther be noon in that Universitie, and therfor thes 3 agreeing for Your Grace, Ye may be sure that the College of that Universitie neithre will nor can determine the contrarie, and if they did, it shulde be of small autoritie in Italie, where thies 3 men be all well knownen. I have left with your Embassatour at Venece money competent for ther rewardes, besides the money that they had to be reteigned first, and now to encourage them, as ells our frendes their saide they wolde be the slacker. At Bononye I left with Sir Andrea sufficient to rewarde the lawers ther, whiche yet neithre had nor demaunded oon penny. The theologiens of Bononye be not oonely singularlye well lernyd, but also well affectid to doo Your Highnes pleasour in testifieng the veritie, and woll take

no money for no rewarde or plaisir, sed quod a Spiritu Sancto grati accepta runt, gratis et libenter impertunt. Frater Baptista Pallavicinus, the whiche is of a greate house and a greate precheur, is so affected to serve Your Highnes, that he was not oonely the principall solicitour of the first determination of Bononic, and of this new corroboration, but also he is contented, and hath taken upon hym, to procure lyke determination of the Theologiens of Ferrare, where, in my way from Venece to Bononye, I persuaded and estabilissted oone Frater Francescus de Cremona, the regent and redier ther, a Gray Frere. This Frater Pallavicinus hath promised me to procure in other parties the subscriptions of Theologiens to soche formes as I have taken unto hym. Frater Barptolomeus, a Gray Frere of Venece, is appointed to sollicite in all parties there, as the Protonotarie Casalis shall now make his progresse for lyke subscriptions. Frater Ambrosius will doo lyke wise in an odre compase. And I have committed unto them all, speciaially to persuade soche noble men, as they shall fortune to cumme in compaignye with, the justnes of your cause, as they shall see convenient occasion to talke therof. I offred this Frere Pallavicinus money towardeis his costs, and he saide that he had kynsfolques, that wolde not see hym lak, and therfor he wolde noon; and soo the rest of the money, that Your Highnes sent unto me to Venece, I have sent to the Bisshop of Worcetour towardeis your affaires ther, as I have certified M<sup>r</sup> Tuke by my lettres. Frater Sancte Pagnino shewed me here that the Bisshop of Faventia, in his passeng by this citie towardeis the Frenche Kyng ad congratulandum ei de restitutione liberorum nomine Pontificis, tolde hym that the Poope wolde have hym to cumme to Roome; but he assureth me that he will not goo thiddre. Peraventure he wolde have hym at Roome for lyke causes as he sent for Frere Francis Georgius, for he knoweth that this Frere Pagnino hath written in corroboration of Your Highnes opinion. This Frere tolde me that he herde that thEmperour and the Frenche Kyng be appointed to meeete soone after his descent into Flaundres. When I was at Ferrere, I undrestode that ther was an Embassatour of thEmperours, for the prorogation of the compromisse of the matiers betwene the Poope and that Duke, untill thende of Novembre.

As I came over the Mount Agabellet upon Sonday last, I mett with the Duke of Albanye goyng with 3 score horse to fetche his nepee<sup>1</sup> from Florence, to be maried in Fraunce, as it is pretended. Other newys her be noon. How the Senior Mala Testa, the Gouvernour of thoste within Florence, with certaine

<sup>1</sup> Catharine de Medici, daughter of Lawrence Duke of Urbino by Magdalen de la Tour, sister of Anne Duchess of Albany. She married in 1533 Henry Duke of Orleans, who in 1547 became Dauphin, and in 1547 Henry II. King of France.

of the principalles of the citie appointed long before with the Poope to bring Florence to deditio[n], by this meane and policye, and upon soche conditiones as now be evident, with all odre issues of the same, I recogne that your Embassatours at Roome hath, long before this, ascertaigned Your Highnes moor plainly then I can.

Your Highnes shall receve with this the originall instrumentes of the determinations of Bononie and Padua, with the new ratification of the saide determination of Bononie, and also thoriginalles of the subscriptions and councelles, that M<sup>r</sup> Crooke delyvrd unto me at my departour from Bononie; my cofres being departed for speede three dayes before, and that is the cause that the counselles be somewhat empaire with the raynes, the whiche her hath be veray soore. I wolde have sent them towardes Your Highnes before this, but the Governour of Aste maketh soche streight serches of all courriers, that I recogned it bettre to make, for the avoideng of that daunger, the moor hast hiddre, then to committe theis thinges to his fingres, that reteigneth both lettres and money, if they be of importance, as of late he did 10 thousand crownes that wer sent from these parties towardes Senas; and for this consyderation I made for the moste parte hiddreto, every day, the commune journeys of twayne, and arrived her upon Tuisday last; and sith that tyme, I have taried her not oonely for the refreshing of my horses, and the attending of my carriages and other servautes, that wer not hable to keep continually thies journeys, but also for the preparations of this courrier, to despache hym to your leste charge, whiche is bounde to be at Calese upon Monday next at night, wherby I trust Your Grace shall have thies writenges in tyme required; and I myself intende to morow to departe hens homwarde, though my servautes and carriages arrived her but this same hour, levyng both of my mulettes and of my horses some tyred by the way; and trust to be with Your Grace within lesse then a month, if the wedre and watres will suffre. I am veray sorie that I can cumme noo soonner; but, as I have shewed Your Grace, I have made all diligence to me possible, sith I recevid Your Highnes commaundement for my retourne; and soo shall I continue by the grace of our Lorde, whom I beseche long to preserve and mainteigne with prosperose successis of your purpooses and desyres. Written at Leons, the 23<sup>th</sup> day of Septembre, with thande of

Your Graces moste humble subgit,

and moste bounde servitour and bedesman,

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

Jo. STOKISLEY.

CCLXXXII. STOKISLEY TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE it Your Highnes to be advertised, that this nyght, thre howres within nyght, joynd her togiddre your courrier Alexander, upon his journey towarde Roome, and Fraunces Piemont, towarde Your Grace; the whiche Fraunces broght me a lettre from M<sup>r</sup> Doctour Benet, wherin he advertiseth me of a lettre that he sent me the 22<sup>th</sup> day of August, encloseng in the same a lettre to me from Your Grace, the whiche letters I nevyr recevid, and soo I have now, by Alexander, ascertaigned hym. M<sup>r</sup> Doctor writeth unto me now also of the insufficiencie of the first transumpthes that I sent unto hym from Venece, for lak of ordinarie power there in the Bishope of Loode, that did put to them his seale. But ther was no Ordinarie that durst medle with Your Highnes cause, as I wroote heretofore to Your Grace; and therfor at Bononie I prepared two new, to be sent to Roome, under the Vicar Generall of Bononies seale, before that the Governor Gamera had made this rofelyng both with divines and lawers; whiche to refourme, Syr Gregorie, upon my letters sent to hym from Regia for the same, now cummyth downe etiam cum mandato Pontificis; the whiche, as M<sup>r</sup> Doctor doth write, is discontent with the Governour herfore, and imputeth it moor to his affection to serve the Emperour, then His Holynes, as by diverse advertimentes made to the Emperours Embassatour in Roome, by the saide Gamera, without any signification of the same to the Pooke, it did well appere. I remembre that hertofore I wrote unto Your Highnes of Gameras affection to serve thEmperour; and mooreover now at my last being in Bononye, Syr Andrea de Casilis shewid me, that a fowrnyght befor my cummyng from Venece, Gamera sent for hym oonely to know wher I was, and when I wolde retourne; and forthwith retourned to make an ende of his lettre, then imperfight for lak of knowlege of the premisses; the which he sent to the Emperours Courte, as the saide Syr Andreas was credibly enfourmed; and a daye before my departour he blamed the same Syr Andrea, bycause that he had not shewid unto hym of my retourne, saying that he must know and understand whoo cummeth and gooth, and what is doon in Bononie. All other matiers that he writeth unto me, as well of the Poopes studie and labour to know, an prohibitio de qua queritur sit juris divini, and of his goode opinion in that part, and of the invaliditie of the twoo

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

decretales "Quum olim" and "Inter dominicas," bycause that they be not incorporate in the lawe, and of the lak of the bookes of Wiclef, which wer condemned at Constance, I doubte not but he hath written also to Your Highnes; with the greate praise also of the counselles of Decius and Picolominus "de insufficientia cause dispensationis." Finally he writeth unto me, that Frater Franciscus Georgius is not yet recovred of his sekenes, and hath lost oone of his eyes, and is lyke to loose that other; but of the suspition, that he had hertofore by the reason of some tailes, (as he saith) that the said Franciscus had be untrue unto Your Grace, he is now cleene delyverd, by that that the Poope aggreth to that first point now, as he thinketh, chefely by his persuasion and estimation. To the secunde, he thinketh the Poope and the Courte will nevir assent, viz. "De indispensabilitate;" and to the thyrd, viz. "De insufficientia cause in Bulla seu Brevi expresse," he thinketh that they shall have veray fewe contradictores.

Newis here be noon, but that the Grande Esquier of the Prince of Lauren shewed me, that it is intentid that the Duke of Burboons son shall marie oon of the French Kinges dowghtiers, and soo be restored to this contrey of the Burboones. And thus I beseche our Lorde long to prosper and mainteigne your royll estate. Written at Saint Germain in Burbonese, the 25<sup>th</sup> day of Septembre at mydnyght, with the rude hande of

Your Highnes moste humble subgiet  
and moste bounde servitour and bedesman,  
Jo. STOKISLEY.

Upon Fryday at nyght last I despached from Leons towarde Your Highnes a curren, whose name is Hughitius de la Fevre, with soche originall and writenges as Your Grace commaunded me. I trust myself to be at Calese within thre weekes at the uttremost, God willeng, Whoo eftsoons preserve Your Noble Grace.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

CCLXXXIII. KING HENRY VIII. *to Ghinucci, Benet, and Sir G. da Casale.*

(Signature) HENRY R.

REVERENDE in Christo Pater, et Oratores nostri Nobis quam plurimum dilecti. Salutem. Accepimus literas vestras, et communes, et privatas, datas Romæ 17 Septembris, ultimo ejusdem mensis<sup>1</sup>, in quibus significatis literas nostras tam per Gronum quam alium Franciscum cursorem missas ad manus vestras salvas pervenisse, tum etiam vos juxta prescripta a Nobis mandata cum Pontifice modis omnibus egisse, ut quod cupimus et petimus obtineatis ab eodem. Qua in re etsi operam studium et industriam vestram adhibuistis, tamen apud Pontificem nihil promovere causam nostram potuistis, ut scribitis; sed frustra tentatis omnibus post traditas literas nobilium aliquamdiu, dum Pontifex consulere secum decreverat, desistendum duxistis, ut ad Nos interim scriberetis. Quod Regni quidem nostri consuetudinem allegare distulisti, etiamsi bono animo et nostro quidem judicio peroptime factum videatur, Nos tamen maluissemus vos pretermissso consilio in ea parte minime desiderato consuetudinem allegasse, quam eam reticuisse: atque adeo vobis ut consuetudinem Regni ac privilegia allegetis omnino mandamus. Nam consuetudo et privilegium Regni, ne Angli extra Angliam litigare cogantur, quum ejusmodi sint, que firmis et solidis rationibus subsstant, ac vera et justa fundamenta habeant, quantuncunque dissentiant quos a nostris consilijs Romæ conduxit, non sunt silenda; sed Pontifici palam aperte et certa asseveratione alleganda. Sunt enim quatenus fuerunt in essentiæ ratione vera, viz. fuerunt, constiterunt, annos multos durarunt, vim et auctoritatem cursu temporis collegerunt, diu obtainuerunt, et servata sunt, unde jus Nobis ex possessione quesitum est. Quorum fundamenta si Pontifex ad exquisitiorem disquisitionem velit revocare, et in investiganda ratione velit esse tam diligens, cavendum sibi esse ab illo textu jurisconsulti rationem eorum, que jamdiu moleverunt non esse querendam, ne multa que certa sunt subverterentur. Nam quam egre ferret Pontifex, ut ratio exquiratur, quur Romane Ecclesie Episcopus in ceteris ecclesijs vendicet imperium; quinimo dicat etiam ipse Nobis quanam auctoritate ita Nos tractaret in hac causa, nonmodo Principem et Regem, sed etiam eo fastigio dignitatis constitutum, ut superiorem

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

in terris non agnoscamus, ut cogat invitum a legibus et privilegijs tam longo temporis cursu quesitis discedere, ut Romæ compellat apud se litigare in ea causa, que non modo conscientiæ nostræ exonerationem respicit, sed etiam Regni successionem tangit, quasi Illi in manu sit de Regni successione statuere, ut sententia sua de matrimonio nostro proferenda diffiniat regie dignitatis titulum, quem pro arbitrio huic vel illi conferre posset, quid Pontifici Romano cum nostra successione ut suo arbitrio moderetur. Hic si Nos rationem flagitaremus, an aliam dare posset, quam quod ita retro principes aliquando permiserunt, viz. qui permiserunt, quos paucissimos credimus, aut verius nullos. Sed si permiserunt, nulla alia ratio est ut nunc fiat, nisi quia factum est, et si in re ipsa quam Pontifex vendicat ratio alia non est, quur in modo faciendi quem Nos vendicamus quereret rationem, quanquam consuetudo et privilegium nostrum hujusmodi etiam hijs consonum est, quod Pontifices alioqui suis canonibus diffinierunt, et presertim illi parti ne quis ultra duas dietas extra diocesim in litem trahatur. Fortasse non ita expedit consiliarijs nostris qui Romæ commorantur, ut hanc consuetudinem Nobis vendicemus. Sed Nos quid flagitamus domi videmus, et consuetudinis et privilegij nostri vires cernimus, quas altius atque penitus considerantes, et ad obscuratam jamdiu veritatis lucem multa inquisitione penetrantes, magnam Nobis injuriam in eo factam videmus, quod Pontifex ad se causam advocaverit, quod appellationem aliquam Reginæ admiserit, maxime ex Regno nostro factam, in quo Nos supremi sumus, atque ita regnamus, ut superiorem non agnoscamus, cuius etiam est omnem appellationem removere. Potest enim, qui superiorem non re cognoscit, omnem inferioribus appellandi potestatem interdicere et prohibere, et remedia appellationum quecunque auferre. Ista quatenus dici valeant nostros isthic consiliarios consuletis, sed in quamcunque partem responderint omnino Pontifici hec proponere, et quanta poteritis vehementia allegare, non differatis; quinimo ita Pontificem tractare curetis, ut nullo respectu abstineatis, quominus ea, que Nos huic cause convenire et expedire judicamus, omnibus modis strenue et audacter exequamini, denique postremo Pontificem urgere, ut scripto et literis Nobis respondeat, viz. quo res constet apertius, nec ita veluti per contemptum nostras petitiones pretereat, ut vel nihil respondeat, vel tam negligenter et leviter, quasi vel nihil essemus qui petimus, vel quod nullius momenti esset contenderemus, cum tamen utrumque secus habet. Petimus enim Nos et Christianissimus Rex, et petimus conjunctim, quod justum est; quibus Pontifex hactenus aliud non respondit, nisi non esse opus concedere quod petimus, sed deberet certe ita respondere ut Pontificem deceat, ne interpretetur ideo nihil respondisse, quod nesciat

nesciat quid ad ea respondeat que petimus. Ceterum quum vobis et ceteris alijs jam fassus sit Pontifex nuptias nostras jure divino prohibitas esse, si Dei vicarius haberi vellet, prima illi cura esse deberet ut divina precepta observentur, et in familia domini dispensator constitutus, ordinem a Deo et Domino constitutum salvum et integrum custodiri curare, non autem ut violetur temere dispensare, nec quid factum est, sed quid fieri debuerat, considerare. Conclusit Academia Paduana, que Dei sunt non esse commissa potestati Pontificis, sed ea sola que hominum jurisdictioni subjecta sunt, viz. ut Pontifex, cum homo sit, moderetur humanae Dei ordinacione prefectus, illa fleetat, tollet, abroget, mutet, prout hominum voluntas tulerit, divina autem Deo legislatore lata, que nullam aliquo tempore epicaiam desiderant, ita dispensare, ut serventur, non violentur, recta procedant, non aliquo respectu infringantur. Temerarius ausus est hominis divina contingere aut attractare et prophanare; quare certe magis ac magis miramur, cum Pontifex videat jus divinum pro Nobis esse, ut ab hoc matrimonio discedamus, ut vos scripsistis, cur adhuc differat Nobis remedia ministrare. Quod autem de distinctionibus academiarum vobis dixit, fieri posse ut etiam Regina totidem obtineat academias pro parte sua, certe fieri id non potest inter Christianos, nisi Luthereanos velit in suam opinionem provocare. Quamquam etiam vel Cesaris auctoritate Pontificis gratia precibus minis nummis et favoribus, ac ejusmodi illectamentis, etiam viventium hominum numero vinceret, tamen non vinceret sententiarum pondere gravitate auctoritate et synceritate. Pro Nobis enim sentiunt non solum viventium doctissimi quique et summe auctoratis viri (ac plures etiam sentirent, si non terrore Cesaris vel Pontificis minis abstinerent, quam rem Pontifex non ferret si equus haberi vellet atque indifferens) sedetiam ex antiquissimis authoribus et preteriti seculi doctoribus multi, qui nullo affectu ducti, nullis sordibus aut gratia corrupti, de causa nostra eventura nihil precogitantes, pro Nobis senserunt, quorum iudicia et opiniones nullis hominum presentium sentencijs equari posse judicamus. Hijs et alijs allegationibus apud Pontificem agetis, nec quicquam horum que vobis mandamus ullo respectu pretermittetis, sed omni conatu laborabitis ut Pontificem quoquo modo urgeatis ad ea concedenda que desideramus. In quo si nihil profeceritis, tunc post ultimam desperationem tentabitis rem ita conducere, ut Pontifex isthic Romæ non procedat ante finem Januarij, quod non petetis tamen veluti ex Nobis, sed veluti ex vobis ipsis; quoniam Pontifex id vobis antea obtulisset, et quod ex vobis ipsis optimum fore judicetis, ut utrinque abstineatur a processu in causa, ut nec Pontifex Romæ, nec Nos in Anglia, interim in causa procedamus, viz. ut in illa temporis intercapidine utriusque partis et nostra et Pontificis privilegia commodius

commodius etiam sine tumultu videantur, ut magis videatur Pontifex ex re sua concedere, quam Nobis potentibus annuere. Neque volimus omnino, ut nostro nomine petatis, et instanciam ut obtineatur faciatis, ne vel negando repulsam vel concedendo gratiam Nobis fecisse videatur, sed tamen illud audacter dicere potestis quod vere existimetis, atque etiam certo sciatis si Pontifex ad instanciam Regine ad aliqua procederet; irritaturum enim Nos, atque effecturum ut alijs modis tractemus Reginam quam hactenus fecimus, nec litigiosam, adversariam, et ad juditia Regem Romæ provocantem, et Regnum quantum in se est perturbantem, in ijsdem edibus alituros, viz. in gremio serpentem, atque inde majora mala eventura quam Pontifex precogitare queat. Quod si Pontifex in eo faciat difficultatem, quod libenter quidem ille concederet, modo certus esse posset Nos hic in causa non processuros, in hec verba nostro nomine pollicitacionem faciatis, modo Pontifex vobis simile antea fecerit, se viz. ante finem Januarij proximi in causa hac non processurum, nec passurum alios procedere, quod Nos etiam hic in causa non procedemus ante dicti mensis Januarij finem. Cum ista absolveritis, et prorogationem nostre cause impetraveritis, etiam expedire judicamus, ut litteras nostras unacum litteris Christianissimi Regis Pontifici presentetis, et exhibeatis quod etiam credimus jamdudum fecisse, nec omittatis inculcare Pontifici ut non modo divino jure nuptias nostras prohibitas esse intelligat, sedetiam naturali, neque unquam illa duo jura in casu nostro disjungere debetis, ne fallatia subsit, dum Pontifex de jure quidem divino assenciat, et de naturali jure diffiteatur, ut potestatem suam in ea parte servet illibatam. Et quanquam vestram fidem et diligentiam vehementer in ceteris laudemus, miramur tamen vos, quibus ejus rei curam demandavimus, hactenus nihil inter vos adhibitis in consilijs doctissimis isthic viris statuisse et convenisse, quid Nobis eo casu quo ad extrema veniendum sit faceremus, quomodo declinare judicium Pontificis possemus, quibus remedij judicium effugere, quid proponere, quid allegare aut dicere, prout casus inciderit, ut premeditati expectare tela adversariorum possimus, et eo facilius evitare. Itaque volumus ut preteritam in ea parte negligentiam futura diligentia sartiatis, et quam primum poteritis adhibitis in consilium hijs quos pro Nobis putabis consulendos, singula puncta in quibus adversarij consistere possent consideretis, atque per capita dividentes, et quecunque facere verisimiliter possent conjicientes, remedia illis in parato et veluti in statione collocare, quid facile fieri posset, quid cum difficultate, et quid nullo modo, recte distinguentes, quecunque Nobis conducere possent aut nocere in medium conferentes, ac deinde Nobis singula communicare, qui etiam hic parem operam prestari curabimus, ut communicatis utrinque consilijs mutuis scriptis

scriptis invicem significemus, quid fieri posset et debet, ne ad causas inopinato attoniti, omni consilio inopes ac destituti, apertum adversarijs ad victoriam aditum permittamus. Atque illud etiam semper meminisse debetis, ut si quando deinceps cum Pontifice statueritis Nos consulere, de die aliquanto longiore conveniamini quam nunc fecistis. Itaque sane non parum miramur, quod vos tantum ad medium hujus mensis diem accepistis, intra quem a Nobis responsum habeatis, an causam ulterius prorogari velimus, cum promissione ex parte nostra prestanda ne hic interea procedatur. Tempus certe nimis breve est, sed facta quidem corrigi non possunt ut infecta sint, sed valent pro admonitione ad futuram preterite culpe in similibus emendationem. Quod superius scripsimus, ut Pontifici de prorogatione processus ex vobis ipsis alloquamini, omnino vobis precavendum; est maxime, si processus isthic ante has literas traditas fuerit inchoatus, quoniam non bene convenienter et constarent ista, que vobis mandamus allegari, et tamen instantiam de prorogatione a Nobis fieri. Sed vos, quemadmodum oratores alijs in causis facere consuerunt, vosipso fortis faciatis, atque pro Nobis promittatis ut superius scripsimus, modo Pontifex similem vobis fecerit promissionem.

Consilium Decij Senensis vidimus, et quatenus tractat causam nostram, multum placet, et de eo illi gratias maximas habebitis; quatenus vero adjicit, quod extra propositum est, de interpretatione juris divini per canonistas certa distinctione facienda, rem aggressus est a professione alienam. Nam theologorum est, quod theologicum est semper in omni casu interpretari, et lex divina non a canonibus interpretationem assumit, sed ipsis dat; et canoniste, quatenus sunt canonum periti, semper theologis in divine legis enarratione cedunt; et est novum aliqua distinctione limitare theologiam, ut in qua parte theologi esse maxime debeant, viz. in moralium actuum diffinitione, in ea dent locum canonistis. Itaque curabitis ipsum Decium de eo alloquendum, et agetis cum eodem, ut illa posterior pars concilij, veluti nihil ad rem pertinens, et que satis aperte probari non potest, detrahatur, et quod reliquum est ab ipso signatum procedat.

Cetera fidei vestre et prudentie committimus, dummodo memineritis, postquam Christianissimus Rex ita Se Nobis in hac causa conjungit, ut Cardinales omnes Gallice factionis in omnes casus et eventus interteneatis, et presertim Cardinalem Farnesium et reliquos ipsis cohortando, ut et Pontificem pro Nobis urgeant nunc in presenti, et etiam, si quid aliud acciderit, suam Nobis devotionem servent integrum. Mittimus ad vos cum presentibus literas ad Cardinalem Tranensem, quas illi nostro nomine tradetis, tantum

enim continent gratiarum actiones, nam, ut accepimus, cause nostre favet, et Pontifici dixit Papam non posse dispensare. Et bene valete. Ex Manerio nostro de Hampton Court, 7<sup>o</sup> Octobris 1530.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendo in Christo Patri Domino Hieronimo Episcopo Wigorniensi,  
Magistro Guillelmo Benet utriusque juris Doctori,  
et Domino Gregorio Equiti de Cassalis,  
nostris apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Papam Oratoribus.

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#### CCLXXXIV. KING HENRY VIII. *to Pope Clement VII.*<sup>1</sup>

BEATISSIME Pater, post humillimam Commendationem et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Quemadmodum longo usu didicimus, ac semper, posteaquam de rebus publicis quicquam licuit per aetatem judicare, non obscure perspeximus, omnes omnium ordines prudenti consilio maturaque deliberatione ad bonum quempiam finem institutos; Christianorumque Principum authoritate ac tutela, publicoque et inveterato mox consensu stabilitos, consueuisse suam Christiane reipublice tranquillitatem conservare, fidemque Catholicam longe lateque propagare, vel saltem in Christi gregem irruentes hostes procul arcere; ita tum nostro, tum parentum nostrorum more, non possumus omnis generis ordines ad laudem Dei et Christianorum quietem institutos, non ex animo fovere charosque habere, cuiusmodi esse putamus nobilissimum et antiquissimum illum Hierosolymitanum Ordinem, qui, ut hactenus, in Christiana defendenda religione, multa etiam cum sanguinis effusione, nedum opum, strenuissime se gessit; sic etiam in attritis recuperandis viribus, ut de Catholica fide possit assidue benemereri, tam parum conquievit, ut Christianorum Principum favore ac patrocinio dignus Nobis videatur, universeque Christianitati toto pectore gratulamur optimam Vestrae Sanctitatis in dicto Ordine juvando mentem: plurimumque laetamur Melitam insulam aliaque nonnulla circumvicina loca fuisse huic Ordini a Cesarea Majestate concessa<sup>2</sup>, tum quod loca, ut audimus, sunt ad defendendam Christianitatem accommoda, tum quod ex dicto Ordine in uno loco tandem stabilito non nisi optimi successus

<sup>1</sup> Copy from the Vatican Papers.

<sup>2</sup> The act of donation of the island of Malta by the Emperor Charles V. is printed by Vertot in his history of Malta, Appendix to Vol. I.; and an imperfect copy is in the Cottonian Collection, Otho, C. IX. leaf 56. It bears date at Castello Franco, 23d of March 1530.

sperandi sint. Proinde, Beatissime Pater, quod ad Nos attinet, in hac conservanda religione nulli unquam Christiani Principis officio deerimus, quatenus videbimus ipsius studia, actiones, atque conatus ad sancta honorificaque suscipienda facinora, nostramque fidem a communibus Christiane Reipublice hostibus illesam conservandam esse directos, quos cum Deo semper conjunctos esse precamur. Et felicissime, ac diutissime valeat Vestra Sanctitas. Ex Regia nostra apud Hamptoncorte, die 21 Novembris, 1530.

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Sanctitatis,

Devotissimus atque obsequentissimus Filius,  
Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ,  
Fidei Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,

(*Superscribitur*)

(*Signatur*) HENRICUS.

Sanctissimo Clementissimoque Domino  
nostro Papæ.

### CCLXXXV. SIR GREGORY DA CASALE to KING HENRY VIII.

SERENISSIME et Potentissime Princeps, Domine mi Supreme, Salutem &c. Quum ego, desiderio Vestræ Majestati inserviendi motus, eique rem gratam faciendi, omnia quæ ex hac causa nasci possunt multo ante mente revolvam, consideremque quanto studio et animi ardore Cæsar Reginae patrocinium suscepere; quamque acerba ea fuerint reputem, quæ Vestræ Majestatis nomine cum Pontifice acta sunt; facile ex omnibus fieri posse collegi, ut Vestra Majestas vellet in Regno Angliæ causam diffiniri. Quod si fiat, minime dubitandum est, quin Cæsar, Cæsarianique omnes, totis viribus urgeant cogantque Pontificem, ut contra Majestatem Vestram sententiam ferat, ac censuris persequatur. Propterea volui theologos quosdam, quibus maxime fidere possum, consulere, “an si Vestra Majestas eo veniret, ut vellet causam “ in Regno cognosci, proptereaque Pontifex censuras in eam movere vellet, “ possit, nec ne, Pontifex id jure facere; et an Vestra Majestas a censuris “ timere debeat?” Qui pauca hæc, quæ nunc mitto<sup>1</sup>, responderunt. Volui  
insuper

<sup>1</sup> “Que a me requiritis, pro temporis angustia breviter exponam. Egidius Bellamera, vir magne auctoritatis, Auditor Causarum Sacri Palatij, et Avinionensis Antistes, cuius decisiones Rote hodie sunt impressæ, et habentur in viridi observantia, dum ejus tempestate iste casus in terminis proprijs contigisset, super illo consultus, fecit consilium, quod est inter ejus consilia vigesimo octavo, et incipitur, in facto proponitur, ubi refert quod Dominus Bellamera, jam Domiensis Episcopus, conclusit, per plura que ibi latius prosequatur, quod Papa nullatenus debet

insuper Hieronymum Previdellum, Jureconsultum, familiarem meum, super eadem re aliquid perquirere; qui hucusque id quod Majestas Vestra videbit, invenit. Hoc autem idcirco feci, ut Vestra Majestas, si ad ista cogitaret, quatenus sibi a censuris timendum sit, videat; mandetque, si vult, super eo plenius scribi. Id enim quoque diligenter curabitur; sin minus, silentium rei imponetur. Postremo illud quoque consideravi, quod si istic in causa procederetur, Pontifex, non nisi invitus coactusque, ad censuras traheretur. Quod si Ei posset ostendi, injuste Ipsum, si per censuras ageret, facturum, fortasse nollet in eo Cæsari indulgere. Optime valeat Vestra Majestas. Bononiae, die 23 Novembris, 1530.

Excellentissimæ Vestrae Regiæ Majestatis  
(*Signatur*) humill<sup>o</sup> S<sup>r</sup> GREGORI<sup>o</sup> CASALI<sup>o</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissimo et Potentissimo Angliae et Franciae  
Regi, Fidei Defensori, Hiberniae Domino, &c.  
Domino meo supremo.

### CCLXXXVI. STEPHEN VAUGHAN to THOMAS CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

**R**Ight wourshipfull Syr, humble commendations premysed. So it is, that as this daye of the date hereof I came from Meghlyn, where I lerned that my Lady Margaret is very sore diseased, and in great perell of her lyfe, and that thEmperour is supposed to be in thise parties abouttes Candelmas. Who as now busylly practisithe there as He now is, to make the Kyng of Hungary (his

“ concedere talem dispensationem; et subjungit quod anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo secundo, die Jovis, 16<sup>a</sup> Septembbris, coram Domino Cardinali Sancti Angeli, tenuerunt “ duo magistri solennes in theologia, viz<sup>t</sup>. Magister Jacobus, Magister Palatij, Ordinis Fratrum “ Predicatorum; et Magister Bartolomeus de Bononia, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum; et quinque “ Doctores Decretorum, et omnes Auditores Causarum Sacri Palatij, affirmarunt, quod iste casus “ est indispensabilis per Papam: et licet inferat quod quidam alias Magister in theologia tenuerit “ oppositum, tamen ejus fundamenta sunt levia; et quamvis Egidius ibi non audeat determinare, “ tamen ejus intentio colligitur, quod talis dispensatio fieri non potest, nec debet; et inter alia “ narrat, ex historia approbata, quod Dunstanus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, ad instar Petri, “ restitit in faciem Pontificis, qui volebat dispensare cum uno Comite Anglicano super retentione “ sue consanguinee in gradu divina lege prohibito, quam de facto duxerat in uxorem; et, spreto “ Pape mandato, illum excommunicavit. Et ex his que ibi dicuntur in dicto consilio, et ex alijs “ etiam positis in locis solitarijs, probari potest, quod Papæ dispensanti in similibus potest resisti; “ et non est curandum, etiam si Papa velit tales dispensationes observari; que in unum colligam, “ si vobis cordi esse sensero; in presenti autem angustia temporis non patitur, ut supra dixi.”

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, 2d Series, Vol. XLV. No. 35.

brother)

brother) Kyng of Romayns; whiche men suppose shall not be brought to passe without great difficultie.

Thynundacion hathe greatly damaged this contrey every where, in such wise that corne wexithe dere in these parties. Spermacete is nothing so muche worthe as yow tolde me; nevertheless I use suche polycie for the utterance therof, as I doubt not shalbe unto yow right acceptable. By the bringer hereof, named Robert Frelove, I have sent yow your globe, who in myne absence from hens toke great paines to se it well trymmed. I thinke it wyll greatly please yow, for it is a singuler good pece of worke, as ever cam out of this parties.

As yet I have no assertayned matter to wryte to M<sup>r</sup> Treasourer, but incontynently as I have any thing lerned, I shall not fayle with all possible hast to wryte.<sup>1</sup> It requyret he some deliberacion, bicause the matter is weightye. Maye it please yow to have me remembred with M<sup>r</sup> Clarenceaux, of whome I wolde gladly have my mony. If yow healpe not, it wilbe long or he paye. And thus I humbly byd yow fare well. At Andwerpe, upon Saynt Andrews daye, anno 1530.

Yow shall also receyve a boke of hym that shall delyver yow your globe, whiche shall induce yow to the knowlage of all thinges conteyned and sett fourthe in the same.

Your humble servant,

S. VAUGHAN.

(*Superscribed*)  
To his right worshippfull master, Master  
Thomas Crumwell.  
London.

### CCLXXXVII. KING HENRY VIII. to BENET and CARNE.

(*Signed*) HENRY R.

By the King.

TRUSTY and right welbiloved and trusty and welbiloved, We grete youe wel. And where as by your letters wryten to our Secretary, ye Doctor Kerne<sup>2</sup> signifie

<sup>1</sup> On the same day he wrote another letter to Crumwell, announcing that the Archduchess Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, was "very sore diseased and in great peril of her lyfe;" and another on the 1st of December to Tuke, the Treasurer of the Chamber, stating that "my Lady Margaret hathe changed her lyfe, and decessed the day of the date hereof." *Miscellaneous Letters*, Vol. XLV. Nos. 35, 36.

<sup>2</sup> It is not a little singular, that when Carne was appointed to so important a station as that of Henry's Excusator at Rome, there should be no trace, either among official papers or historical works,

signifie unto Us that the lerned men, conducte on our counsail there, have concluded that locus Rome is not tutus, soo as in their opinion it shalbe a good perfite and substanciall delaye for processe there; ye shall undrestande that We, ensuyng the tenor of our former letters to youe addressed, have likewise consulted and debated with our Counsail here, for suche remedies as might be provided for the purpose aforesaid, whom We finde agreeable to the lerned men there, *de loco non tuto*. Nevertheles, forasmuche as We wolde be lothe to use suche meanes for delayeng of processe, as We shulde, by them, entre in to further inconvenience, and by our owne acte knowleage and graunte somoche of the Popes jurisdiccion power auctoritie and lawes, as We shulde therby preclude Our self from suche remedies as We may attayne here at home; the chief and moost difficile poynte, wherupon We have, with our Counsail, reasoned and debated, is nowe rather in the maner of proponing the excepions and matiers of delaye, thenne to finde the same, wherin there hathe been devised a draughte and forme here, whiche We sende unto youe herwithe<sup>1</sup>, rather to thintent ye shuld therby perfityly knowe what We meane and entende, thenne that ye shulde precisely folowe the hole tenour of the same; so as ye, forseing that by none acte apparaunce or allegacion to be made there, doo not, tacite or expresse, oblique or directe, implicite or explicite, consent allowe or approve the Popes jurisdiccion, but that We may hereafte de parte from the same, without contrarietie in our owne actes. Ye, havyng regarde hereunto, maye altre and chaunge the forme of that We nowe sende unto youe, as to youe and suche of our counsail there as ye shall thinke convenyente to be made pryvie therunto. And herin knowing our mynde and purpose, as personagies in whom We have especiall trust and confidence, ye must with suche dexteritie handle the premisses, as neyther they be there irritate by thise allegacions, wherby they shulde procede ad ulteriora, ne yet take avauntage of this allegacion, quasi consensum sit in jurisdiccionem. Wherfore We doubte not but, undrestanding our mynde and intente, ye will endevour yourself by all good wayes and meanes, by your lerninges and wisedomes, to procede afre

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works, of either the time of his appointment or the nature of his instructions. Lord Herbert expressly states that he was sent thither about February 1532, page 364; and a like date is to be inferred from what is stated by Burnet, Vol. I. page 119. But from this and other subsequent papers it is clear that Carne could not have been dispatched to Rome later than the autumn of 1530; and his letter to Crumwell of the 28th of October 1533 (hereafter printed), in which he alleges he had been abroad in the King's service for four years continually, leads to the inference that this mission commenced in 1529, unless he had some previous mission of which there exists no trace.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

suche sorte and facion, as may be to the furtheraunce of our entended purpose, and not to appere to make any allegacions but in cace of extremytie, to avoyde that they procede not there against Us, as contimaces; and in that cace of extremytie to use yourself soo, and soo to facion your allegacions, as by our owne acte We be not bounde further thenne We entende, in the knowleaging of the Popes lawe and jurisdiecion. For the mayntenaunce and supportacion wherof We nothing doubt but ye lesse care, thenne for the conservacion of our dignities and prerogatives royal, and where there is question or contencion bitwen those, rather to be taken and reputed entier Englishmen thenne Englishmen papisticate; wherin ye shal deserve our favour, to your welth and benefite herafter. Yeven under our signet, at our Manour of Hamptoncourte, the 6<sup>th</sup> day of Decembre.

*(Superscribed)*

To our trusty and welbiloved clerk M<sup>r</sup> Doctour Benet, Archedeacon of Dorset, and our Ambassadour with the Popes Holynes, and to our trusty and welbiloved M<sup>r</sup> Doctour Kerne, our Agent ther, and to eyther of them.

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### CCLXXXVIII. BRYAN *to* BENET.

MASTER Benct. After my most harty recommendacyons, ye shall understande, that I resayvyd your letter at Fontayne le Blew, by the Kynges harauld callyd Valloys, the 9<sup>th</sup> of December, with letters to the Kynges Hyghnes, whyche immedyatlly I sent by my servaunt with other of myne to the Kynges Hyghnes, thynkyng they wer with Hym withyn 5 days folowynge.

Newys I have none to sende you, but that the Kyng Quene and other nobles ar plesant, and hunt dayly. The Quene shall not make hyr entry tyll Candelmas, at the whych shalbe grett tryumphe. She has waytyng apon Hyr 5 or 6 ladyes of Spayne, yong and of good reputacyon, very gorgeus and galant in ther apparell, and of resonable bewty.

Sir, I pray you make my harty recommendacyons to Master Doctor Carne, and lykewyse to Master Gregory, Master Paule, with all other my frendes. And towchynge the Duke of Albany, I will not fayle shortly to wryte unto hym, desyryng you in the mene tyme to make my humble recommendacyons unto hym. The Kynges Highnes, at my departyng from  
Hym,

Hym, wyllyd that ether of us shuld wryte to other in zyfer, yf cause shuld requyre, *and that you shold advartyse me of such secretys as you could here ther, aswell for knowlege, when, wher, and whether, any Generall Councell shal be, as towchyngh hys gret matter.* As I can lern were, the Pope now favorys hys sayd matter; for the Frenche Kyng, after the aryvall of the Cardynall of Gramound, sent in to Ingland to the Kynges Hyghnes in post on callyd Monsyr la Geshe with certayne artycles, the effect wherof, as I here, ys, that the Pope hath putt the hole ordryng of the Kynges grett matter to the Frenche Kyng.<sup>1</sup>

As I had wryttyn thys myche of my letter to you, I resceyvyd another your letter, datyd at Rome the 30<sup>th</sup> of November, at Fountayne le Blew the 13<sup>th</sup> of the same, with certayne letters dyrectyd to the Kynges Hyghnes aswell from the Duke of Albany and my Lord of Wurcester, as from you, with other to Master Tuke, and on from the Duke of Albany to my Lord of Norfolke, whyche I sent by the next sure messynger that went. I lyke-wyse resceyvyd on from the Duke, dyrectyd to me, whyche, with another, here I recompence, desyryng you to delyver hyt with most humble recommen-dacyons; farder desyryng you to shew Master Gregory, that what shall lye in my powre to do for hym he shalbe sure on, therwith praying hym to remember the hosyn of blake sylke I sent to hym for; and in sendyng 2 payre of the best perfumyd glovys he shall do me synguler plesure. Thys fare ye well. From Parrys, the 20<sup>th</sup> of December.

Sir, for trawthe the Lord Cardynall ys dede<sup>2</sup>, by Goddys hande, the forme and maner of hyt were to long to wryte. I pray you recommende me most hartely to Sygnora Angela, and desyre hyr to sende me a payre of swete perfumyd glovys.

(Signed) Yow<sup>l</sup> frend ever assueryd,

(Superscribed)

FRANSSYS BRYAN.

To the ryght worshypfull Master Doctor Benet,

Ambassadour at Rome for the Kynges

Hyghnes.

At Rome.

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<sup>1</sup> The passage printed in Italics is in cypher in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Wolsey died on the 29th of November.

## CCLXXXIX. KING HENRY VIII. TO BENT.

(Signed) HENRY R. By the King.

Trusty and right welbeloved, We grete youe wel. And have receyved your letters of the 18<sup>th</sup> of the last monethe, wherby We perceyve the good endeavour and diligence which ye have used in the serching of the registres there, and accomplishment of our commaundement. And, forasmuche as We perceyve by your said letters that the Pope maketh some difficultie to differre our cause any lengre, and therfore entendethe to cause to procede there; We, having overtur made unto Us by our good brother and perpetuall allye, the Frenche King, for the decisyon of our matier, wherunto We have gyven harkening, as by our letters, whiche ye shall receyve shortlye, ye shall perceyve more at large; We thinke that our said derest brother wil of Himself write to the Pope for stopping of the said processe, considering it were not for his honnour, that our said brother, at his request, making overtur unto Us of a waye to be taken for our contentacion and satisfaccion, the Pope shuld make any processe there: and for that purpose our said derest brother nowe writethe to the Duke of Albany to sollicite and procure the said prorogacion of the processe. Wherunto ye shall gyve harkenyng, to thintent, that in case the Pope wil not condiscende therunto, ye may thenne doo and execute suche charge as We have sent unto yow, and other your colleges, by Alexandre the currour, who We doubt not is arryved there long or this tyme; and within these two dayes, We shall depeche towardes yow other lettres meneyoning the overtur of the Cardinall of Graundmont, and what hathe been doon in the same. Further advertysing yow, that We have directed our letters, at this tyme, to our Ambassadour in the Frenche Courte, theffcete wherof We send unto yow, declaring the waye and meanes of obteyning the said delaye and suspencion of processe; and wil youe soo to sollicite the Duke of Albany, and soo to instructe him in the same, as he maye procede according to our mynde and entent. And if the Pope proroge and differre the processe afstre the firste waye, thenne there is nothing for youe to sollicite, but only a testification and notification of the same delaye; and if the Pope wil expedite the suspencion of the cause the seconde waye, thenne ye must ordre yourself in layeing in that matier of exception, as We seme not therby to proroge the Popes jurisdiction; according to suche instruccions, as by our letters sent by

<sup>t</sup> Not found.

Alexandre We sent unto you in that behaulf. And being this post depeched in grete hast, We write non other matier unto you, ne directe thise letters to your colleges there, at this tyme; unto whom nevertheless ye may communicate theeffecte of the contentes of the same.

And wheras, also, We undrestand by your letters, that albeit ye, according to our commaundement<sup>1</sup>, have diligently sollicited the Pope and Colleige of Cardinalles, touching the preferrement of the Bisshop of Worcestre, to the dignitie of Cardinalite; yet the same as yet hathe taken no maner effecte: our mind, therfore, and pleasure is, that ye persist and contynue in the sollicitacyon therof, so that it may be, if it canne be obtained, conduced to the purpose We desire. For the bettre avauncement wherof, We send unto yow, at this tyme, our other letters addressed to the Pope and certayne Cardynalles<sup>1</sup>, in that behaulf; whiche our pleasure is ye present and delyvre unto them accordinglye. Advertising yow furthermore, that your labours and good diligence, used in thaccompilishment of our commaundementes, be veray thankful and acceptable unto Us, for the whiche We gyve unto yow our harty thankes, and wil youe also to gyve like thankes to M<sup>r</sup> Kerne, whose paynes We shall not fayle to have in our good remembraunce, to his benefite hereafre, as apperteyneth. Geven undre our Signet, at our Manour of Greenwich, the 8<sup>th</sup> daye of Janyver.

(*Superscribed*)

To our trusty and right welbeloved Counsaillour,  
M<sup>r</sup> Doctour Bennet, our Ambassador Resident  
in the Court of Rome.

### CCXC. BRYAN TO KING HENRY VIII.

Y<sup>r</sup> may plese Your Hyghnes to understande, that after the resayt of Your Hyghnes letters, beryng date the 8<sup>th</sup> day of thys present<sup>2</sup>, I sent incontynent to the Grett Master the letters that Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux wrote unto hym, and lykewyse dyd wryte unto the sayd Grett Master to know hys plesure, whan I myght cum to the Court, to speke with the Kyng, and with hym: who sent me answere that he had well perceyvyd by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux letter, that Your Hyghnes desyryd the Kyng your brother to wryte to Mons<sup>r</sup> dAlbany to speke

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 231, note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Not extant.

to the Pope in Your Hyghnes cause, accordyng to the tyme of the letter sent unto me, the whyche he sayd shudde done, and that I shuld com to the Court, for the Kyng woldbe here as the ~~saynt~~ ~~saynt~~ ~~saynt~~. But by reson of my Ladys syknesse, whych I insure Your Hyghnes was very sore, for She was in grett daynger, but now She ys metely well amendyd, was the cause that that letter was not so sone dyspachyd.

In thys mene tyme aryvyd here Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux, Saterday the 14 of thys present, who after hys aryvall cam strayt to my loggyng, where he delyverd me a letter from Your Hyghnes beryng date the 9<sup>th</sup> of thys present<sup>1</sup>, and with the same 2 instruccyon sygnyd with Your Hyghnes hande, the on concerningyng certayne artycles that Your Hyghnes and Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux had commonyd on, in whyche Your Hyghnes commaundyd me to pretende ignorance, in case I was not demaundyd of hyt, and then to answere as of my self, as my instruccyon lede me. Towchynge that, as yet to me nothyng hath ben spokyn; but when ther shall, as ner as my wytt wyll sarve me, I shall folow Your Hyghnes commaundement.

The other instruccyon was the lyke that Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux had in Latyne.

Syr, after that we had commonyd together, and agreyd in our instruccyon, we sent unto the Court to the Grett Master Sunday in the mornyng, desyryng hym to know, whether the Kyng wold be here that nyght, or ellys that we myght cum to Hym; who made us answere that the Kyng wold be here the Thursday folowyng. Notwithstantdyng, the Monday he and I went to the Court, whyche was at Saynt Germayne. The Kyng that tyme was gon a huntyng, and the Grett Master with Hym, so for that nyght we went to our loggyng 2 mylys of. Tuysday in the mornyng we cam to Saynt Germayne, byfore the Kyng was upp, where we spake with the Grett Master, to whom Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux delyveryd Your Hyghnes letter, and after declaryd to hym the effect of your commyssyon: the whiche hard, the sayd Grett Master answerd, that he was and wold be Your Hyghnes most humble seruaunt, farder saying that we shuld desyre nothyng here, but that shuld be grauntyd; and with that went to the Kynges uprysing.

Syr, the Kyng beyng up, and hys masse hard, He lept strayt on horsbacke for to cum to Parrys. He dynyd in the half way, at a vyllage callyd Saynt Clow. And as Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux and I cam rydyng to gether, mett with us Harry my servant, bryngyng with hym your letters beryng date the 12 of thys present.<sup>1</sup> When Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux and I had well perusyd the same, I insure

<sup>1</sup> Not extant.

Your Hyghnes he was almost desperat for dyspyte. So we went where the Kyng dynyd, and in the mene tyme that the Kyng dynyd, we spake to the Grett Master, shewyng hym the same; who was no lesse in fume, then the sayd Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux or I.

The Kyng havyng dynyd, we went to Hym, to Whom Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux delyveryd Your Hyghnes letter of credence, and declaryd our commyssyon in suche wyse, that after my symple judgement yt could not be amendyd; for I insure Your Hyghnes he spake yt with suche affeccyon, that yt myght welbe perceyvyd yt cam from the hart; on my faythe he left nothyng behynde. The Kyng your brother, gevynge hym good ere, sayd, “I am glad that the Kyng my good brother dothe not only put trust in Me, but also I reyoysse that He dothe put trust in my awne servauntes, as I do in hys;” and bad us loke what we wold desyre to have wryttyn spokyn or doone, that He myght do, and yt shuld not fayle to be doone; ye, and yf He thought that yt shuld forder Your Hyghnes cause, He wold lese on unce of hys awne bloode, to wryte to the Pope with hys awne hande and hys awne blode.

And as towchynge the maryage of the Popys nesse for oon of hys sonnys, He sayis that the Pope cummys of a basse stocke, and that ther 2 howsys be not lyke; and that, yf yt wer not to do Your Hyghnes plesure, He hadd never burne hys sone, then he shuld have hyr; but, that notwithstanding, He says to bryng your purpose to effect, that nether hys chylde hys goodes ne Person shalbe sparyd; and that, when yt shall plese You to prove, Ye shall have the experyence. So for that nyght we departyd, and cam to Parrys.

The morow we went to Mons<sup>r</sup> le Cardynall of Gramound, to whome we declaryd all our cheff matter, because he was the person that brought the answer from the Pope; and after he had hard every thynge, I insure You he was not a lytyll mevyd, desyryng us to go to the Court, and speke with the Kyng and the Grett Master, and that after dynyr he wold be ther. So we dyd, and dynyd with the Grett Master. After dynyr we went up to the Kyng, Who at that tyme had not dynyd; in the mene tyme we talkyd with the Grett Master, desyryng hym to set forthe our dyspache to Rome; the whyche Grett Master went strayt to the Kyng, and after a lytyll spekyng with hym the Kyng callyd us, beyng present of hys Councell Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vandosme, Mons<sup>r</sup> le Gran Master, and the Cardynall of Gramound; whych commynycacyon was nothyng in effect, but as before I have wryttyn, saying that the Kyng your brother sayd, that He wold wryte so sharply to the Pope, that He shuld well know He ys your dere frende and good brother. And yf He wryte as sharply as He says He wyll, I thynke hys letter wyll cause the Pope to loke abought Hym. As yet I have not sene hys letter, but thys day

day Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux and I shall se yt ; and yff we lyke yt, to lett yt passe ; yt not, the Kyng says we shall put to hyt what we wyll. I shall not fayle to sende Your Hyghnes the copy of the same, ether by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux, or ellys by the next that cummys. I have gott a curre, that hath promysyd me not to fayle, but to be at Rome from hens in 8 days, so that I trust your letters and our dyspache shalbe ther withyn 10 days at the fardest. More hast I cannot make, yf my lyff lay on hyt. But, yf I wer suer that Your Hyghnes cause shuld take effect by the dylygence of thys dyspeche, to be sure that yt shuld not be slakyd, I wold play the currers part my self ; for the grettest pleure I have in thys worlde ys to be ther, as I may do Your Hyghnes savyee.

The Kyng your brother, incontynent after our spekyng with Hym, sent to all the entrys of hys reme to stay and serche all currers, and what soever they bryng He says I shall se yt. All the currers that goys from me, or cummys to me, shalbe suffryd passe.

And asfor any exequys or solempnyteys to be made here for the Duchesse of Savoy<sup>1</sup>, I know of none, nor can here none spokyn on ; and yf I do, I shall sende Your Hyghnes word with dylygence.

I have also wryttyn to Master Benett, what we have done here.

Syr, at the goyng away of the Kyng your brother, He sayd thes wordys ; “ Lett the Pope and thEmperour do what they lyst, I wylbe the Kyng my brothers frende in spyte of them all, in ryght or wrong.” Syr, I thankyd Hym on your behalf, saying that of Your Hyghnes He myght be as sure as of Hym self. After He was gone, the Grett Master and the Cardynall of Gramounde cam unto Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux and me, saying that the Kyng ther master was very sore movyd agaynst the Pope. Also the Grett Master sayd he wold hym self wryte a sharpe letter to the Pope, by cause the Pope dyd wryte unto hym in your cause. I sayd to the Cardynall of Gramond ; “ My thynkes thys towchys you very nere, saying yt was you that brought thes tydynges of hys good mynde, wylling you to make report unto your master, and afterwardes dose clene contrary ; wherby,” I sayd, “ not only ye ought to be styrryd to wryte sharply unto Hym, but also to cause the Kyng your master, and lykewyse Mons<sup>r</sup> le Graun Master, with other your frendes, to do the same.”

To the whyche he awsweryd that he wold not fayle so to doo, and that of the sharpyst sorte, saying he had good hope that that we desyryd at thys tyme shuldb be optaynyd. And farder he sayd, that yf thys toke not effect, he wold, with the lycence of hys master, ryde to Rome hym self in post, and that yt

<sup>1</sup> Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, who died on the 1st of December 1530. *Acta*, p. 269.

shuld be well knowyn that never Cardynall spake so myche vyllanye to a Pope, as he wold do; and the gladder to do yt, to do Your Hyghnes savyce.

The Kyng your brother spake of the Generall Councell, saying that thEmperour could gett nothyng of them in Almayne, tyll they saw a Generall Councell, soe that the Emperour procurys yt as myche as He may. The Pope hath sent Gambara to thEmperour. The Kyng says yt ys but to shew a fayre face; He says also, that the Pope had almost as leff dye, as to have thys Generall Concell. Yt ys namyd to be in on of thes 4 places, ether at Turryn in Pyamount, or at Nyse in Provance, or at Carmenyall in the Markessdome of Saluce; or at Messe in Lorayne. To that Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux sayd that yt was most best and most surest for the Pope and You bothe, to have yt at Avynyon, allegyng all suche causys as wer in your instruccyons ment, saying that yf yt wer kept in the reme of Fraunce, Ye could be contentyd to cum to hyt in Parson; yf not, he thought, nay, bycause Your Hyghnes had no heyrss, Ye wold not adventure Your self in straynge remys, wher Ye thought Ye shuld not be so sure as in the reme of Fraunce; to the whyche the Kyng your brother sayd that, whersoever yt wer kept, hys person shuld lyve and dye with Yours. Many mo thynges wer spokyn consernyng the same, whyche Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux wyll declare unto Your Hyghnes at hys cummyng, whyche I thynke shalbe shortly. I thynke thys Councell wyll not be at Avynyon, for the Kyng says, that thEmperour wyll not cum thether. Yt ys thought here to be ether at Turrayne, or at Nyse. I perceyve that the Grett Master wold fayne have hyt at Nyse.

The Duke of Lorayne ys here, and hys wyff shalbe here shortly. He hath with hym a grett trayne.

I, perceyvyng all the partyes aforesayd so well mynded to do Your Hyghnes pleasure in thys your grett matter, and thynkyng that Your Hyghnes was in gret Payne, tyll Ye hard how thys gere went here, thought yt convenyent to dyspache thys berer unto Your Hyghnes. Thys our Lord presarve You, and send You long lyff in helthe, myche honor to accomplaysshement of your noble hartes desyre. From Parrys, the 20<sup>th</sup> day of January.

(Signed) Yow<sup>r</sup> most hūble suggett and bondond

svaunt,

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Hyghnes.

FRANSSYS BRYAN.

CCXCI. BENET TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLASVME yt Your Hyghnes. By the letters subscribed only by my Lord of Worcester and me<sup>2</sup>, Your Hyghnes shal understand, at full, of the mater that I send Your Hyghnes word of by Mr Cranmer, whyche, de verbo in verbum, thys seyd person hathe schewed to my Lord of Worcester and me, as he showed alonly unto me, byfore the departyng of Mr Cranmer from hens; he had enteryd ynto communicacion with my Lord of Worcester unknowyng unto me. Your Hyghnes shal receive wyth the foreseyd letters too copies, oon ys of the inhibicions whyche war decreeed before Christmas, and the other of a commission that was graunted at Bonony at the departyng of thEmperour from thens.<sup>2</sup> The sorenes of these inhibicion Your Hyghnes may perceve by the tenor of yt, how sore the Pope was moved by a sedul, as Hys Holynes called yt, emprentyd yn Ynglyshe, whyche me semyd to be a seythe made of the determinacion of the unyversites and other doctors hathe made yn Your Graces great cause, Your Hyghnes schal perceve by an other letter subscribed by my seyd Lord off Worcester Mr Gregory and me. I ensure Your Hyghnes I sawe Hym never yn suche

I have knownen Hym

wel mytygated as the semed.

I schowed Hys Holynes th toke yt woors then yt was, and also [that if He] dyd wel ponder yt, ther was nothyng yn hyt why Hys Holynes shuld take yt so dysplesantly. He answeryd me ageyn, He woold gladly yt myght so be fownd. I schewed Hys Holynes, yff He woold hyre me paciently, I woold make Hym so perceve yt. I schewed Hys Holynes, that where summe unthryfty person, ye a Lutheran, as I myght conjecture by the name geven to the boke expressed yn hyt, whyche was that had towchyd Your Hyghnes cawse, and untrewly many thynges had wryten of the same, purposyng therby to have gender an yll opinion, yn the peoplys mynd, of Your Hyghnes cawse. Your Hyghnes therfor thowght yt necessary for the metyng therof, to schewe the wrytyng of the lewde person to be most falsest, to publishe that many unyversytes, whyche are there rehersed, and also many

From a draft in Benet's handwriting (much mutilated), with the following additions written by him, "Weytyn the 10<sup>th</sup> day of Januri 1530 after our eowid, and 1531 after the covrancement."

<sup>2</sup> There is no trace of either of these papers.

great and famose lernyd men particularly besydes, had fownd Your Hyghnes great cawse to be most just and lawful, and the prohibicion to be of Goddes law and of the law nature ; agenst the whyche the Pope myght nat dyspense, whois determinacions war in Master Cokkes<sup>1</sup> keping ; whyche made feyth

the unyversites

and infinite doctors [as] fownd Your Hyghnes cause to be so good, and Your Hyghnes cowde do no lesse but to publishe ther [opini]ons agenst those that woold maligne and maliciously and untrewly damne your cause. And for thys entent I told Hym that I thowght the feythe well made. Hys Holynes replied ageyn that hyt was assertyvely put there, that the unyversites and doctors had determinyd, dyffined, decreed, and judged that the prohibicion was de jure divino, and that the Pope myght nat of no maner of cawse dyspense agenst hyt ; whyche, He seyd, was nat to be judged by them yn no wyse, and chefly the mater dependyng before Hym. And here He towched an other thyng, whyche was, that Your Hyghnes axed the cawse to be committed to my Lord of Canterbury, and that thys assertion of the justnes of your cawse was made by hys Chawncelar. By thys, Hys Holynes seyd, yt myght apere that my Lord of Canterbury war no mete judge to be geven yn thys mater. I answeryd agen, that my Lord of Canturbury Chawncelar affirmed that the unyversites and doctors had so determined Your Hyghnes cawse ; and for the assertion of that, I seyd my Lord of Canterbury was not to be taken suspect, or no unmete judge. Thes answers I made to Hys Holynes, with al reverence and honor that I myght dyvyse, to thentent that I myght the better mytygate hys coler, lest He shuld be to muche exasperate, and the soner inclined to graunt al thynges that the part adverse myght axe, for the soner expedition of the cawse here, whyche sekythe al weys and means to cumme to a sentence as schortly as may be possible by any meanes excogitate. Other thynges concernyng thys conference Your Hyghnes schal understand by our commen letter. Yn so muche as Saterday last they stoode yn the Sygnature for a remissorial ad partes, to receve wytnes there, and provys that the Quene was nat knownen by Prince Arthure. How instantly the part adverse schewyth for processe, Your Hyghnes shal perceve by the commen letter, ynsomuche we fearyng the inconvenientes that myght therby to ensue to Your Graces cawse, that with the advise of Your Graces lerned cowncel here, thys day a mater excusatory was leyde yn, as wel for the stoppyng of proces, as for annullyng of al suche thynges as hathe byn done here yn the cawse, by the vertu of the

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<sup>1</sup> John Cockys, LL.D., styled below Archbishop Warham's Chancellor.

fyrst citacion. How we schal spede yn hyt God knowyth; of our partes ther schal lacke no diligence, nother solicityng for the justificacion of hyt by law, and for the obteynyng of the benefite that may cumme therby. M<sup>r</sup> Carne leyde yn thys mater as Excusator only, and nothyng yn Your Hyghnes name. Your cowncel thowght yt shuld be better don by him, and by a better colour, then other by my Lord of Woorcetter or me, seyng that we too are dayly cyted to every act that the part adverse dothe here. The 30<sup>th</sup> day of Januari.

Ryght honorable M<sup>r</sup> Secretary. Thys ys to certifie yow, that I recevyd of Alexander the curror a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Wrythesley, datyd at Grenwyche the 7 day of the last monthe, with thre booke imprentyd, made apon the Kynges Hyghnes great cawse; whyche I have and schal bestow acordyng to the order geven yn the seyde letter. I have schewed oon of them to Friar Fra Dionysio; whyche ys he whom the Kinges Hyghnes dyd wryte for, to the Pope, for the Penitenciarie rome<sup>1</sup>, whyche M<sup>r</sup> Cranmar had, and ys syngularly wel lernyd, and marvelous affectionat to the Kynges Hyghnes cause.

### CCXCII. BENET *to* KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASYTHE yt Your Hyghnes. The 7 day of thys present I recevyd Your Hyghnes letter datyd the 8 day of the last monthe, with a copye, yn the same inclosyd, of the effect of Your Graces letters sent to Sir Francys Bryan. Immedyately after the receypte of Your Graces foreseyd letters I went to [see] the Duke of Albany, and afterward booth my Lord of Woorecetter Sir Gregory and I went also unto hym; and to us the seyd Duke of Albany communicate hys charge sent unto hym from the Frenche Kyng, whyche was acordyng to the foreseyd copie enclosyd yn Your Graces seyd letters unto me. And so, apon the 8 day of thys monthe, the Duke of Albanie went to the Pope, and schewyd hys charge to Hys Holynes yn as hernest a maner as he cowde devyse, omittyng nothyng, as he seyd, that myght be to the conducyng of the Pope to condesend to oon of the too wayes expressyd yn the instruccions. But in conclusion, at that tyme he cowde nat bryng the Pope,

<sup>1</sup> The office of Penitentiary General of England. Strype's Cranmer, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> From a draft in Benet's handwriting, much mutilated.

nother to suspend ex motu proprio the processe, nother to revoke none of the inhibi[tions].

As towchynge the second way, Hys Holynes seyd that, yff the mater leyd yn by M<sup>r</sup> Kerne, of the whyche a copie was sent to Your Hyghnes with our letters to the same the 31 day of the last monthe, were relevant [*and schuld*] be admittyd, Your Hyghnes schuld hav

; other He seyd He cowde not promes. The 10<sup>th</sup> day of thys monthe Capasuchi, to whom the cawse ys committyd to hyre and to referre to the Pope in Consistorio, made relacion of the opinion of the Rote, whyche was, that Master Kerne, ut Excusator, was to be admittyd to ley yn the seyd mater, withoutt a proxie of Your Hyghnes. The Cardinalles, withoutt any furder deliberacion, leynd unto the opinion of the Rote, and so after the same concluded. Yet thre partes of them war nat informed yn the mater; for I ensure Your Hyghnes yt was nat possible to have enformed them yn that houer we had; for the tyme was lytel ynowghe to have informed the Auditors of the Rote, and yn maner to scant, for M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Kerne with the Advocates, day by day, savyng those dayes that the Rote sate from mornyng to nyght, with al diligence and sollicitude possible went to informe the Auditors, and skarcely the tyme sufficed for the same. The Cardinalles, that wer enformed, war De Monte, Anchone, Thrane, Cesis, and Cesarine. M<sup>r</sup> Karne and the Advocates offered bothe the Auditors and the Cardinalles aforeseyd, that yff they had any dowght yn any poynt of the mater, they woold satisfie them yn hyt, and woold answere to the councel of the parte adverse, or [*else they wold*] sustayne the contrary part in Consistorio publico, or yn any other place. Summe of them seyd, that yt was nat the maner so do. M<sup>r</sup> Kerne and them answered ageyn, that thowghe yn other cawses they dyd nat use it, yet yn thys they shuld, consideryng the great weyght and importance of thys cause. And thys offer my Lord of Woorcetter Sir Gregory and I made yesterday to the Pope, yn presence of the Duke of Albany; and yn lyke wyse we dyd same before. We, percevynge the resolution of the Rote alonly to be upon thys poynt, quod Excusator non est audiendus sine mandato, dowghtyng how they woold resolve them self upon the other thynges conteyned yn the the mater, and perceyvyng also that they desyred very greatly to have a proxie, my Lord of Woorcetter M<sup>r</sup> Kerne and I thought very expedient not dysclose, yn any maner of wyse, that we had any; lest, that knownen, we shuld be compelled to exhibite hyt, and so usyng the same ley yn the foreseyd mater; and nat beyng sure what dowghtyng that they, spekyng nothyng of the other thynges conteyned yn the mater, dyd the same purposly, and to geve us a hope that the matter shuld be admitted, yff we had a proxie

a proxie to ley it yn, to bryng us in by a cradic to exhibite a poxe; and also bycawse as yet we have nat Your Hyghnes plesure yn those thynges, whyche we sent by Alexander the currour the 26 day of December last, concerningyn the mater, whyche Your Hyghnes cowncel bothe there and here had concludyd to be leyd yn by your procters here. My Lord of Woorecetter M<sup>r</sup> Kerne and I thowght very expedient not dysclose yn any wyse that we had a proxie; and yesterday my Lord of Woorecetter Sir Gregory and I, beyng with the Pope, and also at the same tyme the Duke of Albany beyng present, as Your Hyghnes shal perseve by our comen letter<sup>1</sup> yn Laten, when we saw that by no mean the Pope woold graunt the delay whiche the French Kyng desyred, for al the instance that the Duke made, whyche I ensure Your Hyghnes he dyd as muche as though hys lyffe had leyn apon yt, as Your Hyghnes shal perceve by our comen letter, nother for al that whyche we seyd to Hys Holynes, wheryn we omitted nothyng that myght be seyde to move Hym to graunt a suspension, then we stykkyd with Hys Holynes apon thys poynt, seying that the Rote was resolved that Excusator shuld nat be hard sine mandato, and the reason was, as Hys Holynes seyd, quod non constabat de voluntate Majestatis Vestre, wether Your Hyghnes woold use any suche remedi or no. We askyd then a terme to consulte Your Hyghnes and to know your plesure theryn, and by that meane we myght wynne too monthys. Hys Holynes answeryd, yff we woold, He woold purpose the same yn the Consistory, to se wether the Cardinalles woold consent to that terme. We perceyving that forasmuche as yt ys arbitrary, nat suar yn maner we schuld prevayle yn hyt, left that, and purposed an other; whyche was, that when Capusuche woold begynne to make proces ageyn, M<sup>r</sup> Kerne shuld apele a tacita rejectione materie unto the Pope yn hys owne name alonly, tanquam Excusator et unus de regno Anglie; whyche apele schalbe presentyd yn the Signature, and bycawse the Signature ys but oons yn every 8<sup>th</sup> dayes, yff Hys Holynes woold be contentyd to geve any delay yn hyt, we myght sone wynne a monthe and sumwhat more by that wayes; Hys Holynes answered that he was contentyd that M<sup>r</sup> Kerne shuld so do: and to no other poynt we coude nat bryng [Him]. And bycawse the Pope stode so greatli for a proxi ad totam causam, as Your Hyghnes shal perceve by our comen letter, for the purpose to graunt suche a delay as ys mencioned yn our seyd letter, I seyd then to Hys Holynes that He myght aswel graunt the suspension now, as then. Hys Holynes answered agen, "Nay, my sonne; for yf the Kyng your master had " ons answeryd by hys proctor yn the cawse here, the cawse schuld depend

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

" then here suo concensu, et sic a forciori He myght nat attempt any thyng " at home de facto." Hys Holynes seyd also that, yff He schuld suspend the proces, He schuld do a great prejudice to the Quene yn the proces whyche now ys made at Her instance in penam contumacie, for Sche schal soner cumme a sentence, then yff Your Hyghnes had made awnswere unto Her; for now, Hys Holynes seyd, the termes observed, of the whyche too remayneth unobserved, whyche ys, ad dicendum contra proposita, et ad jurandum de calumnia, then they nedde no more but to exhibite the bulles and dispensacions, and so to call for a sentence apon. Then we seyd, that canne be don before the remissorial sent lately to Spayne for the examinacion of certayne wytnes; of the whyche we dyd certifie Your Hyghnes bothe yn our comen letter<sup>1</sup> and also yn my letter apart<sup>1</sup> to Your Hyghnes. Hys Holynes awnsweryd ageyn, that they had the remissorial sine prejudicio processus, so that yff they may procede to a sentence withoutt the same, they wool do yt.

CCXCHI. KING HENRY VIII. *to Pope Clement VII.*<sup>2</sup>

BEATISSIME Pater, post humillimam commendationem, et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Christiana charitas, quæ omnes omnium dolores et gaudia communicat, in Nobis id efficit ut semper indoleamus, quotiens aliquid nunciatur, quod vel aliorum quieti et tranquillitati adversari, vel ad bonorum expectationem minus prospere succedere, videatur. Ita quod Sanctitatis Vestræ Breve, prima die Decembris ad Nos datum<sup>1</sup>, significavit, et Nos longe antea ex aliorum litteris ac ipsa deferente fama intellexeramus, Cæsarem, etiam si multam in re operam vacaverat, non omnia tamen ex sententia cum Germanis composuisse, que ad fidei et religionis causam pertinerent; vehementer sane Nos commovit, et ad cogitationes adegit graves molestasque de statu Christiani orbis, et multifarijs in eodem corruptelis, partim ignorantia receptis, partim malicia irruptentibus, nonnullis vero etiam conniventia admissis atque neglectis, quarum omnium avulsio ut aliquando contingat et vinea Domini omni sua parte tribulis expurgetur, ac ad illam culturam, quam Deus ipse data Nobis pro instrumento scripture constituit, revocetur, non possumus Nos generale Christianorum Concilium in Spiritu Sancto congregatum, non optare ex animo, et Vestræ Sanctitatis in ea re studium non vehementer laudare,

<sup>1</sup> Not found.<sup>2</sup> Copy from the Vatican Papers.

similque non indolere, quod frequentiora Concilia hactenus habita non erant, que certe effecissent, ut nec vel illa Germaniae peste vel aliis quavis circumstitudine in ecclesia Christi hodie laboraretur. Hoc igitur Concilium perquam necessarium judicamus, atque ob zelum, quem erga Christianam religionem et publicam tranquillitatem gerimus, in eo fovendo juvandoque nulli Christiano Principi cedemus, nec Nos quicquam omittemus, quod cum Deo publicoque omnium bono esse posse putaverimus. Unum certe est, quod in primis curandum esse existimamus, videlicet, ut is locus de Principum consensu statuatur, qui omnibus ad conveniendum nullo discrimine tutus commodusque revera extiterit, alioquin multi multorum benesentientium labores consilia vigiliæque nullo cum fructu periclitabuntur.

Quod vero ad nostram in futuro Concilio presentiam attinet, ea de re, quum de loco constitutum erit, ita deliberabimus, ut si minus corpore adesse presentes ita exposcente rerum nostrarum statu possimus, ejusmodi certe Legatos nostro nomine mittendos curabimus, qui vices nostras supplere et obire valeant velintque, ut nihil possit a Nobis in ea parte desiderari: quod, ut in rempublicam cedat Christianam, Deum semper præcabimur, utque presentium calamitatum miseratus Vestræ Sanctitatis consilia regat disponatque in melius. Sed super hijs cum ejusdem Vestræ Sanctitatis apud Nos nuncio sumus copiose colloquuti. Et felicissime ac diutissime valeat eadem Vesta Sanctitas. Ex Regia nostra apud Westmonasterij, die 13 Februarii, 1530.

Excellentissime Vestræ Sanctitatis  
Devotissimus atque obsequentissimus Filius,  
Dei Gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, Defensor  
Fidei, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,

HENRICUS.

*(Superscriptura)*  
Sanctissimo Clementissimoque Domino  
nostro Pape.

#### CCXCIV. HACKETT TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLESSE Your Highnys to understand, that now of late I beyng arywyd at your town of Calles, and there tarreynge to know what Your Highnys is plessur was to comand me to do, the second day of this monnyth I ressewit

syche letters as hath plessyd Your Grace to send me, by the which Your Hyghnys is letters Ye hawe syngnyfyd and comytyth me to be Your Highnys is Embassadour toward and with thEmperour, in lyke wysse as your former Embassador Master Harvy<sup>1</sup>, whom at this tyme Your Grace revokes homeward. And accordyng to Your Highnys is comandment, and that to accomly the same to the best of my lyt yell poer, I departyth from Calles the 3<sup>d</sup> day of the sayd monnyth, and for som lyt yell byssenys that I had a do, consernyng myn afferres at Bruges and at Machlyng, with slowe diligence I aryvyd in this town of Brussellis the 11<sup>th</sup> day of this monnyth to your Embassador Master Harvy is lodgyng, to whom I was as right hartly welcom as to one that was werry glad to be dyschargyd of his comyssyon. And after that we had consultyth owr charges to gyddyr, we fond the comodytte to have had audyence of the Emperour yesterday afor dynner: and there comyng to his presence, accordyng to my charge, after Your Highnys moste harty recomendacions and my devoers done, I delyvryd His Majeste Your Highnys is letters, Who with a sad familiar conttenance ressewit them, and after the reddyng possyd Hym self with silence, tyll Master Harvy schowyd His Majeste how Your Highnys is plessuer was to revoke hym homward, and that I schowld tarre here with His sayd Majeste, in his place, as Your Highnys is Embassadour; which wourdes I affyrmyth sych to be Your Highnys is plessur. And here to His Majeste answeryd, that the contenttes of Your Highnes is letters to Hym confourmyd with our saynges, and that He was sory of Master Harvy is departyng, but that in a mowch as your plessur was syche, that His Majeste was well plessyd of my comyng, acceptyng me right agreeably. After that His Majeste imbrassyd me, for my fyrst welcomyng.

And as touchyng the surplus of all the wanyteys, that they spek here in general nombyr, and of all other occorenttes or tedynges that we have here at this tyme, the berrer here of, Your Highnys is Embassatour, Master Harvy, may schow Your Grace at large of all the premysys; and makynge a neynd of this, Almyghty God prospere Your Highnys with long lyfe, good helt and felicite. Fro Brussellis, the 13<sup>th</sup> day of Fevrer, 1530.

Your right hummyll soggett and servent,

JOHN HACKETT.

(Superscribed)

To the Kynges Hyghnys noble Grace.

<sup>1</sup> By a recredential letter from the Emperor to Henry, dated at Bruxelles the 13th of February, and remaining in the State Paper Office, it appears that Harvy's letters of recall and Hackett's appointment were made on the 27th of January.

CCXCV. BENET TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASYME yt Your Hyghnes. Syns our last letters, whyche wair of the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the last monthe, nothyng was don yn Your Grace's great cause, til the morow<sup>2</sup> after Aschewensday, at the whyche tyme ther was a citation executed apon my Lord of Worcester and me; also upon the Saturday after ther was a citation red ayenst Your Grace yn the Audience of the Contradict; the copies<sup>3</sup> wherof Your Hyghnes shall receve, with our letters<sup>3</sup> to Your Hyghnes, at thys tyme. The first Monday yn Lent, whyche was oon day apoynted yn the citation for process, M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Kerne did apele before Capasuche, the Judge of the cause, whyche M<sup>r</sup> Kerne made ab tacita rejectione materie by procedyng ad ulteriora, and acordyng to the law askyd apostolos; to whom the seyd Capasuche made thys answer as folowith, "Quatenus persona sit legitima admissibilis, ipsum reposuimus; alias, damus "apostolos refutatorios."

M<sup>r</sup> Kerne, mi Lord of Worcettour, and I, consultyng with your lerned cowncel here what was to be done, seying that thys answer was so ambiguus and uncertayn; for yn case M<sup>r</sup> Karne was to be admitted by the law, the Judge did not revoke the greffe, from the whyche yt was apeled, and so the appellacion to ceasse; and yn case the sayd M<sup>r</sup> Karne was not to be admitted, the seyd Judge gave then refutatorios: and so we remaynyng yn dought whether the Judge toke Master Karne to be admitted or nat, and so wether M<sup>r</sup> Karne myght prosecute hys apele or no; yt was concluded that M<sup>r</sup> Karne schuld go ageyn to Capasuche, the foreseyd Judge, for a declaracion of hys answer. The morow after, whyche was a Twysday, he went unto Capasuche, who, after many wordes and long resonnyng, made thys answer as folowyth: "Assignamus terminum juris ad respondendum, et interim quando- "cunque," promising furdermore that pendente hoc termino he would make no process, nisi prius Dominum Karne ad accipiendum responsum. Thys nat-withstandyng, the 5 day of thys monthe we war a cited ageyn ad videndum jus de calunnia, M<sup>r</sup> Karne nat beyng called to take hys answer acordyng as yt was promised. Then the same day yt was concluded with your councel here, that M<sup>r</sup> Karne shuld appele a new nomine suo proprio, as he did before, ab isto ulteriori processu, et ex eo quod venit continere suam promissionem non

<sup>1</sup> From a draft in Benet's Handwriting.<sup>2</sup> 23d of February.

Not found.

recedendo

recedendo a prima appellatione, whyche apele was prepared redy agenst the next mornynge followyng, whyche was the audience day, to be exhybit to the Judge. Besydes thys we dyd send unto Capasuche, marvelyng that he dyd, contrary to hys promes, made process; seyng that he dyd nat cite M<sup>r</sup> Kerne to take hys answere; who made answere that the citacion went fourthe withowt hys knowlege, addyng also that nothyng schuld be done by vertew theroff, and that yt schuld stond voyde. And for the more suerty lest the parte adverse schuld have observed the terme with the Notary of the cawse, we warned the Notary that he shuld do nothyng but by the expresse of Judge. And so the apele stondyth in suspenso, tyl the Judge declarys hys answer to M<sup>r</sup> Karne; and when he wul do yt, we are uncertayn, for yt stondyth apon hym. And bycawse we may wyn the more tyme, yt ys thowght good by your cowncel here that M<sup>r</sup> Karne schuld nat muche sollicite the declaracion of the seyd answer, tyl suche tyme as he be drevyn to hyt. At the whiche tyme M<sup>r</sup> Karne nother wul or schal omitte no diligence nor labor to be done or seyd for the prosecution of the apele or justification of the mater. And I ensure Your Hyghnes M<sup>r</sup> Karne hath acquygytd hym ful marvelously wel yn thys mater; for yf he had byn, I thynke verely that your lernyd cowncel here had never framed yt so wel, so that yff<sup>1</sup>

## CCXCVI. BRYAN TO KING HENRY VIII.

PLESYTH yt Your Hyghnes to understande, that your letters, yevon under your sygnet at Yorke Place the 6<sup>th</sup> day of Marche<sup>2</sup>, I resceyvyd by my servaunt Harry in Parrys the 8<sup>th</sup> of the same; the whyche I overredyng, and with my self debatyng, and pryntyng theron theeffect in my mynde, went immedyatlly to the Court; wher fyrst I mett with the Grett Master, to whome, as of my self, I sayd as your sayd letter advysyd me; wherwith he semyd not a lytyll to be pryckyd forthe and movyd, saying he was myche abasshyd

<sup>1</sup> The conclusion of this draft is wanting. On the top of the last page of it is written by Benet "the vi. day of Marche 1531," which is no doubt the true date of it. There is in the State Paper Office a paper containing the Articles declared before the Consistory by the Excusator, with the resolutions then agreed on, which is indorsed by Benet, "Allegata pro parte Excusatoris vi<sup>to</sup>. Martij." A similar document exists, dated on the 13th of March, which is similarly indorsed by Benet.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

to thynke on the Popys lewde demenour and unst blyte. And he with he had me into a chamber, wher the Kyng wtt in a chyche, beholding gentylmen that playd at tenys, the Admiral only beyng with Hym, who at my cumming wold have departyd, but the Kyng bad hym and lykewyse the Grett Master abyde, and sayd, "Here be none but "the Kyng my brothers servautes." So, they beyng present, I resytyd to Hym the effect of your sayd lettyr, uttryng as of myself that your letter had commaundyd me.

When I my tale had fynysshed, styrryng Hym by all the menys and ways that my symple wytt could devyse, not only to be movyd with the Pope, but also to hate and abhorre hys lewde and unstable demenour, alleggyng unto Hym that no mervayle yt wer, yf He, so myghty and noble a Prynce, thys mockyd by Hym, wer sore vexyd and at dyffyance with Hym, that not only usyd hys faythfull and dere frende as He had usyd Your Hyghnes, but also went abought to make Hym a instrument to deceve You hys most faythefull frende and dere brother; the whyche myght have ben a mene to have made suspecyon betwene You, yf the establisshedyd good mynde that ether of You bere to other wer not so gravyn and rotyd in your hartes, as yt ys. Wherunto the Kyng, by countenaunce semyng to be in a rage, sayd, "Yt shall not lye in the powre of any, and specyally of no suche as He ys, to do so mychevys a acte as to rayse or ingender any unkyndnes or untru suspecyon betwene my brother and Me, ether by hys crafty study or hys councellars;" saying farder that He thought Hym self myche beholding to me, that of my self I wold be so playne with Hym, warnyng Hym of thynges that towchyd Hym and hys honor so nere, and dysclosyng inconvenyences that theron myght have insuyd; and sayd, that yf at thys tyme I had requyryd no letter, He wold nor could have done no lesse then wryte to Hym aswell of hys unstable and crafty demenour fyrist usyd to Your Hyghnes, as in makynge Hym seme to tryphle and mooke You, whome He hath and has cause, above all other, to exteme and love: commaundydng the Grett Master strayte to cause a letter to be made to Hym, that shuld shew Hym playnly hys crafty and dishonest dealyng, and that myght towche Hym nere the quycke; desyryng me to devyse yt. I aweryd therunto, not to be possyble for me to devyse so well the thyng that towchyd Hym so nere, as He and hys Councell could. He then commaundyd that the Bysshop of Bayon shuld make a drawte theron, and shewe yt me; who I assure Your Hyghnes went abought yt with a very good wyll and a ernest, shewyng hymself very desyrous to do you servyce; and has shewyd me that the Kyng syns has ben very

playne and sharpe with the Popys Ambassadour, resonynge with hym thys matter the space of 2 howrys, laying sore to hys charge the ungodly demenor of hys master ; and, as the sayd Bysshop shewyd me, resytyd to hym hys unjust usyng of You in your grett matter ; saying, yf Your Hyghnes had not judgyd in hys master good dyscrescyon ryght and conscience, of the whyche now by hys parcyalyte He has shewyd Hym self clerely to be voyde, He wold have endyd hys sayd cause, justfyfid thowrowt all unyversyteys, by the noble and well lernyd men of hys awne realme, long or thys ; the whyche He shewyd hym He thought Ye myght very well have don. Thys matter I had as of my self openyd to the Kyng your brother, the Grett Master and the Admyrall beyng present at that tyme, resytyng to Hym how many sondry delays and fals promysys the Pope had made You, pretendyng justyce and egalyte, hys actes not affermynge the same. All thys the Kyng, your brother, shewyd hys Ambassadour, that I before had shewyd Hym ; the Kyng makynge me answer that, the matter knowyn for good and just as yt ys, Ye myght well have fynysshedyd hyt, in hys oppynyon, by the clergy and nobles of your Realme, and that yf any had withsayd or ben agaynst the same, loke what part Ye had takyn or wold take, He wold and wyll take the same.<sup>1</sup>

Syr, He handelyd the Popys Ambassadour in suche wyse, as the Bysshop of Bayon shewyd me that he ys gretly abasshyd, and almost asshamyd of hym self, in so myche that he, perceyvyng the Bysshop of Bayon and me to be conversant together, has requyryd hym to desyre me to be content to speke with hym, sayng he wold do that lay in hym to styrre hys master to favor your sayd cause, and that he trustyd yet He wold so do, that Your Hyghnes shuld have cause to be contentyd. I desyryd Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bayon to shew hym on my behalf, that I thought he spake more then he had commyssyon to do, and that for my parte I had as lytyll cause to trust to hys promyse, as Your Hyghnes had to trust to hys masters ; for apon hys faynyd flateryng wordes I sayd I dyd ons put Your Hyghnes in comfort that hys master, accordyng to ryght, wold have determinyd and fynysshedyd your sayd cause ; but fyndyng hyt contrary, I bad hym shew hym that I longyd not to here hym speke, nor heryng hym, I, ons deceyvyd, wold not trust or beleve any fayre promyse, tyll I saw the effectes folow. Thys answer I have desyryd Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bayon to make hym on my behalf. Yf in any wyse he desyre to speke with me, I wyll not refuse hym, but shall geve hym ere, and answer as good as my symple wyt wyll sarve me.

<sup>1</sup> In the margin of this last sentence is a bracket, apparently intended to attract attention.

The 16<sup>th</sup> day of Marche Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bayon brought unto my leggyng the letter that the Kyng sendys to the Pope, sygnyd with hys hande, and sealyd with hys brode seale; the whyche letter Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux and I 5 days before had dayly gon abought to purchase, the sayd Bysshop laboryng effectually with us for the assygnment and dyspeche theron. Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux and I lyke the letter very well, and trust yt wyll quycyn the Pope and make Hym know hys fawtes. I have also sent a letter therwith to Master Doctor Benet, advysyng hym to harkyn how the letter ys takyn, and to advertyse Your Hyghnes theron with dylygence.

Syr, I have laboryd the dyspeche of Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux unto Your Hyghnes all that I can, the whyche with myche callyng oon so sone I could scant bryng to pas; whome I judge assurydly to be yours, aswell by the good and ernest wordes and reportes he has made to the Kyng and Grett Master on Your Hyghnes behalff, as in hys dylygent pursuyng Your Hyghnes affayrys syns hys abode here, who at hys aryvall can shew you more at lengthe how every thyng standys here.

*Syr, to assartayne You of the love betwene the French Kyng and the Quene, I wil not take apon me, but shal shew You sartayne lykelyhoddys, that in my jugement should be tokyns of small love, take You them as yt may plese You. For the fyrst, beyng bothe in on house They lye not together ons in 4 nyghttys; a nother, He spekys very syldom unto Hyr opynly; a nother, He is never outh of my ladys chamber, and all for Hely<sup>1</sup> sake, hys old lover; a nother is, ther hath be no festyne or bankyt yet, syns the begynnnyng of the tryhumphe, but, the table furnysshdyd, He hath cum and syttyn in the myddys of the borde, wher Hely hath syt, and the Cardynall of Lorayne, and the Admyrall lykewyse, with ther lovers. He hath also dyverse tymys ryddyn 6 or 7 myle from the Quene, and lyne outh 4 or 5 days to gether, as yt is sayd, at the howsys of hys old lovers; and the same day She should make hyr entry in to Parrys, He, havyng knowlege wher Hely and dyverse other ladys and gentylwomen stode, toke ryth Hym the Admyrall and the Cardynall of Lorayne; and they, fyndyng thes gentylwomen in the sayd howse, the French Kyng toke Hely and sett hyr before Hym in a opyn wyndow, and ther stode devysyng with hyr 2 long howrys in the syght and face of all the peple; whych was not a lytyll marvelyd at of the beholders. Now I have shewyd You his maner and fassyon, juge Your Hyghnes what shal plese You.<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Anne de Pisseleu, the King's mistress, afterwards Duchess of Etampes.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is in cypher.

Post scripta. Your letters, yeven under your sygnett the 14<sup>th</sup> day of Marche<sup>1</sup>, I resceyvyd here by Tadey the 16<sup>th</sup> of the same at mydnyght, and the next day folowyng went to the Court to speke with the Grett Master, who made hys mone to me that he had knowlege by Mons<sup>r</sup> la Geshe, that Ye shuld thynke hym very slake in dyspachyng your matters, saying he had no lytyll cause to be sory, that Your Hyghnes, beyng hys seconde Master, shuld thynke he dyd not rydde and sett forthe any thyng towchynge You to the uttermost of hys power. I heryng thys, as of my self, began to be with hym somwhat playne and quycke, saying that of all men he ought to dyspache and settforthe all matters that towchyd You, consyderyng the grett thynges Your Hyghnes had at sundry tymys grauntyd at hys instance, and Ye lykewyse knowyng the grett favor he ys yn with hys master, ought to thynke in no man so myche unkyndnesse, as in hym, yf your requestes and sutes here wer not spedly dyspachyd. Wherunto he awnsweryd, and sayd, " Of " trawthe I confesse me no lesse to be bounde unto the Kyng your master, " then ye have told me; but, the maner and facyon of our Court knowyn " and consyderyd, I am in no fawte, for ther ar many of us of the Councell, " of the whyche few or none can speke with the Kyng when they wyll. I " at all tymys may speke with Hym when I wyll, but the Chauncelour and " other may not so, by the reson wheron matters hang long in ther handes. " For, as ye know, we may conclude nothyng, onles the hole Councell be " present, or at the lest the most part, and specyally in suche matters as " towche or concerne the Kyng your master. Also the nomber of us ar " harde to bryng to gether; and the thyng concludyd must be openyd to the " Kyng, the whyche askes a long tyme; after all thys yt requyrys pennynge. " Thes thynges set together and well consyderyd, I am not in blame, for in " matters hyghly towchynge our selvys and requyryng sped, we have thes " delayes. Wherfore," he sayd, " Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bryan, after my most humble " recommendacyons, I pray you make thys my excuse."

Syr, for trawthe no mervayle yt ys, yf the Councell be slow in dyspachyng your matters, for I assure Your Hyghnes they ar so in all ther awne, be they never so wayty and of importance. A Councell more slacke or worse in order, I thynke no Prynce has abought hym.

Towchynge the maryage betweene the Popys Nece and the Kynges son, the Grett Master shewyd me Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux shuld at lengthe shew You how yt standes.

And concernyng the goyng of the Cardynall of Tornon to Rome, he had

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

long

long or thys tyme ben gon, had he not ben vysytyd with a syetyca in hys leg, that puttes hym to suche Payne, that he can nether stande nor go withoutt cruchys. Of late he desyryd to go in a horslytter to a place of hys to take the eyre owt of Parys, thynkyng therby to have amendyd; but he ys therby apayryd, so that now he is determinyd to be caryed in a horslytter into Lorayne to the baynys, to se yf therby he can have remedy. Yt ys not possyble he can go to Rome; wherfore I do indevor my self with all my study to prefare suche a one to that journey, as I shall judge to be bothe suffycyent and wyllyng to set forthe Your Hyghnes cause, who shalbe, as I can perceyve by the Grett Master, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Langey; a man that ys betyn in your sayd matter, and one, that I judge wyll do hyt that in hym lyis. But by my next letters I shall advertyse Your Hyghnes the certente who shall go.

Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaux dose also bryng unto Your Hyghnes the dowble of the letter, that the Kyng your brother sent last unto Rome, and brynges also with hym the hole matter that Mons<sup>r</sup> de Pratt has for hys master commynycatyd with the Kyng here, and the answer that the Kyng your brother wyll make hym.

As thys day the Kyng your brother gave audyence to a gentyllman of the Marques of Branbroke.<sup>1</sup> What hys mesage ys, as yet I cannot tell; but, as I here the sayd Marques ys somewhat agaynst thEmperour. Thys Jhesu preserve Your Hyghnes with long lyff, myche honor, and thaccomplysshement of your gracyus hartes desyre. From Parrys, the 23<sup>th</sup> of Marche.

(Signed) Yow<sup>r</sup> moste obedyant sugget

and hubble <sup>3</sup>vant,

FRANSSYS BRYAN.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Hyghnes.

### CCXCVII. BRYAN to KING HENRY VIII.

PLESYTH yt Your Hyghnes to be advertysyd that the 25<sup>th</sup> of Marche, beyng our Ladys Day, the Grett Master sent a gentyllman of hys to my loggyng to desyre me to cum speke with hym at the Court. Immedyatlly after dyner I goyng thether, and fyndyng the Kyng at dyner, the Grett Master not beyng ther, went to hys loggyng to seke hym, wher I founde Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bayon, who shewyd me he was gon into the Kynges chamber. I then

<sup>1</sup> Margrave of Brandenburg.

desyryng

desyryng fyrst to speke with the Grett Master apart, that by hym I myght know and understande the matter, and the more advysydly answer the Kyng your brother, wold not go wher He was, tyll I had spokyn with the sayd Grett Master; so at the last I founde hym, who made hys mone to me of the slackenes that Ye dyd lay to hys charge, and sayd yt wold not owt of hys mynde, consydering he toke Your Hyghnes for hys seconde master, whome, he sayd, nextto hys awne he ought to obey. Many other lowly and lovyng wordes he spake, to long to reherse; the whyche I thys answeryd, saying to hym he had leysure enowghe yet, yf any suche fawte he had made, to make amendes here after, as I dowtyd not but he wold, beryng the stroke abought hys master that he dyd. To thys he answeryd, that of hym Ye myght be assuryd. He then shewyd me that ther was a thynge as he thought very necessary and behovefull for the settynge forthe of Your Hyghnes grett cause, whyche was, the Cardynall of Gramond goyng to Rome agayne in post; saying to me, that the sayd Cardynall dyd gretly desyre and sue for the same, aswell to awow unto the Pope the matter He bad hym shew the Kyng hys master towchynge Your Hyghnes cause, the whyche syns He has swarvyd from; as also to remove Your Hyghnes and the Kyng hys master owt of all maner of suspeccyon by due tryall and proff, justyfying the reportes he made to the Kyng hys master on the Popys behalfe, whyche so grettly towchyd hys honor to be tru. The Grett Master dyd allso allege many causys, why he myght forder your sayd cause more then any other, affermyng hym to have ben, or thys, grett with the Pope. I heryng thys, and perceyvyng that not only they wer determinyd to sende hym, and he desyrus to go, but also yf he wold worke so ernestly in the sayd cause as to every manys judgement he ought, answeryd and sayd, “Yf  
“ Mons<sup>r</sup> de Gramonde wold be so ernest with the Pope as he has cause, as  
“ well on hys masters behalfe as hys, and settynge a part fere or affeccyon,  
“ wold be playne with Hym, I thynke, as before ye have sayd, no man wer  
“ more necessary for the Kyng my masters purpose, then he. Besydys thys,  
“ he ys one that has takyn Payne, or thys, for the Kyng my master in the  
“ sayd cause, and knowys yt to be approvyd and justyfyid by all well lernyd  
“ men, and ys on that my master hathe and dothe grettly trust; wherfore I  
“ know that not only my master wyll geve hys harty thankes unto you for  
“ the inventyng and bryngyng to passe hereon, but also be in grett comfort  
“ that the sayd Mons<sup>r</sup> Gramond wyll so handyll hys sayd matter, that  
“ thowrow hys good and dylygent menys the same myche the soner shall  
“ take effect; the whyche, brought to an ende by hym, not only shulbe grett  
“ honor to hym, consydering he has entryd so far in the matter, but also he  
“ myght

" myght be assuryd the Kyng my master wold, lyke a noble Prynce, priuyt  
" in hys mynde hys sayd good wyll, and well acqyute suche labors as fer  
" Hym he had takyn or shall take."

The Grett Master then sayd, " Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bryan, ye wer best to move  
" the Kyng hereyn," saying he was sure that He wold be content at my desyre  
to sende any I wold name withyn hys realme; but he sayd he thought none  
so convenient a personage as he, for many consyderacyons, speccially for the  
grett desyre he had to go.

With thys the Grett Master brought me to the Kyng, beyng in hys  
garderobe, Who eallyd me to Hym, and talkyd with me of many thynges.  
Amonges other He brought yn Your Hyghnes grett cause, wysshynge hartely  
yt wer concludyd and brought to pas. I therunto answeryd that thowrow  
hys good and frendly menys yt myght myche the soner cum to effect. He  
sayd that, yf I could devyse any mene or way that by Hym yt myght be  
fordryd, He wold as wyllyngly do yt, as I could desyre Hym.

I then sayd that in my opynyon the Cardynall of Gramounde goyng  
to Rome shuld gretly forder it; consyderyng the Pope had openyd matter to  
hym and not abydyn therby, hys goyng thether shuld dryve Hym ether to  
abide by the same, or ellis to deny and revoke hys wordes; whyche He  
cannot, the reporter beyng ther present to justyfye them to hys face.

The Kyng affermyd all thys to be tru, and sayd, " Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bryan, yf  
" the goyng of hym, or any other ye can name wythyn my realme, may  
" forder the Kyng my brother matter, be you assuryd he shall go, and that  
" wyth spede; and for asmyche as ye for many causys judge hym to be a  
" personage most mete, I wyll dyspace hym thether in suche dylygence as ye  
" shall thynke convenient."

I thankyd Hym most hartely on Your Hyghnes behalfe; and, consyderyng  
ther grett slackenes in dyspachyng, sayd, that, yf the sayd Cardynall wold  
ryde but 4 postes a day, I desyryd to have hym dyspachyd withyn 4 days;  
wherwyth they ar content, saying yt ys suffycyent for hym, and have  
promysyd me that, yf Your Hyghnes, apon the recept heron, wyll sende  
letters, or wyll that the Kyng your brother shall sende or do any thyng  
towchynge Your Hyghnes sayd cause, apon knowlege of your plesure, in  
dylygence a curren shalbe sent from hens, that shall shortly overtake hym,  
and thys way no tyme shalbe lost. And in the mene whyle, I wyll dayly  
vysyte the sayd Cardynall, therby to styrre hym by all my study effectually  
to labor your sayd cause at hys cummyng thether.

Syr, amonges our talkys the Grett Master sayd unto me before the  
Kyng, " Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bryan, ye must kepe the occasyon of Mons<sup>r</sup> Gramonde

" goyng to Rome secrett, for oftyn tymys yt has ben layd unto our chargys  
 " by the Imperallys, that we shewe to grett favor and parcyalyte in the  
 " Kyng your master sayd cause; the Quen and ours beyng so nyghe of  
 " blode." Wherunto the Kyng sayd, and bounde yt with a grett othe, that  
 He nether caryd what they or any other theryn sayd or thought, for He  
 sayd He wold shewe Hym self Yours duryng hys lyff, settynge the fere or  
 love of Emperour or any other apart. The Grett Master made hereunto thys  
 answere, that yf yt myght be clokyd by any other color, yt wer myche better  
 then to have the purpose knowyn, and therby rather hyndryd then fordryd;  
 alleggyng yt myght be mene to kepe them from the knowlege of many  
 thynges that the Imperallys, havyng them in no suspecyon, myght happyn  
 to showe, aswell towchynge Your Hyghnes as the Kyng your brother. I  
 heryng thys sayd, that yf ther could be a devyse or way to colour the  
 occasyon of hys sayd journey, and to kepe yt from the knowlege of Hym or  
 hys agentes, yt wer the better for your cause; for they not knowyng our  
 purposys could not go abought to prevent them, beyng unprovyd of the  
 matter they shuld alege agaynst the same. Farder I sayd, You by so many  
 dyverse and sundry provys knowyng Hym to be your most assuryd stedfast  
 frende and loyng brother, had so ferme a trust in Hym, that, all maner of  
 suspect sett a part, (thoughe He shewyd good countenaunce to thEmperour)  
 Ye wold thynke Your self assuryd of Hym, as He has and shalbe of You.

Thes wordes He answeryd with a grett othe, that duryng hys lyff He  
 wold never swarve from You, but stycke to You agaynst all other; and  
 herwith He shewed me that thEmperour had sent Mons<sup>r</sup> de Pratt to  
 comynycat with Hym dyverse matters, the whyche shortly He intendys to make  
 You privy unto, by letters He wyll sende to hys Ambassadour resydent with  
 Your Hyghnes. Of the whyche matters one was the advysyng of Hym to  
 condyscende to a Generall Councell; wherunto the Pope in no wyse wyll  
 agre. And no mervayle, for yt ys thought that He therby shall lose myche  
 of hys pompe and dygnyte, the whyche reformacyon He wyll not assent  
 unto.

The Kyng your brother, consyderyng yt ys judgyd to be so grett a  
 welthe to all Crystyndome, wyll not seme to have the tytle and name of  
 Most Crystyn Kyng in vayne, but has made answer that yt wer convenient  
 that Your Hyghnes and all other Prynces wer made privy hereunto, and that  
 every Prynce do sende a Ambassadour to the Pope for dyreccyon and order  
 to be takyn theryn. Notwithstondyng, He fynally concludyd and sayd, He  
 wold do nothyng withoutt You; but to aprove the tytle of hys name, He wolde  
 sende hys Ambassadour fyrst to Rome.

The Grett Master, heryng thys, sayd that under thys color the Cardynall of Gramond myght have commyssyon to go to Rome, and not be susspectyd. Wherapon we all agreyd; but the Kyng your brother restyd in hys old oppynyon, and sayd, to dysplese all other He wold shewe Hym self hoolly Yours, and caryd not who knewe yt.

Syr, I, perceyvyng them so wyllyng to the short dyspache of thys Cardynall, thought yt most convenient to send thys my seruaunt Harry to Your Hyghnes in dylygence, aswell to geve You hereon knowlege, as to know, yf Your Hyghnes wold any thyng shuld be done by the Kyng your brother here for the settynge forthe of your sayd cause. Your pleasure heryn knowyn shalbe obeyd with suche dylygence as yt requyryth. They have promysyd that the sayd Cardynall shall departe hens withyn 5 days; so that the answere of your pleasure requyrys hast. Thys Jhesu presarve Your Hyghnes with long lyff in honor, and the accomplaysshment of your most graceyus hartes desyre. From Parrys, the 27<sup>th</sup> day of Marche, at 5 of the cloke after none.

(Signed) Yow<sup>r</sup> obbessant suggestt and most bondon svant,

FRANSSYS BRYAN.

(Superscribed.)  
To the Kynges Hyghnes.

### CCXCVIII. KING HENRY VIII. to BENET.<sup>1</sup>

(Signed) HENRY R.

By the King.

*TRUSTY and ryght welbilorid, We grete you wel. Advertising the same, that albeit We sent unto you a proxy, ad principalem causam, to be used in extremitie, yet our pleasure is, that in no wise ye be aknowen therof, for it shuld be to prejudiciale for Us to have it put in execucion; nevertheless We wold in any wise that al wayes and meanes were used to put over the proces, as long as ye may, and until Mychelmas at the least, and that betwene this and then ther passe no sentence agaynst us; for the whiche purpose, we thynke that if you, alother meanes fayling, whiche writen in our former letters, and also in thise, with as moche as ye canne excogitate besyde, shuld as of your self prively say to the Pope, that ye be advertised from your frendes out of Englond, suche as be lerned in the lawes and of our Counsayl,*

<sup>1</sup> Wholly in cypher, except the date.

that it were the playnest entree the Pope might make to the destruccion of his hol auctorite here, to stike uppon this poynt, to cal us to Rome, for that wil in no mannes eares sound wel, and that the lauyers in deade thinke, and wil counsayl Us, to the defence therof; wherfore for the greate zeal and affeccion ye bere to the conservacion of his auctoritie and poure, ye thinke it good by al good meanes, to avoyde that contencion, and rather wold advise His Holines to make overtury of an indifferent place, and judges indyfferent, and not to make that overtury prively, as He percace wyl say He hathe don here tofore, but to do hit to you there, or to Us by his lettres, or to the Frenche King, Who may be mediator in the cause, and choyes of a place and judges indifferent, namyng suche as hade no caus of suspiccion. And albeit ye may say, the privileages of our Realme wilbe a thing, wherupon We wil make somme stay, yet it is moche better for the Pope to kepe and observe his lawes, and thenne contendre wyth Us uppon our privileagies, thenne bothe to offend his oun lawes and also our privileagies. Ye may also say, that percace in this special matier by good meanes We may remove from that opinion, and here liethe a greate nombre in wayte to here of open dissension betwene the Pope and Us; and as sone as that trumpet bloweth, they wil thinke a most propice occasion to strike at his pour, whiche is in al poyntes abhorred, as He and other his predecessors hathe used it; and thus putting the Pope in good hope, that We may happ to condiscend to indifferent judges and place, ye shal percace worke moche in the delaying of the proces: wherin ye must use al pollicy to make them to gyve credite unto you, and abuse them as thay have abused Us, for they have beene to Us always like willough tree, shewing fayr buddes and leaves without any frute; and if ye thinke that Sir Gregory or the Bisshop of Worcestre wil shew the Pope any thing, that they know might conserne his jurisdiccion, ye may thenne, lamenting betwene them and you the contencion like to ensue betwene Us and the Pope, say that summe of our Counsayl here hath writen unto you therof, and that they wondre, the Pope will not rather contendre with Us uppon the yssue de loco indifferenti et judicibus indifferentibus, thenne uppon this to call Us to Rome, wer in the one We shal impunge finally his hol poure, and yet in the other We shall only reasorte for defence to the privileagies of our Realme, and that therin, forasmoch as ye have no commaundement, ye dare not speke, and yet ye wold al were wel, and within summe space aftre ye may privelie speke to the Pope as of a thinge wiche ye wold rather wishe were in those termes, ut contenderetur de loco indifferenti, thenn as the matier standith, for exchuing of many inconveniences. And this matier wel handeled by your dexterite and  
kepte

*Kepte secret to your selfe, shal peradventure worke best effecte, to the delaying and putting over the processe. Wherunto We desire you to have suche regarde and respecte, as nothing be bi you omitted that may be imagined or excogitate, as our trust is ye wil not fayle to do. Yeven undre our signet, at our Manour of Greenwich, the 23<sup>d</sup> daye of April.<sup>1</sup>*

(*Superscribed*)

To our trusty and right welbeloved Counsailour,  
Maister Doctour Benet, our Ambassadour in  
the Court of Rome.

### CCXCIX. BENET TO KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASYTHE yt Your Hyghnes to understand that Robart Pourecoleis<sup>2</sup>, whom Your Grace sent with your letters of the 23 day of the last monthe, arryved here the 7<sup>th</sup> day of thys present. And acordyng to Your Hyghnes plesure and commaundment geven unto me yn your letter wryten yn syphers, schortly after the receynte of the same I dyd practise with the Pope for the obteynyng such a delay as ys expressyd yn your seyde letter, and after suche a sorte as yt myght appere to Hys Holynes, that yt was very farre from Your Graces desyre or entent; for I schewed Hys Holynes, after a secret maner, that Your Hyghnes was sore movyd, and thowght Yow greatly injuriate, for the excludyng of M<sup>r</sup> Karne from the allegyng of the mater excusatory yn defense of Your Hyghnes, whyche, after the opinion of the most famose men here yn Italy and also there and yn France, ys relevant and concludyng yn law; and any person, whyche woold allege yt after the sort that M<sup>r</sup> Kerne dyd allege yt, ought to be admittyd sine mandato; yet natwithstondyng, the lernyd men there, thynkyng that summe style myght make for the excludyng of any person sine mandato, cowncelled Your Hyghnes to send a ratificacion of that thyng whyche M<sup>r</sup> Karne hathe don, whyche schuld legitimate his person to that acte, and also avoyde the objection whyche the part adverse dyd objecte agenst the mater, whyche was, quod non constitit de voluntate Majestatis Vestre; and yff the mater schuld then be rejectyd, they seyd playnly that the Rote and the Consistory schuld do manifestly agenst the law. And I

<sup>1</sup> Indorsed by Benet "Recevyd the vii day of Maij, 1531."

<sup>2</sup> Robert Favery, Porteullis Pursuivant.

seyde furdermore that Your Hyghnes ys so persuadyd yn thys mater, that yt ys canonical and revelant, that yff an angel schuld cumme from Even, and shew Your Hyghnes the contrary, Your Grace woold nat beleve hym. Wherfor I seyde that Your Hyghnes plesure and commaundment was, that Mr Karne schuld yn any wyse ley yt yn ex voluntate Majestatis Vestrae, and yff the Rote woold reject hyt, that then I shuld protest de illa injusticia et maxima injuria, and schuld then take my leve of Hys Holynes, and so departe from hens ; whyche injustice Your Hyghnes woold so notifie to al the woorld, that yff the same schuld do any thyng besydes the authorite of thys See, yt schuld appere that Your Hyghnes dyd yt ob defectum justicie. Hys Holynes thanked me, for that I dyd advertyse Hym of thys thyng ; how be hyt He seyde He dyd never entend yn thys cause, but justice, and that He wool not, to dye for hyt, to transgresse on poynt of justice for no man lyvynge. And seyde furdermore, that seyng Your Hyghnes stondythe yn a poynt of justice, He dowghtyd not but yff justice be so clerly for Your Grace, as I seyde yt was so persuaded to Your Hyghnes yt was, Yow shuld be satisfyed ; addyng also that, yff He knew how He myght gratifie Your Hyghnes, nat swarvyng from justice wherby He shuld wrong the part adverse, He woold do yt with as glad a mynd as cowde be desyred. And here of Hym self He seyd that He woold consult with hys Cowncel to see what He myght do or to offer to Your Hyghnes yn thys poynt, that myght be to your satisfaccion, without prejudice of the other part. When I saw Hym at thys poynt, I thowght then good to opyn no more unto Hym at that tyme, lest Hys Holynes schuld thynke that any suche purpose, as ys wryten yn Your Graces foreseyd letter yn syphers, schuld be desyred of your part, and cheffly consyderyng that the ende of the mater excusatory dyd grow unto that purpose ; but seyde, yff Hys Holynes woold resolve Hymself with hys Cowncel apon any thyng that myght be acceptable to Your Hyghnes, yt shuld be a gracious dede bothe for this See and the comen welthe of Christyndome. And at thys poynt I was at, before the comyng of Cardinal Gramont, whyche arryved here Ascension Eve at nyght. Abowght the same tyme that I dysclosed the premisses to the Pope yn a secret maner, lamentyng that any suche thyng shuld folow, I dyd also schew unto Sir Gregory, that I had commission to protest, as ys above wryten, yn case the mater shuld be rejectyd, to thentent that he schuld advise those Cardinalles, whyche be hys fryndes, to loke apon the mater with a better deliberacion and study, then they have don hetherto, and that they schuld cowncel the Pope to excogitate summe offer to be made to Your Hyghnes that myght be to your satisfaccion. And yn dede summe of them,

at

at the fyrist, of themself thought good that yt war wel done that the Pope schuld offerre unto Your Grace to committe the cause yn summe indifferent place, and so they here dyd fyrist fynd owte that the cause shuld be committyd to an indifferent place, and byfore the arryval of Cardinal Gramont ; and syns hys cummyng, what was don by hym, Your Grace shal perceve by our comen letter<sup>1</sup>

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CCC. VAUGHAN to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Royall Magestie to be advertised, how uppon the receipt of certeyne instructions lately sent me from my maister, Maister Crumwell, at the comaundement of Your Magestie, I ymmmediatly indevoured to leme suche thinges, as wern conteyned in the sayde instructions. And allbeit the tyme sithe the receipt therof, whiche was but 2 dayse bifore the date herof, is so shorte, as wer right harde for me therin fully to answer Your Magestie to every of the same, yet hathe it semed me not necessarie, for lacke of knowlage of the whole, to desist and leve to write suche parte, as I have all redy lerned. Wherfore, as concernyng the Turkes descending into Germany, I here that the Turke and Don Fernando have taken peace for 2 yeres ; so that there is no likelyod he will, duryng the saide 2 yeres, descende into those parties. The Germans and thEmperour agree not, ne ar likely, consideryng thernest labour of the same Germans made to thEmperour for the stablisshing and advauncement of theyr doctryne, and the dephe eares of thEmperour nothing inclyned to here or regarde the same. The contreis of Brabant and Flaunders have, either of them, offered to geve thEmperour 1200 thousand crownes, of the value of 4<sup>s</sup> Flemysshe the crowne, to be paide in 6 yeres, withe condicion that, in those 6 yeres, He shall requyre no more money of them of guyfte ; and for theyr suretie in that behalf requyre to have in theyr keping certeyn jewelles, whiche the Emperour hathe in Spaigne, as, a crowne of gold, a flowre de lyce, and sondrie other jewelles. What the contreis of Holland, Zeeland, Haynault, and thother contreys adjacent, do geve, as yet I have not lerned ; but being lerned, shall advertise Your Magestie withe all convenient spede and celeritie.

<sup>1</sup> The concluding portion of this draft has not been found, nor has the common letter.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph. Chapter House, Letters to the King and Council, Vol. VI. No. 32. A draft is in Galba, B. X. leaf 5.

The Quene of Hungarie<sup>1</sup> shalbe made Gouvernant of these Low Contreis. Suche somes of money as thEmperour had of the French Kyng, of the Venetians, and other, remayneth in Spaigne. The Spanyardes, as semethe, labour to have thEmperours treasure remayne in Spaigne: the Flemynge labour the contrarie; in suche wise, that thEmperour in the meane season is become an evyll payer, and kepethe a poore and miserable garde, as ever I sawe. The Flemynge make importune labour to have the money reised, complaynyng the lacke therof, and theyr great pouvertie susteyned by the contrarie.

ThEmperour is supposed not to departe out of these parties thes 2 yeres; the Flemynge will not condissende to his departure, till He have stablished many thinges by them requyred for the weale and quyetnes of the same, whiche requyrethe long tyme.

These are the thinges bifore written, whiche I have lerned of thEmperour, and his contreis.

As towching a yong man being in these parties, named Frithe<sup>2</sup>, of whome I lately advertised Your Magestie by my former letters, and whome Your Royall Magestie gevythe me in commaundement withe frendly perswasions, admonyntions, and holsome cownsaylles, to advyse to leve his wilfull opinions and errores, and to returne into his natyve contrey, I shall not fayle, according unto your most gracious commaundement, to indevoir, to thuttermost of my power, to perswade hym accordingly, so sone as my chaunce shalbe to mete withe hym. Howbeit, I am infourmed, that he is very lately maryed in Hollande, and there dwellithe, but in what place I cannot tell. This mariage maye by chaunce hynder my perswasions. I suppose hym to have byn therunto dryven throughe pouvertie, whiche is to be pitied, his qualities considered.

I have agayn byn in hande to perswade Tyndall<sup>3</sup>; and to draw hym the rather to favour my perswasions and not to thinke the same fayned, I shewed hym a clawse conteyned in Maister Crumwelles letter, conteynynge these wordes following: " And notwithstanding other the premisses in this

<sup>1</sup> Mary, sister of the Emperor, and widow of Lewis II. King of Hungary, succeeded to the Government of the Netherlands after the death of her aunt the Archduchess Margaret. The instructions from the Emperor to Her for that government are dated at Bruxelles on the 7th of October. Several copies of that document and of his instructions for the Privy Council are extant, and will be found in Galba, B. X. pp. 10-18. Harleian, No. 295. leaves 1. 5.

<sup>2</sup> John Frith, who was burnt for heresy.

<sup>3</sup> William Tindale, translator of the Bible.

“ my letter conteyned, if it wer possible by good and holsom exhortacion to  
“ reconcile and converte the sayde Tyndall from the trayne and affection,  
“ whiche he now is in, and to excerpte and take awaye the opynyonys and  
“ fantasies sorely rooted in hym, I doubte not but the Kynges Highnes wolde  
“ be muche joyous of his conversion and amendment ; and so being converted,  
“ if then he wolde returne into this Realme, undoubtidly the Kynges Royall  
“ Magestie is so inclyned to mercie pitie and compassion, that He refuseth  
“ none, whiche He seythe to submytt them self to the obedyence and good  
“ order of the worlde.” In these wordes I thought to be suche swetnes and  
virtue, as wer able to perse the hardest hart of the worlde : and as I thought,  
so it cam to passe ; for after sight therof I perceyved the man to be exceedingly  
altered, and moyed to take the same very nere unto his harte, in suche wise  
that water stode in his yees, and answered ; “ What gracious wordes ar these !  
“ I assure youc,” sayde he, “ if it wolde stande with the Kynges most gracious  
“ pleasure to graunt only a bare text of the Scripture to be put forthe emonges  
“ his people, like as is put forthe emonges the subiectes of the Emperour in  
“ these parties, and of other Cristen Princes, be it of the translation of what  
“ person soever shall please His Magestie, I shall ymediatly make faithfull  
“ promyse never to wryte more, ne abide 2 days in these parties after the  
“ same, but ymedyatly to repayre into his Realme, and there most humbly  
“ submytt my self at the fete of His Roiall Magestie ; offering my bodye to  
“ suffre, what Payne or torture, ye, what dethe, His Grace will, so this be  
“ obteyned ; and till that tyme I will abyde thasperitie of all chaunses, what  
“ soever shall come, and indure my lyfe, in as many paynes, as it is able to  
“ bere and suffre. And as concernyng any reconciliatiōn, His Grace may be  
“ assured, that, what soever I have sayed or written in all my lyfe ageinst  
“ thonour of Goddes worde, and so proved, the same shall I, bifore His  
“ Magestie and all the worlde, utterly renowne and forsake, and with most  
“ humble and meke mynde imbrace the truthe, abhorring all error, soner at  
“ the most gracious and benyngne request of His Roiall Magestie, of whose  
“ wisdome prudence and lernyng I here so great prayse and commendation,  
“ then of any other creature lyvyng. But if those thinges whiche I have  
“ written be true, and stande withe Goddes worde, why shulde His Magestie,  
“ havyng so excellent a guyfte of knowlage in the Scriptures, move me to  
“ do any thing ageinst my conscience ?” with many other wordes, whiche  
wer to long to write. Fynally, I have some good hope in the man, and  
wolde not doubtē to bring hym to some good poynt, wer it that some thing  
now and then myght proceude from Your Magestie towardes me, wherby the

man myght take the better conforte of my perswasions. I advertised the same Tyndall, that he shuld not put forthe the same booke, tyll your most gracious pleasure wer knownen ; wherunto he answered, myne advertisement cam to late, for he feared, lest one, that had his copie, wolde put it very shortly in prynt, whiche he wolde lett, if he coulde ; if not, there is no remedy. I shall staye it, asmuche as I can. As yet, it is not come forthe, ne will not in a whyle, by that I perceyve.

Luther hathe lately put forthe a worke agenst thEmperour in the German tongue ; whiche I wold cause to be translated into the Laten, and send it to Your Magestie, if I knew your gracious pleasure. In it wer many thinges to be seen.

I perceyve, by letters of Mr Crumwelles, that Your Highnes hathe supposed, that I have byn heretofore veraye remysse and slow in mynstryng to Your Magestie. If any suche thing hathe by Your Highnes byn supposed in me, I doubte not but Your Grace will benygnly consider my poore state and condicion, how I am here a mynster to a multitude<sup>1</sup>, which on every side requyrethe servyce ; besides that, I am constrainyd dyvers and often tymes to follow a processe, whiche the marchaunttes, your subiectes, defende in these parties, ageinst a subiect of thEmperours, whiche dryveth me, now hether, now thether, as the case requyrethe. Neverthelesse, if any thing by my negligence have byn omytted, I most humbly requyre therfore your most gracious and benygne favour and pardon ; not doubtyng but my diligence in all your most gracious comaundementtes from hensforthe shalbe, suche as I doubte but shall stonde right well with your most gracious pleasure and contentacion, God willing ; whome I most humbly beseche in muche honour and glorie to prosper Your Royall Magestie. From Barugh, the 20 daye of Maye, anno 1531.

ThEmperour makethe many chevysaunces, and shyftes for money in these parties, by mean wherof risethe suche interest, that 10 make not 7.

(Signed)      The most humble subiect of Yo<sup>r</sup> Roiall Magestie,

STEPHEN VAUGHAN.

(Superscribed)

To the King His Roiall Magestie.

<sup>1</sup> He was Governor of the English Merchant Adventurers.

CCCI. KING HENRY VIII. *to Benet.*<sup>1</sup>

Trusry and ryght welbelovyd, We grete you well. And have receyvyd you letters by Alexander the curren, of the sevynth of June<sup>2</sup>, with other the comone letters frome youe and other our Ambassadors there, moche allowyng and comendyng your wyse and politique handelyng of the Pope in the secrete conference betwyne you and Hym, wyche ye wrote yn ciphe; the matier wherof, as We judge here, sowndeth to good porpose, so as the same, by your dexteritytie, and as we shal instructe yowe by thys owr letters, pursuyd and folowyd, may worke some good effecte, to the accomplisemente and achievinge of owr desyryd ende in owr grete cause; your diligent acquital wheryn We shal not fayle to have yn oure good remembrance, and considere the same to your benyfyt and comfort accordyngly. And, forasmuche as the Pope hathe hade thys communication with you aparte, sayenge that He wolde not so moche to any of your collegies there, and in the same communication laboured and devised to bryng yn good opinion of hys inclinatione towardses Us, preferring the estimation of oure frendshepe to the Frenshe Kynges, and saying that suche thynge, as He wolde refuse to do at owre requeste, He wolde not do it at the requeste of any other Prynce lyvyng, and howe at thys tyme He wold study the wayes and meanse to doo Us gratuytie and pleasure; albeit We know the Pope to be a man of great wytte, Who canne facion hys communicacione as may make for hys purpose, yet after so many extremties, He relentyng, and in wordes yelding of Hymselfe, thoughe We truste Hym not perfitleye, We thynke good, as ye ryght wyslye wryt unto Us, to use the visage and facion of demonstration of hys good affection, as moche to owr benifyte as We maye, and lyke as whene He dothe extremities roughlye, as now, whenne He mollefieith Hymselfe yn wordes, likewyse in wordes the more dulcylie to handle Hym. Wherfor oure mynd and pleasure ys, that ye, secretely repayryng to the Pope, and sygnifyyng unto the same howe ye have advertised Us of the communication hade betwyne you and Hym yn all poyntes, and have receyvyd frome Us secreat answere ageyne severally to yourselefe, wheryn We commande you to say unto Hym, that as towchyng hys affection towardses Us, albeyt yt hathe byn by the persuasions of

<sup>1</sup> From a copy in the handwriting of Carne. From the circumstance of it's being in his handwriting, and from it's general appearance, there can be little doubt that it is the decypher of a letter from the King, the original of which has not been found, and is probably the letter "yn 'syphers" alluded to by Benet in his letter to the King of the 12th of August following.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

suche, as He hath takyn to be of hys Cownsail in thys layte days, oppressed and covered withoutt any appearance or demonstratione of the same, yet We never doubted but ther hath bene yn his breste a certein propencyon and inclination to love owr Persone, by reasone wheroft We never doubtid, but at the laste, consydering al matiers and judgyng of what sorte they be, and thow al thyng procedyth, He wolde so wede and clense hys affections towards Us, as hys yncarnation anempst Us shulde have libertie and effect; wyche yf yt shuld chaunce, as wel in deades as wordes, no mane wolde be more gladd then We. And albeyt We have sustayned and suffered at hys hand manyefold and sondry injuries, yet perceyvyng some lighliowd of amendeamente, We be glad, by owr owne porsion, rather to further the mytigatinge and forgettinge of them, extremely to persiste in revengyng the same. And here ye may take good occasion to inferre, howe the Pope hath, by the advyse of his Counsayl, wronged Us extremlye, both yn cityng Us to Rome, and also yn not admittynge Kerne in the defense of owr not apperyng; wyche is so opyn and manifestly knowyn to all wellerned men, as the same canne no lenger be hyddyne ne coveryd: in bothe wyche matiers We hath obteyned the determination of great famouse clerkes and doctors yn the law, yn the universities of Pariss<sup>1</sup> and Orleaunce, whos subscriptions exemplified We

<sup>1</sup> The document, which contains the answers of the learned men of Paris, is extant in the State Paper Office. It is without date, and in Latin, and expresses their positive opinion that the King of England neither can nor ought to be forced by the Pope to go out of his Kingdom to Rome, or to appoint a proctor who should in the King's name answer before any judges as to his marriage; but that the cause ought to be committed to delegates in partibus, as had been always usual; and that every citation and process against the King on account of his absence was invalid: and further that the subject of the King, who was cited to Rome where He was not bound to appear, could, without the King's command or other authority, propound the causes of the King's absence, and ought to be admitted so to do, and that, having propounded just causes of absence, no further proceeding could be had against the King. They then proceed at very great length to adduce their reasons and legal authorities for these opinions, and the testimonies of the most approved jurists in their support, and affix the following signatures:

“ BARTHOLOMEUS } J. V. doctor, Orator Regius in p̄vicia Heduoꝝ, et Senator Parlamēti  
 “ DECHASSENEUZ, } Parisieñ.”  
 “ JOHANNES JACOBUS DE MESMES, J. V. doctor, Serenissimoꝝ Regum Navarre Consiliari<sup>o</sup>  
 “ atq; in supremo Senatu Parisieñ Advocat<sup>o</sup>. ”  
 “ JOHANNES CHOMEDEY, in supremo Parisiensi Senatu Patronus.”  
 “ NATALIS BRULART, in supremo Pariensi Senatu Advocatus.”  
 “ JACOBUS CAPPELLUS, parlamētarius Causidicus.”  
 “ FRANCISCUS ERRALT<sup>o</sup>, in supremo Parisiensi Senatu Advocatus.”  
 “ JOHANNES VILLEMAURIUS, in supremo Pisiēsi Senatu Advocatus.”  
 “ STEPHIANUS TOURNEBULLE<sup>o</sup>, in supremo Senatu Parisieñ Advocatus.”  
 “ GUIL<sup>o</sup> FABIUS, in supremo Senatu Parisieñ Advocatus.”

A public Instrument of the Determinations of the Parisian Doctors, referring to the above, is printed by Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 416.

send unto youe herwith to be showyd to the Pope; not doyting but that shortly We shal have diverse otherse. In the shewynge wherof ye may say familiarly, " Loo, Syr, Ye may see what thys lerned men say, and howe playnlye they speke, wherunto also agre all the greate lerned men in Ingland ; and what canne be a playnere injurie doone contrary to yowr owne lawse, and more grevowse done to yowr olde frynde, for whose sake Ye shuld rather borowe of the lawse by coloure of your auctorite, then by extension therof dooe prejudice to yowr olde frende?" Neverthelesse ye may say, " We note the chife defaulte to be yn the Popes Consayllors, to whose advise He folowyth." And althoghte We know yt to be reasonable, that the Pope yn hys doynges shuld folowe advise of Counsaill, that ys, by up ryght men to be counsailed, of wyche qualities in the begynnyng He estemed thyse now of hys Counsail to have ben, yet yt semyth Us, that part perceyvyng Hymselfe to have done thynges by theyr advise, prejudicial to hys frende, contrariouse also to ryght and equitie, He should for thys cause, choise unto Hym other Counsailers, who shal have indifferente affections to the furtherance of trewthe yn lernyng, withowte respecte or favor; wyche yf He wyl do, He shal then gyve Us the more and more hope of some good effecte to ensue of hys lovyng and kynd wordes; wyche when We accepte and here so gladly, He may easely consider howe pleasaunte hys wordes, with hys deades consonaunte to the same, shuld be unto Us. And thus with pleasaunte and dulce facion ye may comyn and reherce unto Hym the wronges and injuries done unto Us, spetially in thys two poyntes, wheryn the lerned men have wryten theyr mynd ; and by the best means ye canne, to persuade unto Hym that to be true, as yt ys indeade, wyche shal be the more easly and facilie don now, during the tyme of thys suspension of the cause and He beyng in thys good mode, thenne after; and ye havyng persuaded unto Hym the same, to induce Hym further to be contente to admitt Kernes allegations, and to cease frome further processe there. And in case the Pope shal replye unto yow de loco indifferenti, wyllyng Us to sue for yt, as ye wryt yn yowr letters ; ye may say that lerned men say, as yt ys conteyned yn those subsciptions We send unto yow, how yt ys not necessarye We should sue for hyt or for any suche thyng ; but the parte adverse shuld sue for yt, and not We ; and how that the lerned mens resolution heryn ys so manifest, as canne not be denied ; wherby the Pope may perceyve, after whate sorte He hath byn counsaylyd there, to annoye and injuriat Us, Who have deservyd to be frendly, kyndlye, and lovyngly entretaynd ; and therupon takyng occasion of thys communication, and spekyng of yourselfe familiarly unto Hym, and noting the articles and poyntes of owr cause, ye may say, He may consider

that if He will instructe and informe hys consciens after the mynde, judgement and sentence of the greatyst lerned men yn Christendome, He shal fynd the judgement of owr cause and justnesse of yt, and the nullite of owr matrimonie so approved, as al mens opinions muste nedes be satisfyed yn the same, wherunto the Pope ought to conforme Hymselfe; wheryn ye may firste reherce and declare, wiche ye have also to shewe unto Hym autentyklye, the sentensis and opinions of all the chieff universities in Christendome, wyche determine quod matrimonium hoc prohibetur divino et naturali jure, et quod Papa non posset dispensare; wherby a playn and evident resolution for Us ys by them expressed, quod matrimonium nostrum est nullum, invalidum, nepharium, turpe, abhominabile, incestuosum, detestabile Deo, et hominibus odiosum, expressed with suche terms so vehemently, as myght and ought to feare any mans conscience to continue in the same. Other great lerned men in Italy, Fraunce, and owr Realmes, also puttyng hyt as a cace that the Pope myght dispence as dato et non concessso, that yt trwe, yet lokyne upon owr dispensation nothyng owr protestation and other articles of owr cause, they say the Pope Julo dyd never dispense effectuallye, and say therfor the dispensation to be noght, as not beyng sufficiently made, and therfore the mariage to be noght, both befor God and man; and how the Pope not wonly myght but also owght to dissolve yt, as moste spetially is wryten by Decius the famouste clerke of Ytalye, whome We wold gladly, comyng to the Popes presence, shuld by mouthe declare the same unto Hym, lyke as We doubt not the Bysshop of Worcester canne facily and also easly, and also cause hym to do, unto whome We now wryt our espetiall letters to procure the same.

And as to that, wyche ys by the Quene and here agentes inwentyd, quod non fuit cognita, ye may say, whether yt be so or no, thys owr Realme ys the place wheryn the trewth may best, and can only certaynly, be tryyd and knowyn. Neverthelesse ye may say, that for the certification of hys consciens, ye wyll show unto Hym, wyche owr plesur ys ye dooe as of yourselfe, the depositions of the noble men of thys owr Realme, wyche Doctor Kerne hath ther exemplifyyd, delyveryd unto hym for that purpose; saying further, that to that matier, deposed by the noble men, being so evident and manifeste in lawe, as no profe may or ought to be admitted to the contrary, may be added diverse and many articles to be proved by sundry noblemen yet living de potencia coeundi ipsius Arthuri, and otherwyse manifestly proving carnalem copulam; first, quod Arthurus alias mulieres vehementer solicitavit de carnali copula; item, quod frequenter conquestus est, quod non licuit sepius cum uxore coire, virgam etiam erectam et urentem ostentans; item, quod Regina ab ipso gravida relictta putabatur, atque ideo Nos Principem appellare

appellare per aliquot menses distulit Pater, cum alioquin ipsi appellatio Nolum subito a morte fratris competere debuisse; and this articles being yn hys not necessary to be added, adjoined to that alredy proponed and deposid, be pretermitted, and be neverthelesse moste certaynly true. Wherfore ye may say, that He, wel counsayled, consydering the clernese and evidence of our cause in all poyntes, as ye have showyd unto Hym, wyche our pleasure ye dilate, amplify, and set forthe after the best facion ye canne, He shuld have discharged Hymselfe of yt or thys tyme, and advoyded many inconveniences, wyche by the lettyng and empeching of Us in the accheving of the juste ende of our cause, eyther at hys hand or here, have perfittely alredy, and may more largely ensue. And ye may say further, that ye cannot but mervayl, that seyng the procedyngs of thEmperor with the Pope, howe He, agaynst hys olde frendes, canne for hys sake do any thyng, of whome He neyther ys lyke to have any commoditie benefit or pleasure, but by whome He hath befor hys coronatione sustayned intollerably injuries, and syns the greate wrong, as the Pope saythe, in the determination of the cause of Ferrare; and ys like to suffer more, yf thEmperor procede to the Diet in Almayn<sup>1</sup>, as He ys apoynted to dooe, in wyche it apperyth to every wyse man, that thEmperor wyl rather for preservation of hys honnour and hys commodite, agre with the Princes of Germany yn the articles by them desyred, not ageynst our fayth, but only prejudiciale to the Pope and the possessions of the Churche, thenne contending with them, to gyve courage to the Turke to invayde those parties, and to lose clerly hys estimation and reputation in the worlde by the disobedience of Germany; and thys every wyk man may forsee, for the Princes of Germany wyl not relente, and thEmperor hath no strength sufficient to force and compelle them; wherfore repayryng thether muste nedes intende to relente unto them, and condiscend to a Generall Counsayll at the leste, wyche, howe adversly yt shuld in thys world procede ageynste the Popes purpose, havinge al Princes contraryouse unto Hym, it ys evident; and thys thynges pondered and wayed by the Pope, why shuld not He be glad by al weys and meanse, yf yt be not for zele to justice yet for respecte to hys commoditie, to devise wyth youe al wayes and meanes, howe to conforme fastly and firmelye unto Hym Us, by whome He shal also retayne the Frensh Kyng as hys perfyte frynde? And thus comining and devisyng with Hym as of your selfe, and lamentyng the continuance of oure matier after thys sorte, and what a quietnes shuld ensue yf yt wer determined, and accordyng to our juste desyre, repetyng agayn howe lerned men diffyne that yt shuld be

determined here, ye may sodenly ex abrupto say, “ And why, Syre, shuld ye  
“ not suffer the Archbishop of Canturbery to determyne thys matier in  
“ Inglande, who ys Metropolitane, and hathe the hole jurisdictione established  
“ there only for thys purpose, ne cause evocentur yf hyt were done there, and  
“ as the Kynges Hyghnes my master desyryth, Ye alredy knowe, as I have  
“ before shewed Yow, yt shuld be justly determined, for so all lerned men  
“ conclude?” Wherfore ye may say, yt semyth yowe, He shuld wyshe yt  
were done here, and yf hys spiritte and hys stomake wyl not serve Hym to  
do any thyng, as yt hath not, for feare of thEmperor, then thys waye wher  
fore hys purpose mooste expediente, that yt shuld be done here. And yf  
He shal percace say, that He wold yt wer done here, so yt wer not by Hym  
procuryde, and that He do wyshe, as He hath done heretofore in wordes,  
that We hade oure intendyd purpose, ye may say, “ Sir, ther canne be no  
“ nother meanse so convenient yowe conniwere in thys matier and not to  
“ medle theryn, but to suffer the Archbisshope of Canturbery to make  
“ processe and to gyve hys determination;” wyche ye may say ye wyl  
promyse he may dooe, yf the Pope wylle make promesse by wrytyng unto  
yowe, to be used after your discretion, that He wyl not interrupte or let any  
suche processe to be made by the Archbishop of Canturbery in that behalfe,  
sed interim tacere, and use for hys defence to thEmperors agentes, as He  
may justly, the Counsayl of Nicce, ut permittat causam ibi terminari ubi nata  
est. And yf by your dexteritie and good handlyng ye coulde enduce the  
Pope herunto, hyt wer surly the moste redye way, and We doubte not but  
the Archbisshope of Canturbury wyl gladly, for discharg of hys duetie, entre-  
pone hymselfe yn the same. And yf ye canne obtayne suche promesse of  
the Pope yn wrytyng, thenne oure pleasure ys ye send the same unto Us in  
all possible diligence, and with good word to mayntayn the Pope in hys good  
mynde the best ye canne, not leavyng also oportune et importune to assay  
and attemp ageyne and ageyne the Pope herein; yf He at one tyme denie,  
not to ceasse for that, but to assayl Hym ageyn, et grata superveniet que non  
superabitur hora; and yf ye thinke yt may dooe good, oure pleasure ys that  
as of your selfe, ye make offre to the Pope of some somme of mony to be  
gyven unto Hym, to make the sayd wrytyng unto youe, the same to be kepte  
secrete; addyng therunto, howe ye doubt not but We wyll gladly forget  
the injuries in tyms paste and hytherto doone unto Us, and impute them to  
have proceded, not of Hym, but of the counsayl of other, and suche other  
persuasions as ye shal of your wysdome, thynke convenient and mete to  
allure hym to thys purpose and effecte: neverthelesse, yf ye fynde the Pope  
so full of respectes and dreade, as He wil not trusste yowe with suche wrytyng,  
undre

undre no promese to kepe secrete the same, thene fylling frome thys devise, ye may say, "Sir, the matier muste have an yend, and yf Kyng my master  
 " bryng yt to an end withowt Yowe, and without your consent or auctoritie, it  
 " muste nedes redownde hyghly to your prejudice; and contrarywyse, takyng  
 " an ende by You, redownde moche to your commoditie;" and so by suche  
 occasion ye may entre comunication with Hym of some other devise, and  
 make motion unto Hym to do as in al presidentes and exemplis heretofore  
 hath beene observed, that is to say, to decyde the eace of the lawe by tenor  
 of hys commission, and to comyte the facte to be examined by the Arch-  
 bysshop of Canturbury, and further to gyve sentence upon the hole matier;  
 of wyche forme al the epistles decretales in the lawe hathe byn made, and yf  
 that wyche the Pope ought to observe, wherby the auctoritie of hys See ys  
 preservyd and maynteyned, and hys doynges allowable in al menes judge-  
 mentes; [never]theles yf He shal not condiscend this to do, ye maye after  
 longe stykkyng, consequently as of yourselfe, make a covverture of the com-  
 mission of the cause, and a delegacy to be made to the Archbisshope of  
 Canturbury, adjunc[tis] sibi aliquot Abbatibus, aut uno aliquo Abbate. And  
 for the person of the Bisshop of Canturbury, ye may say ther canne be no  
 person in Christendome more indifferente, more miet, apte, and convenient,  
 then the sayd Archbisshop, who hath lernyng, excellent highe and longe  
 experience, a man ever of a singuler zele to justice, and at the fyrist of the  
 Quenes Counsayl, one who ys out of al ambicion, not only for the heughte  
 of hys dignitie, but also for hys age, beyng above fourscore yeres, whiche of  
 congruence oughte now to have, as he hath indeude, a respecte to Gode only,  
 all affeccions wordly avoyded and takyn away; so of Us and at our hand  
 the sayde Archbysshop hath many hynderances, and never advantage, com-  
 moditie, or benifite, other thenne subjettes generally have of their Prince.  
 By due execucione of justice We toke awey frome hym the office of Chaun-  
 celershep<sup>1</sup>, not for hys desertes, but to do gratuite to another; and at our  
 laste Parliament hys revennues, by an acte there passed for probacions of  
 testaments<sup>2</sup>, be decayed a thowsand markes by yere. Wherfore thys reasons  
 and causes accumulate, yf the Pope shuld choys in all Christendome, He shuld  
 not fynde a personage more meyt, convenient, ne more indifferent to be judge  
 in thys matier; in wiche matier also he oughte to be judge as Metropolitane

<sup>1</sup> On the 22d of December 1515 Wolsey surrendered the Great Seal, which was then summarily excommunicated upon Wolsey. Rymer, Vol. XIIII, p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> 21 Hen. VIII. Cap. 5. "An Act concerning the use and power of moneys to be had by the Ministers of Ecclesiastes and other Officers of Her Majesties for the Payment of Testaments," which was to take effect from the 1st of April 1513.

of thys Realme; upon wyche grownde and cause, We have always made thys stiklyng upon hys personne, who muste by the lawis of our Realme necessarily intervene as a judge in thys matier, or elles the judgement gevyn by other, shalbe by the laws of our Realme of none effecte or strenghte, to the legittimatione and establishing of our succession. Therfore thys consideration curryng in hys persone, the Pope shal defend and mayntayne the election of hys person to all the worlde; unto whome He may adjoine the late Abbate of Wynchecombe<sup>1</sup>, a man qui sponte abjecit omnem honorem hujus mundi, as ye wel know yourselfe, and a man of notable lernyng in divinitie, and great experiance and knowlege. He hath hertofore benne ther at Rome, and preached sundry tyms before the Pope; the man ys to aged to be moved frome the ryght, eyther for feare or love, beyng capularis senex and venerandus pater. And besydes, here ys the Abbote of Westmiester<sup>2</sup>, a good olde father; the Abbot of Hyde<sup>3</sup>, a greate clerke, and singularly lerned in divinitie: and yf the Pope marvayl why ye desyre thys matier to be committed to Abbotes, ye may say, only because the Bisshops have benne the moste parte of our and the Quenes counsayl. Yf the Pope do thys, and committe the cause to thes personages, He shal not onely menteyn hys doyng with good reasons and groundes, but also by exemplis of hys predecessors, as the commissione of Pope Innocent to the Bisshop of in the Kynge of Mannes cause; to the Archbisshop of Rowen and Bisshops of Fraunce in the Frensh Kynges cause, in the chapter, Novit de indicijs; and lykwyse in a cace of Ingland, towchynge the Kyng, in the chapter, Non est de sponsalibus: and yf ye, as our trust ys ye wyl, ernestly presse the Pope in thys devise, yt shal take some good effecte. Wheryn, yf after long stykkyng ye canne not obtayne them, ye may, as of your selfe, propone the matier to be committed to the Bysshopt of London, or the Almoner whome He knowyth, as named by Us, one other whome the Quene or thEmperor shal name, to the Bisshop of Canturbery, to be named by the Pope as Metropolitane of the Realme, and also one who oghth to intervene in the decisione of suche matiers, lyke as We have heretofore largely and ample instructed youe; wyche reasons and al other ye canne excogitate, oure pleasure ys ye set forth with al dexteritye ye canne, omittynge nothing that may serve for that purpose; and fourth to be nemed by the Frensh Kyng, with auctorite to the more parte to decide the cause, any maner clause of the law notwithstanding; and they to syte at Calays or

<sup>1</sup> Richard Kyderminstre, elected 1488, died 1531.

<sup>2</sup> John Islip.

<sup>3</sup> John Saleot, alias Capon, elected 1530, became Bishop of Bangor 1534, of Salisbury 1539.

els Guisnes: and the Pope refusing that, finally to comyt oure cause to the Upper Howse of oure spiritual clergie, wyth a clause, quicquid major pars decrevit, valeat and ratum sit, by hys commission decretal, wherin shalbe moche conserved hys auctoritie: forseeing always ye make not thys overtures as on oure behalfe, or speke therin as having commission from Us, but as of your selfe, for a good mediacion to be hade to conduce our cause to the good and desired ende with accelacion. And yf yt be replied that the Bysshop of London be not to be named judge, by cause he dyd sollicite for us at Bonony the determination of the lerned men there, ye may say, that in hys person who shal be named for Us no suche consideration ys to be hade, seyng he countervayl hym that shal be named by the Quene, whome We doubte not shalbe named of that sorte, as She wyll truste he wyl incline as moche to Here and be affectionate in here cause, as Here selfe. And thus ye knowe fully and holly oure mynd concernyng that matier, wherby ye may perceyve, that the Pope beyng in hys good moodes, We wold gladly take opportunitie to obtayne the redresse of the injuries, and to have the trouth of them determined by thys lerned men, fully and holly persuaded to the Pope overyng the tyme of thys suspension of the cause. Wherfore oure truste ys ye wyl set forthe the same, with all dexterite accordyngly; and, for obteynyng eyther of thys fyve degreys befor wryten, ernestly to presse Hym at sundry tymes, and by the lerned men who hath wryten [*for U*], causing them to reasorte unto the Pope, and inculce unto Hym their myndes and opinions in oure cause; and therupon youe familiarly to say unto Hym, “Sir, “ mesemith Ye be to ingrate, not to doo pleasure to the Kyng my master in “ some of the degrees I have openyd unto You, beyng so justifiable and “ maynteynable in lawe, reasone, and equite; beyng also of suche indifference, “ ye, as justice shal procede without derogation or prejudice of any mannes “ ryght;” for, as I have showyd youe, ye may say thys wayes by you reherced be consonante the Pope, and also not contrariouse to our prevyleagies; and he, that wyl have hys ryghte preserved, may not do prejudice to any other mannes intereste. Yf the Pope wyl have hys lawes observyd, He muste likewyse observe our privileagies, and not to make Us a newe example to the worlde, contrary to the determination of all lerned men in the lawe. Wherfore He, pretendyng to be desirouse of oure amitie, moche so moche the more facional his doings, as they may be maynteynable, not only rigore but also equitate, for inter amicos summum jus is summa injuria. As towchyg the matier of mariage &c., as it ys wryten , beyng advertised frome oure Ambassadors with the Emperour of a metinge intended and spokyn of,

betwene the Pope and the sayd Emperour, to be hade in some parte of Italie; albeit we beleve those rumors to be but fraskes and of no momantie, yet forseing the worste, and thinkyng it wisdome to provide therfore in tyme, our pleasure ys, ye do the best ye canne to knowe oute the treuthe of that matier, if any suche be entroded there; and not only to advertise Us therof, but also, by the best wayes and meanes ye canne excogitate, takyng occasion with the Pope to speke therof and to disuade Hym frome the same, as wherby hys detrimente may ensue without any commoditie or benefite.

As toching the matier of mariage betwene the Popes niece and the Duke of Orleauence, wherin the Pope spake two thynges, one was the let of the conclusion betwene Hym and the Frensh Kyng therupon, wyche was only for the delyveraunce of hys niece into France; the other was, the sute and instance made [*by*] the Duke of Millayn for the sayd niece to hymselfe, with large offres for the same; in wyche two pointes ye may say, We have thoughte good to wryte unto you our minde and advise, to be shewed to Hym; wyche ys, that concernyng the let and stope betwene the Pope and the Frensh Kynge for the conclusion of thys mariage, dependinge only on that point, wyche, as semyth Us, ys grounded upon mistrust and diffidence, yt semeth Us, yt were moche better for the Pope to devise some meane waye to provide for that, then that to be the interuption and let of the comunicacion so farr entred in that matier; for elles the leaving of that comunicacion shalbe but the begynnyng of a grudge; the Frensh Kyng takyng yt displeasantly to be so mistrusted. Wherfore, yf some good overture were made of an indifferente place and frende to both the parties, where the Popes niepce remayne, untyl the Duke of Orleauence were of full yeres of consent, yt were a devise wherwith, yt semyth Us, bothe parties oughte to be contente, and to the wyche We wold gladly move the Frensh Kyng to condiscend unto; wyllyng yowe in any wyse not to mak thys overture, onlese ye perceyve the Pope to be utterly mynded and determined not send hys niepce into Fraunce, ne to conclude wyth the Frensh Kyng in that matier. And yf percace in namyng the personagies of the Princes indifferente, ye coulde cause Us to be named, as of yourselfe, yt wer a thyng wyche We wolde gladly accepte, and take, but in no wise it may be proponed by yowe, as by oure commaundemente or consent. And as toching the Duke of Millaynes sute for that mariage, We thynke the Pope to wyse a man to meane that ernestly, or to regarde it for other purpose thenne for the honnour to hys niepce, to have sondry whoers, and to helpe and conferre to conclude the more easiere condicions with Fraunce; for elles, the state of the Duchy of Millayn considered,

sidered, the Dukes personne and infirmitie, with the extreme povertie He is yn, ther ys a grete difference betwene the two woers; wherof the one were to be wood, and the other not to be taede, yf the Pope have regarde to hys family, as We doubt not but, firste, the Duke of Millayns body beyng so vexed and diseased with seknes, debilitate, and extenuate, as it is reaported to be, ys neyther mete to joyne with soche youghte, ne able to contynue any yers with here; secondly, as tocheng her dower, having hymselfe but an astate for terme of lyefe, he may wel in wordes and wrytyng say and promes moche, but nothyng after hys deathe canne be assured; thirdly, what a daunger ys yt for the Pope to deliver hys niepce to the Duke of Millayn so impotente and lyke to die? in eace of whos deathe hys niepce shuld comme into the handes of the Emperor, with convenauntes or bondes to restore here but at hys pleasure, and so she to be at hys dispositione, or elles in the disposicion of hym that shuld nexte entre into the Duchye; and yet of bothe, it were farre better for the Pope to truse the Frensh Kynge with convenauntes, then to put hys niepce in daunger of the Duke of Millayn, by reason wherof, she shuld comme into the handes of the Emperialles withoutt convenauntes. We have reherced besides, that of the dower of Fraunce He may be wel assured and in perfayte suertie; of the other, nothyng. And thise reasons, [with] many other wyche myght be alleged, causeth [*Us to*] thinke that the Pope nothyng mindeth that matier ernestly, but only for a visage; for better it were for Hym to gyve treasoure for her dote to the Duke of Orleaunce, thenne to take treasoure of the Duke of Millayn, not only for the wealth of hys niepce, but also for many other good effectes that may ensue of the conclusion of that matier betwene Hym and the Frensh Kynge, wyche ys another maner a piller to leane to thenne the other, wherof We also wold be gladde. And by these reasons ye shal endevour yourselfe to dissuade the Pope frome further herkeninge to the Duke of Millayne, and pricke Hym forwarde to the conclusion of thys matier with Fraunce; by wyche and other good demonstrations towardes Us, He shal have two perfite assured frendes. Neverthelesse, forasmuche as in thys matier of mariage We know not yet the certayn resolution of the Frensh Kynges minde, oure pleasure ys, ye speke not therin, onlesse our Ambassadors in Fraunce, unto whome We have wryten for thatt purpose, shal advertise you so to dooe, or elles ye shal understande by the Frensh Kyngs Ambassadors there residente, that they wolde be contente ye sy did. And yf ye perceive the Pope inclined that way, to make sure unto Hym our frendshippes, ye may say of yourselfe, that in eace there shuld be more franke and secrete intelligence betwene the Pope the Frensh

Kyng and Us, yt were wel doone the Pope provided such a personage to be resident here as hys Ambassador, who wer not so moche dedicate to the Emperor, as thys being here nowe ys noted to be, as welle, for that he is borne in the Emperors dominions, as also for that he shewyth hymselfe in many thynges affectionate unto Hym. Ye shal also understande We be advertised frome our Ambassadors with the Frensh Kyng, howe the Pope hath made promese to the Cardinal of Graundemounte, not to gyve sentence ageynst Us in oure cause, though the cause and processe shuld be made ther, thys twenty yeres; the treuthe wherof, whether the Pope hath so promised or no, oure pleasure is by all dexteritie and meanes, ye endevoure yourselfe to attayne, and to use suche pollicye in openinge the same to the Pope, as at the leste ye may induce Hym to make assured promesse therof in wryting, ye shuld do Us good servis therin; for in the Pope est aliquid etiam simillimum, tamen non nihil est ne noceat melius ut prospicit; wherfor the wors ys not be neglected and may be percace a degré to bettre. Yeven under oure signet, at oure Castel of Windsour, the tenth day of July.<sup>1</sup>

### CCCII. BENET TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASYTHE yt Your Hyghnes. Thys ys to advertyse the same, that thys day, the 9 day of thys monthe, erly yn the mornyng, arryved here a post, whyche came from Lyons, with letters to the Duke of Albany, wheryn he was certfyed that the Byshop<sup>3</sup>, whyche ys cummyng hetherwardes Ambassador for the Frenche Kyng, apon Sonday last departyd from Lyons yn post hetherwardes. Also he had avise that the seyd Byshop bryngythe with hym a ful resolution of all thynges, whyche the Duke thynkythe may be aswel yn Your Hyghnes great mater as yn other. Whyche thynge hathe stayed us from the dyspachyng of a oon to Your Hyghnes at thys tyme, seyng that withyn thys 4 or 5 dayes we thynke verely the sayde Ambassador wul arryve

<sup>1</sup> There is in the State Paper Office an official despatch from the King to the three Ambassadors at Rome, Ghinucci, Benet, and Sir Gregory da Casale. It bears the same date, and is consistent, as far as it goes, with this instruction to Benet, but omits many particulars respecting the King's cause, and abstains from all mention of the marriage of the Pope's niece.

<sup>2</sup> From a draft in Benet's own handwriting.

<sup>3</sup> Francis de Dinteville, Bishop of Auxerre.

here,

here, whyche may bryng peraventure from thes sum resolution, whyche may be acceptyd here, or els forder suche thynges as Your Hyghnes wrote unto me yn syphers. Wheryn I ensure Your Grace I cannot prevayle yn none of them al, as more particularly and at lenghe I shal wryte yn my next letters to Your Hyghnes. And fynally I coude natt gette of Hys Holynes other answer, but that He wul not do yn thys your great cause other then schal stand with order of the law and with justice. And furdermore He added that He seethe nat how He may, after the beginnyng of October next, differ the process oone houre, and seyde expresly so to my Lord of Woorcetter Sir Gregory and me, that withyn few audience the part adverse wul cumme to a sentence in penam contumacie. Apon thys seying, I toke an occasion, when I was alone with Hys Holynes, to know of Hym whether He had made any promes to Cardinal Gramont, that ther schuld no sentence be geven yn 20<sup>ti</sup> yeris, thow the part adverse woold sewe for hyt, and seyde that I marveled that Hys Holynes woold sey that yn so short a tyme a sentence myght be geven yn thys cause; feynyng, that I me self hard of Cardinal Grammont, that Hys Holynes shuld promes to hym that, thowghe the part adverse woold, yet ther shuld no sentence be geven yn 20<sup>ti</sup> yeris. Hys Holynes seyde that He never seyde so, nother to the seyde Cardinal, nother to no other; but seyde yt myght be that He seyde to the Cardinal, that, yff Your Hyghnes woold send a mandate ad totam causam, that then, yff Your Hyghnes woold, ther myght be geven so many delaies, by reason of maters whyche Your Hyghnes myght ley yn, and the remissorialles that Your Grace may aske ad partes, that peraventure yn 10 yeris or lenger a sentence schuld nat be geven.

The Pope schewed me furdermore that He had an answer from the Emperour, to whom hys Holynes had wryten, to persuade Hym to be content that the cause shuld be committyd to an indifferent place, acordingly as Hys Holynes showed to me He woold do, as I wrote to Your Hyghnes yn my letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> day of June last<sup>1</sup>; to thentent that the commyssion myght be made cum concensu utriusque partis, Your Hyghnes being content with the same. The Emperour answered, that consideryng thys cause touchythe so great personages, He knowythe no place so mete for the cawse to be knownen yn, as thys Court, and that by hys mynd yt schuld nat removed from hens and committyd to any other place; and also besought Hys Holynes that He woold not geve no mo delayes yn thys mater; for thes long delayes hathe byn

yn maner the undoing of the cawse, muche to the Quenis great unquietnes and tribulacion.

The 10<sup>th</sup> day of thys present the Pope schewed to my Lord of Worcetter Sir Gregory and me, that at the same tyme He receyvd a letter from his Ambassator there, datyd the 17 of the last monthe, wheryn he wrote that the Quene lamented muche of the Pope for the grauntyng of the delay of thys 3 monthys, as yt ys there dyvulgate, and also that She cannot have justice at hys hand, whyche only She aske without favor. He wrote furdermore that he rekynne hym self the most disgraciye person lyvyng, for there he ys nat gladly seen, nother of Your Hyghnes, nother of the Quene; for when he cummythe to Your Hyghnes, the same lamentythe that Yow canne gette nothyng of the Pope, whyche schuld be to Your Graces purpose, and shewythe Your self sore movyd therfor; and yn semblable wyse the Quene dothe of hyre part, wherfor he hathe shwed unto the Pope to revoke hym and send an other.

The Quenis agentes here be very quicke to have a derogacion of the feris, in somuche that the 25 day of the last monthe my Lord of Woorcetter and I ware a cyted to schew why the commission shuld nat be grauntyd, as aperithe by a copi of the citacion and of the commission, whyche by the next letters Your Hyghnes shal receive, but at that tyme yt was nat grauntyd. Yt ys thought that they wul attempt ageyn for the obteynyng of hyt, but I thynke yt wul nat be grauntyd, for I thynke verely the Pope wul nat altere from that He seyde, of the whyche I certfyedyd Your Hyghnes yn my letters of the 7<sup>th</sup> of June. As towchygng the mater excusatory, the Pope saythe playnlly that He wul do not otherwyse yn hyt, then shal stand with the order law and justice, and that He wul see yt so debatyd, that the trauythe of hyt shal be clerely knownen, and acordyng to the same He wul, and not otherwyse for no man lyvyng; for seyng, He seyde, that both Your Hyghnes and also the Quene lamentythe so of Hym, He hathe fully determined with Hym self to procede yn this mater uprightly and straytely, not declining from the pathe of justice; and then what folowythe He care nat. And hetherto what Hys Holynes hathe don to know, wether the seyd mater be relevant or no, Your Hyghnes schal perceve by our comen letter<sup>1</sup>, and by my next letter, wheryn at lenghe I shal wryte what I have don a part with the Pope, and his answeres to every thyng conteyned yn Your Graces letter yn syphers unto me; wheryn with as muche sollicitude and diligence I have labored, as my

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<sup>1</sup> Not found.

lyffe had layen upon hyt ; but, as I have wryten here above, I cannot obteyne yn any of the degreis, whyche ys muche to my dyscomfort and hevynes ; as God knowyth, who &c.

Sire, Bycawse I cannot perceve, nother by the secret conference whyche I have had with the Pope, nother yet when we thre have byn with Hym, that any thyng ys to be lokyd for of Hym, but mere justice, and that acordyng to the lawe, and that ther restythe now but 50 dayes to the fyrst audience, I do therfor wryte thys unto Your Hyghnes, to thentent that Your Hyghnes may excogitate yn the meane tyme, what ys best to be done.

16 day of August, 1531.<sup>1</sup>

CCCHI. KING HENRY VIII. *to Guinucci, &c.*

(*Signatur*) HENRY R.

HENRICUS, Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ, Reverendo in Christo Patri Domino Hieronymo Episcopo Wigorniensi, Magnifico Equiti Domino Gregorio Casalio, ac Domino Willielmo Benet, Juris Utriusque Doctori, nostris in Romana Curia Oratoribus, plurimum dilectis, Salutem. Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum impresentia rogamus, ut venerandum Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum, Primarium Secretarium nostrum, et Intimum Consiliarium, quem sua fide ac virtutibus carissimum habemus, velit ad Episcopatum Wintoniensem promovere. In hoc igitur, ex nostra sententia, confiendo negocio omni vestra opera industriaque conabimini, ut in persolvenda annata, cæterisque sumptibus, recentis impensæ superioribus annis ex dicto Episcopatu pro bullarum expeditione corrasæ,

There is an imperfect draft of a letter from Benet to the King, dated on the 16th of August, containing only in addition to the above that Grammont had arrived at the Court, but nothing as to the King's cause : as to the matrimony between the Pope's niece and the Duke of Orleans, the Pope told Benet plainly that it never should come to pass, if the French King would bind HIm by any capitulations that might move war in Christendom. In a P.S., which carries on the intelligence to the 9th of September, Benet states that he had received from the Ambassadors in France a copy of the articles, to be obtained by the French Ambassador of the Pope by degrees, and refers to their common letters for what had been done therein, and also what had been done in the allegations made for the Queen's defence against the information given by Carne for defence of the matter excusatory ; and that Albany had laboured in vain to procure a meeting to be had between the Pope and the French King. The common letters here alluded to do not appear to be extant.

nostræque intercessionis ratio habeatur. Quæ vestra opera Nobis extabit vehementer grata, et dicti Episcopatus quieti et indemnitati potissimum consuletur. Et bene valete. Ex regia nostra de Hamptell, die Septembris<sup>1</sup>, 1531.

(*Contrasignatur*) PETRUS VANNES.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendo in Christo Patri Domino Hieronimo  
Episcopo Wigorniensi, Magnifico Equiti Do-  
mino Gregorio Casalio, ac Domino Willielmo  
Benet, Juris Utriusque Doctori, nostris in  
Romana Curia Oratoribus plurimum dilectis.

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#### CCCIV. BENET TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASYTHE yt Your Hyghnes. Where as my Lord of Woorcetter Sir Gregory and I dyd geve unto the Pope the answe, made by Your Hyghnes lernyd councel here, to the alligacions made by the Quenys cowncel agenst the mater excusatory, (whyche allegacions ware send unto me from Your Hyghnes Ambassators yn Fraunce, as I wrote to the same the 9 day of this present<sup>3</sup>) to the entent that the Duke of Albayne might gette of the Pope how hys cowncel woold resolve them apon them, and consequently what we myght trust of the mater excusatory, when we shal be drenen to ley yt yn; verely the Pope schewed the Duke, at hys departyng, that those, whom Hys Holynes dothe cowncel with apon our answers, had nat then resolved them, so that He coude nat schew the Duke, what we myght trust of our foreseyd mater excusatory.

The 17<sup>th</sup> day of thys present the Duke departyd from hens towardes Fraunce. At hys departyng he shewed me that he attemptyd to have goottyn of the Pope a delay yn the cause for 2 or thre monthys. Yn effect he seyde, that the Pope hathe promised hym that nothyng shal be don by al the monthe of October, and, yff Hys Holynes canne, by 2 wekes lenger, so that we helpe hym; meanyng that we shuld cumme yn with our mater excusatory, and so Hys Holynes woold go dyfferryng from consistory to consistory, by al the seyd tyme; and furder the Duke cowde nat gette of Hym. Whyche ys but

<sup>1</sup> On the 12th of September Henry wrote also to the Pope from Ampthill to inform Him of his selection of Doctor Edward Lee for the Archbishoprick of York, and to request that the necessary bulls for his promotion should be expedited. Vatican Papers.

<sup>2</sup> From a rough draft in Benet's own hand.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.

a smale

a smale grace, nother more then Hys Holynes promised me oftyntymes that He woold proeceed so maturely apon thys mater excusatory, that I thynke by al the foreseyd tyme no decre shal passe apon hyt.

The 20<sup>th</sup> day of thys monthe ther was a Scotte cityd, at instance of the Quenes proctor, to cumme and testifie apon certayn articulis yn the cawse of matrimonii.

The 23 day of September, 1531.

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#### CCCV. BRYAN AND FOXE TO BENET.

AFTER our most hartie commendacions. Thes shalbe to advertyse you, that the 22<sup>th</sup> of this present we receyved your letters of the 9<sup>th</sup> of the same, by Robyn the Devyll ; and perceyvyng by continew therof that ye, nether alone, ne joynely with the Frenche Kynges Ambassadour, can obteigne of the Pope any of the articles and degreys expressed in the Kyng our master letters, ne any other thyng effectuall to the benefyte of our masters cause or hys desired purpose, and that furthermore that ye desire moche to have the determinacion of the canonistes of Parrys, with the bokes conteynyng the reasons and auctoryteis of the determinacions, aswell of Orlyance, as of the advocates of the Parlyament, and of the said canonistes of Parrys :

As unto the fyrist poynt, ye shall understand that the Kyng our master, being advertysed of the same, aswell by our letters, as by the letters of Jacobus Salviati wrytten to the Popys Ambassadour in Ingland of the 12<sup>th</sup> day of August, hath commaunded us to solycyte here the Frenche Kyng to wryte unto the Pope for the same purpose. And althoughe we could not obteigne or cause the Frenche Kyng to wryte Hym self unto the Pope in that matter, yet we caused Hym to wryte a letter of credence to the Pope, and on other letter to his Ambassadour ther, the Bysshop of Auxerre, with commaundement from the Grett Master to communicate the said letters unto you, and severally or yointly with you, as ye shall thynke best, to shewe the said letter unto the Pope, and to declare unto Him in most ample maner and with suche effycacy as ye can devyse, the contentes of the same. And forsomoche as ye wrote unto us that the last letters we obteigned here from the Frenche Kyng, of the 26<sup>th</sup> day of May last passed, contayned not the artycle of remytyng of the cause in partibus, lyke as we sygnfyed unto you yt shuld have done, we have yet eftsones obteigned to sett yt in thes the Frenche Kynges letters, and have

sent unto you herein inclosed<sup>1</sup> the verai copie therof in Inglyssh, so nere as we could, by ons or twyse redyng over, comprehend the sentence of the same; whyche said copie we pray you to kepe secretelie unto your self, and as ye shall se the letters now wrytten unto the said Bisshop of Auxerre answere therunto, so we pray you to send us worde agayne.

And as unto the second poynt, ye shall understand that the 20<sup>th</sup> day of this present, I Frauncis Bryan sent my letters unto you by John Davye, Mouns<sup>r</sup> de Vaulx man, and therwith sent also unto you the determinacion of the saide canonistes of Parys, and wold have sent unto youe now at this tyme the saide bookes, but ye shall undrestande that the booke of Orlyaunce is in the King our masters handes in England<sup>2</sup>, and the booke of the Advocates<sup>3</sup>, I,

<sup>1</sup> "The copye of the Frenche Kynges letter datid the 26<sup>th</sup> of this present, and sent to the Bysshop of Auxere, hys Ambassadour at Rome.

"I understande that incontinent after the vacacions the Pope ys determyned to examyne, at Rome, the cause of my good brother, and to procede agaynst Him in penam contumacie, and fynally to conclude his said cause accordyng to the desires of his adversaries; whiche thynge I cannot beleve, consyderyng the bountye of the Pope, the reason and equite whiche He ys accustomyd and of deutie bounde to use to all men, and in so doing He shall entierly go agaynst all lawes, and the opinyon of all lerned men in the same; wherof my said good brother, his frendis and alies, whiche be in grett nombre, may take good and just occasyon to dyssent and resist (pour ressentire) the same, as a thing of veri pernycyouse consequence, and whyche ought to disples all prynces, as towching very nere ther partyuler interest. And on the other parte, I cannot beleve the Pope, beyng a wyse man, and seing the obeydience of the Churche dymynysshed, and in marvelouse grett daynger, without God setto his hand, wyll by suche doinges dymynysshe yt more and more. Je ne diray fera ne octroieur mais seulement consentire ou permettre que tell et si evident injurie soit faict a mondiet bonn frier, knowing the grettesse of the perfyte amytie that ys betwix Us two, so that whatsoever towchith the on affayres, towchith the others; consideryng also the promyses He caused to be brought unto Me by the Cardynall of Gramount, whiche wer that He, at my request, wold do what He myght to the conservacyon of the good ryght of my said good brother. Wherfore I wyll that ye shall most amplie declare thes thinges unto the Pope on my behalf, and to require HIm to regarde and considre the myschevouse inconvenyentes that may folow herof. And to the entent We mai more maturely considre and advyse what ys to be doon in this matter, being of suche and so grett importaunce as ys not possible to be more, to desire pray and most instantly to requyre the Pope that, at thys my sute and most instant request, He wyll not suffre any further processe to be made at Rome in the said cause, but to remytt yt in partibus, accordyng to the ordynance of the canon law, and the sentence of dyverse unyversiteis and other grett lerned men in the said lawes; and in so doing He shall do Me synguler grace and pleasour, wherby I shall accompte and repute My self no lesse bounde unto Hym therfore, then yf yt were my awne propre cause; for betwene the cause of my said brother and my awne, I put no dyffERENCE. And thus We pray God &c. At Chantilie, the 26<sup>th</sup> of Septembre."

This paper is superscribed "To the Right Worshipfull Master Doctor Benett, Ambassadour for the Kyng, Rome." And a memorandum subjoined by him states it to have been "receivyd the 16 day of October, 1531."

<sup>2</sup> This has not been found.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 306.

Edwarde Foxe, brought also with me into Englande at my last departure hens, leaving neverthelesse my servaunt here in Parys to obteigne the double therof, signed with the saide advocates handes, and also the double of the saide canonistes determynation, with their booke; whiche whither it be yet parfited or noo accordingly, bycawse I, Edwarde Fox, could not, sithe my retourne into Fraunce, have certaine knowleage, I can not as yet send them unto youe; albeit by the next curroure ye shall not faile to have them sent unto youe. The meane season ye may say to them, that shall requyre the sight of the saide bookes, that their desire is veray unreasonable, and, seyng their determynations and sentence in autentique forme, to dowbte, whither so many lerned men hathe grounded the same upon good autorite and reason, is nothing ells but to condemne all other mennys lernyng wisdom and sincerite, or ells rather to seke evasions to defende their owne false opynyon, and to be blynde in medio sole. Like as we dowbte not but yow of your wisdom can better setforthe with them, than we can prescribe unto youe.

Wherfore having noon oother tydinges here, but that the Lady Regent, the Kinges mother, dyed here the 23<sup>th</sup> day of this monethe, we shall commytt youe to God, prayeng the same to send youe well to fare, and send youe so good successe in your busynes, as we desire. At Senlys, the last day of Septembre.

Your loving frendes,  
 (Signed) FRANSSYS BRYAN.  
 EDWARDE FOXE.

We pray youe we may be commended to M<sup>r</sup> Gregory, and good M<sup>r</sup> Karne, so hartily as we may.

(*Superscribed*)  
 To the ryght worshipfull Master Doctor Benett,  
 Ambassadour for the Kyng, Rome.

### CCCVI. KING HENRY VIII. to GHINUCCI, &c.

(*Signatur*) HENRY R.

REVERENDE in Christo Pater, et alij Oratores nostri, Nobis quamplurimum dilecti, Salutem. Litere vestre date Rome Septembris<sup>1</sup> reddite Nobis

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

fuerunt 24º ejusdem mensis. Quod autem ex illis intelleximus Pontificem in animo tam certum fixumque habere, Rome procedere, elapsis ferijs, ut nec amicorum nec justicie respectus illum animi propositum evellere, illiusve impetum retardare sufficiat; dolemus sane vehementer, non tam nostra quam illius causa; sed ferenda sunt, que mutari non possunt. Utcunque certe res cesserit, Nos omnino ostendimus, idque multis clarisque argumentis, Illius amicitiam Nobis semper caram fuisse, quam non cupivimus modo, sed etiam ambivimus. Atque adeo nihil inexpertum relinquere volentes, nunc scribimus ad Reverendissimum Anconitanum, cuius ut scribitis consilijs innititur Pontifex. Scribimus, aperte scribimus, ingenue et ut par est amico, vere veritatem nudam ponimus ob oculos, et quod dici vere potest detractis fucis proferimus, prudentissimo et doctissimo scribimus Sedis Apostolice membro, Pontificis etiam amico, et quoniam communem utrique amicum speramus; non dubitamus etiam eum, a qua parte veritas steterit, illum quoque sentencia adfuturum; exemplar literarum mittimus ad vos: ipsas vero literas Reverendissimo Anconitano, nostro nomine, presentabitis, verbisque addetis quantum de illius integritate et amicitia confidimus, atque ea de causa tanquam communi nostro et veritatis patrono, ipsius causam et nostram, literis nostris aperte expressam, ipsius fidei commendavimus. Cum reliquis etiam Cardinalibus, ad quos superioribus diebus missis ad vos literis scripsimus, similiter etiam agetis diligenter, illisque exemplar literarum ad Reverendissimum Anconitanum ostendetis. Denique, ut summatim dicamus, nihil a vobis pretermissum volumus, apud Pontificem, apud Cardinales, quod Nobis atque justicie conducere posse arbitrabimini, ad impediendum isthic processum. Quod si omnia tandem frustra cesserint, incipientque isti precipites in Nos procedere, ita vos vestraque componatis, ut ante sententiam ferendam nemo Rome adsit vestrum tanquam noster orator; sed ut vos, Doctor Benet, vale dicto Pontifice, ad Nos redeatis; vos vero reliqui, munere legacionis apud Pontificem, veluti ex mandato nostro, vos ipsis exolvatis, quod tamen vos facere volumus statim atque inceperint Rome procedere, sed eam observationem volumus adhiberi, ut omnino ante sentenciam ferendam, idque competenti aliquo intervallo, si ad illam procedere insteterint, nulli supersint apud Pontificem, nostro nomine, oratores. Neque enim convenire putamus, illius Nos aulam oratoribus ornare nostris, atque maximis nostris sumptibus honorare, qui Nobis inimicissima queque molitur: itaque prescriptum harum literarum hac in parte, ut insequamini, omnino mandamus. Quod scribitis autem in vestris literis, arbitrari Anconitanum difficillime probaturos Nos, Cesarem se pro parte gerere in causa nostra, quum solum petat justiciam meminisse, vos volumus, quociens occasio tulerit, et ea de re sermo denuo inciderit, proferendum

ferendum quod a vobis accepimus, frequenter scriptum; Pontificem nihil unquam fere facere nisi ex consilio Cesaris. Et non vult, inquit Pontifex, Cesar causam committi in loco indifferenti. Verbis et apparitione justiciam petit Cesar, nam ita libet nominare quicquid Illi lubet, cuius etiam auctoritas plus apud Pontificem potest, quam veritatis. Cesar revera pars non est, sed totum. Nec spectandum est quibus verbis petat, sed quidnam sit quod fieri desiderat. Nec unquam graviores injurias sensimus Nos, quam nunc quum Pontifex nihil se nisi quod justum est facere profitetur. Atque hec habemus que de causa nostra scriberemus, nam reliqua superioribus nostris literis vobis significavimus.

De rebus Turcicis quoniam periculum, quod verbis tam multis amplificat Pontifex, vanis rumoribus, ut verisimile est, innitur; Cesar enim ipse per oratorem suum apud Nos Nobis significavit que sonant diversum, videlicet jam nuperrime Turcam magnam suorum cladem varijs in locis a Sophia accepisse. E Roma intelleximus etiam missas a Magno Magistro Rodi literas, que nunciant Turcam nihil in Nos moliri. Hec quum ita se habeant, non putamus opereprecium pluribus. Nam si verum est quod Cesar Nobis hodie, ut superius scripsimus, significavit, satis est Turce negocij cum Sophia, ut non sit illi necesse alios inimicos querere, quum domi habeat satis. Ceterum si sermo denuo inciderit apud Pontificem, non modo narrabitis nova que a Cesare accepimus; sed etiam adjicietis, quod Nos multa videmus, etiamsi procul aspicientes, atque istas prestigias experti novimus. Non est laborandum in hoc Pontifici ut pericula a Turca, si venerit, imminencia doceat, nempe illius dicti Nos bene meminus, “tunc tuas res agitur, paries “cum proximus ardet.” Ceterum in eo illi contendendum est, ut fidem faciat Turcam venire; qua in re non creditur amplius verbis, aut literis, sed quemadmodum in proverbio est, “tollat te, qui te non novit, aut alium “quere.” Aliud semper agitur, aliud simulatur. Et quum Cesar in Germania fratri imperium, quum Pontifex in Italia sua dominia curat, omnia consilia huc referentes, ipsi de Turca securi, conantur tamen Nobis timorem inutere, ut Nos nostris opibus defendamus, quod ipsi negligunt. Sed bene dictum est illud, “Dij facientes adjuvant,” et ridiculum certe est Pontificem et Cesarem, postquam hic tam ingentes thesauros ex omnibus dicionibus corrogavit et accumulavit, preter eam ingentem auri vim, quam a Christianissimo Rege, redemptionis nomine, solutam habet et possidet, ad defendendam Siciliam aut Apuliam, unde illis detrimentum proxime pendet, aliorum auxilia implorare, quum ipsi interim in alios usus sua servantes, quidvis pocius agant, et reliquos invitantes, qui longissime semoti sunt, nihil preparent ipsi ut ostendant se viribus deficere, non voluntate. Sint ut appellantur nostra, videlicet

videlicet qui tam longe disjungimur, vere subsidia et auxilia, quibus tum demum locus est, quum Cesar et Pontifex, qui propugnacula esse debent, quod possunt conati, non suffecerint. Itaque si Cesar et Pontifex non majorem a Turca timorem factis ostenderint et comprobraverint, nec aliud egerint quam ut de Turce adventu reliquos verbis perterrefaciant, Turca si venerit, jam non ab illo Nos sed a Deo timebimus, qui Turce adventum, tocies apud Nos predicatum, ad pretextum faciet inopinatum, ut ludentes et non credentes opprimat. Quod si Pontifex precipuam in eo curam ponere velit, ut fidem dictorum orbi restituat, atque ita se comparare, in componendis illis causis que nunc pendent, contraverse et precipue nostra in justicia et veritate in dirigendis etiam actionibus et consilijs ita se gerere, ut omnes in illis cernere possint adventum Turce vere timeri, id quod nunc verbis aut literis extorquere nequeat, omnes tum demum sua sponte uberrime conferent, neque tractatibus opus erit, quid quisque contribuat, sed suam quisque causam ducens, que et est et esse debet communis omnium, ita animis concurrent, et facultatibus ut conjunctis ad eum modum et unitis voluntatibus, Dei benignitate a Turca non sit multum metuendum.

De negocio Ducis Sabaudie novum est, ut ad tuendam privatam possessionem communia Christianorum Principum auxilia implorentur. Habet Dux, nihil dubitamus, satis opum, quibus sua defendat. A nobis certe nihil petit, ipse petiturus haud dubie, si non vidisset nullum esse colorem petendi. Neque ex Gallia Nos de hujusmodi suppecijs quicquam audivimus. Arbitramur quidem hoc, ut reliqua multa, tantum verbis actum a Pontifice. Et est etiam ob hoc quod habeat gratias Pontifici Dux Sabaudie, videlicet quoniam bene illi voluit saltem. Si sermo denuo inciderit, dicere potestis contribuciones ejusmodi solere Principum amicorum et confederatorum, non benignitate dari, sed pactis et conventionibus vel initis vel ineundis prestari: vos vero ad Nos ea de re scripsisse, tulisseque responsum hujusmodi.

Superioribus diebus, Nobis ex Flandria et Aula Cesaris significatum fuit, quod Cesar publice omnibus oratoribus tum presentibus ostentavit, pacta quedam inter Illum et Christianissimum Regem inita et conclusa, ut convenirent et colloquerentur, atque ad ipsum etiam ejusdem Cesaris orator qui apud Nos est, nomine ejusdem Domini sui, Nobis retulit. Christianissimus vero Rex Domino Briano et Domino Foxo, oratoribus nostris, cum hoc audiisset, dixit se nihil tale unquam in animo habuisse, neque de colloquio habendo unquam tractatum, aut ex parte illius propositum fuisse; constanterque asseveravit se id non modo factis declaraturum, sed etiam suis apud omnes Principes oratoribus scripturum ea de re, significaturumque quod res est, videlicet, ut Cesar eo apercius convincatur tam impudentis mendacij.

Quamobrem,

Quamobrem, si de tali congressu et colloquio aliquid loquatur Pontifex, aut jacent se Cesariani, libere dicere vos volumus, quod res est ne magnum aliquam usuram mendacij lucentur tacentibus alijs. Vos bene valete. Ex Monasterio nostro de Waltham, die 2<sup>a</sup> Octobris.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendo in Christo Patri Domino Hieronimo  
Episcopo Wigorniensi, Willielmo Benet, Juris  
Utriusque Doctori, Consiliario nostro, et Mag-  
nifico Domino Gregorio de Cassalis, Equiti  
Aurato, nostris Rome Oratoribus, &c.

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### CCCVII. BENET TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE yt Your Highnes. Thys ys alonly to advertyse the same, that as yet we be here yn disputacion apon Your Hyghnes letters, whether by them M<sup>r</sup> Karne shuld be admittyd to ley yn the matter excusatory or not, and so al thys while the part adverse ys stoppyd from thir process; as more amply Your Hyghnes shal be informyd by our next letters, whyche shal be sent within thys seven or eight dayes, by the post that shal bryng my Lordes of Yorke and Wynchesters bulles, whyche shal be withyn this seven or eight dayes dyspached hens thetherward.

And, Syre, divers thynges there are touchyng Your Hyghnes great cause, whyche are of suche weyght and importancy, that yt ys necessary that I shuld presently shew them unto yow by mouthe, for they are not to entreatyd by letters in no wyse; and I woold have cummen my self to Your Highnes now at thys tyme, but that my departyng shuld have geven here many occasions to them here to marvel suspect and conjecture many thing, whyche myght peraventure have perturbated the state of your cawse. For the avoydance wherof, yff Your Graces pleasure be that I shal cumme to Your Hyghnes, yt shal be necessary that Your Hyghnes wryte to the Pope a gentyl letter<sup>2</sup>, to advertyse Hym that for summe cause movyng Your

From a draft in Benet's handwriting. There is a similar draft of the 6th of October: it details some discussion with the Pope, but nothing new. It states that citations have been issued against the King, and expresses Benet's thanks for the Deanery of Salisbury.

<sup>2</sup> In pursuance of this advice on the 4th of November following Henry wrote to the Pope, desiring the return of Doctor Benet. Vatican Papers.

Hyghnes, the same wul that I shuld retourne unto Yow with diligence ; and yn lyke wyse wryte to my Lord of Woorcester and Sir Gregory of your pleasure, for bothe be nat privy unto the thyng whyche I shuld dysclose to Your Hyghnes. The knowlege of your pleasure hereyn schortly importythe greatlie ; wherfor I have dyspached thys brynger unto Your Hyghnes, knowyng wel, that ther ys none there that canne cumme yn suche diligence hether, as he canne. And, Sire, yt shal be very necessary that yt be kept secrete there of thys my wrytyng to Your Grace, for yff yt shuld cum ever so lytel a brode there, yt shuld be knownen here shortly after, and so cawse a great dysturbe. And thus most humble I commend me to Your Hyghnes, desyryng, &c. Rome, the 21<sup>st</sup> day of October, 1531.

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### CCCVIII. BENET TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASYTHE yt Your Hyghnes. At thys thyme I have nothyng to wryte unto Your Grace more then ys wryten yn our comen letter and yn Mr Karnis letter<sup>2</sup>, who folowythe the mater now yn hand to hys uttermost ; and I ensure Your Grace he hathe aquittyd hym self lyke a clarke yn hyt, as the same shal perceve by hys boke, whyche he hathe made apon thys mater, and now at thys tyme send yt unto Your Hyghnes. Other I may not wryte, but kepe yt, tyl I speke with Your Grace. Your pleasure theryn I loke for hyt dayly. And thus most humbly I commend Your Hyghnes, besechynge God to conserve the same yn helthe and felicite many yeres. At Rome, the 7 day of November, 1531.

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### CCCIX. CARNE TO BENET.<sup>3</sup>

PLEASYTHE yt your Maystership. Thys ys to certfyfe you, that syns your departyng hens, the Imperials here hath mayd the most importunate suyte that myght be excogitate. They wold in any wyse, ether to have the

<sup>1</sup> From a draft in Benet's handwriting.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> Holograph.

disputation owt of hand, or els the Rote to refere theyr opynyon upon the maters; and I ensure you they handlyd the Pope after that sorte, that He durst not propose for the open disputation; but that I shuld do hyt: and so dyd I, but not simpliciter as they thought I wold; and yf I had, I ensure you I thynk we hade byn at apoynt or thys tyme, for I qualifyyd my petition that I mayd in the Consistory, that they exclamed, "usque ad sidera." Her we have had myche a do befor the Pope and Cardinals Anchona and Monte, for my petition was thys, "Devotus Sanctitati Vestrae, Edwardus, Excusator Serenissimi Regis Angliae, supplicat Sanctitati Vestrae materias excusatorias per ipsum alias datas, per publicas disputationes et relationes, per personas indifferentes faciendas tractari." They wold never agre that I should have relatores indifferentes, wyche I styke to be due by the law. You shal perceve by the Kynges letter at lenght every thyng; I have no lesor to wryt the hole, hyt wer 3 dayes labor for me to wryte. To thys conclusion hyt ys cum, that the first audyence after Cristmas is assigned for the disputation by the Consistory. When the Pop showyd us, we sayd hyt was not sufficient, for we cowd have no man here that dorst dispute, for fear of displeasur of the Court; therfor we stayd for to have a terme competente, to send for the famowsyst lerned men that be yn all Italy, in as myche, when we cowd not have no longer delay, we sayd ther shuld lake nor labor, ne yet diligens, ne expensis. I ensur you ther was no remedy, but to send forth in all the hast, ut constaret de diligentia. In as myche as you know thys thyng requiryth great expensis, and more then a pore man ys able to susteyn, and you know hyt had not byn for the Kynges honor, that hys Ambassadors shuld allegyd, that they cowd not send for thys great lerned men for lake of money; wherfor I ensure you her was hard shefft. My Lorde of Worcester hath send to Seyns for Deciows and other ther, and to Perusio for Frisio, and was redy to plegge hys office, to get money to offer to them, and conduct them, yf hyt be possyble, hyther. Mayster Gregory hath send to Bonony for Parisio, and to Padua for Corte and Sozino, and to Plesans for Burla. Thys be the famowst men in all Italy; thys men can not cum withoutt great charges. I ensure you Mayster Gregory hath send to Bonony, to sell certain land ther, to make money for that purpose; for as you know wel, they must be offeryd for ther labors, or els the sendyng for them ys to no purpose. And thys must we showe, yf they wyll not cum, for yf they wyl cum, but not in so short a tyme, the sollyciter hath yn commaundement to get letters excusatory from them to the Ambassadors here, that owre diligens may appere, with instructions necessary what ys to be don, wher they cum or cum not. Wherfor I ensure you, and yf ther be no provision for money for thys purpose,

thys men be undon; therfor hyt wer very wel for you to informe the Kynges Hyghnes heryn: you know what case thys men be yn here. In good feyth hyt ys sayd Maister Gregory ys glad to sell hys landes, to get money to pay lerned men in the Kynges cause; and so lyke wyse the Auditor. I ensure you, both dyd hyt at thys tyme with so good a wyll, that my thought they wold a sold all that ever they had; for the cause ys dryven to an extreme poynt, wher theyr may be no stykyng for money; igitur &c. I pray you in any wyse possible let us hyre therhense shortly. The Imperiales be so sett, after your departyng, that they thynk sure that you ar gon for no good to them; wherfor they wol sped the cause or you cumme, yf they can. I ensure you Cardinal Osmund<sup>1</sup> doth exlame in the Consistory; the Ambassadors to thEmperor they ageyne cryeth owt, and all that ever I do ys takyn calumnios; so that I fere me, cumyng the audience after Cristmace, hyt shal be hard to stope them, and you know well they ar “in calculo sententie,” and “quicquid volunt habebunt;” wherfor “mora trahit periculum, et nunquam tantum.” I pray you sollicyt that shortly we may hyre from you, and that money may be send for the opteyneyng of the lerned men. Hyt importyth as myche as the cause, for “nunquam retractabunt sententiam semel latam, licet nullissimam aut iniquissimam, prout vidimus experientia: igitur non est bonum expectare sententiam.”

Also here was no money to dispage thys poste; we wer glad to borow of M<sup>r</sup> Burbryge a hundred crowns, and I was glad to plegge that I had for twenty more. I beseche you speke for the contention. In thys I need not to wryte to you, for you know the neede theryn. Also I beseche you help that I may have my dietes payd, and that I may have sum money hyther; also for the clawse of non residens to be addyd in Sir Edward<sup>2</sup> ys breffe. The Ambassadors and I was with the Pope, but in no wysse He wold hyt shuld be sub eadem data; sub nova, He ys contentyd. Wherfor, yf you shuld wryt to my Lord of Worceter or Sir Gregory, that Hys Holynes dyd, the same tyme that he grawntyd the breffe, dispence also de non residendo, I thynk ther shuld be no great difficulte to get hyt; eles I thynke hyt can not be had.

Also you shal understand, that Senior Pawl de Casalis ys departyd, God rest hys sowll.

And for fawt of a better curror, the Ambassadors wer so bold to take Thomas your servante, who promysed to be yn Inglonde in eight days. Valete, Sir. I have wrytyn to the Kynges Hyghnes all that ever ys done

<sup>1</sup> Garcias Loaysa.

<sup>2</sup> Lee, Archbishop of York.

her,

her<sup>1</sup>, and yf the letter be sumewhate longe and yl wrytyn, excuse me; the mater ys longe, and my hand ys naught. In the reverens of God hast you hyther, or ad omne minus let us hyre therhens shortly. From Rome, the 17<sup>th</sup> day of Decembre, 1531. And thus moste hartely fare you well. In eternum ac iterum valete.

Your most bownden,

EDWARDE CARNE.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Ryght Honorable Maister Doctor Benet,  
Archidecon of [Dors]et.

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### CCCX. BISHOP GARDYNER *to* BENET.<sup>3</sup>

MASTER Doctour, After my most harty commendacions. My Lord of Norfolk and I have spoken with the King, of whom we knowe theeffecte of your charge; and for execucion of the matier ye shal retourne within these 4 dayes. Wherfore the Kinges pleasure is that ye, leving aparte al preparation for other apparel, and borowing a gowne of summe of your frendes, to repare hithre to the Corte this night in any wise. And thus most hartely fare ye wel. From Grenewiche, this Frydaye.

Your assured frende,

STE. WINTON

Ye may speke to Doctour Wolman for his lodging here.

(*Superscribed*)

To my loving frende, Master Doctour Benet.

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<sup>1</sup> This despatch is not found.

<sup>2</sup> He sometimes spells his name with a C, and at other times with a K. In conformity with the rule laid down in the Preface to Vol. I. p. xxii. the former is adopted in the notes, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Holograph.

CCCXI. CARNE TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASYTH yt Your Hyghnes. Thys ys to certyfye the same that syns my letter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of thys present<sup>2</sup> sent to Your Hyghnes, to be conveyed by Your Highnes Ambassador beyng in the Frenshe Court, Your Hyghnes ys Ambassadors here havyng awnsor frome soche lerned men of diverse partes of Italy, accordyng as I wrote yn my sayd letters, went to the Pops Holynes, and I went with them, and shewyd His Holynes what diligens was mayde, of Your Hyghnes ys behalfe, to have the cheffe lerned men of all the cheffe Universites of Italye, and that the moste parte, consideryng the justnes of the maters, wer contentyd to cum, yf hyt stoyd wonly by them. They that be of the Universite of Padua dorst not cum, for the Dominion of Venise, at the instance of the Imperiales, hade chargyd them not to intromyt them yn Your Hyghnes great cause; wherfor without licence of the Domynion, they sayd they myght not cum: and that Parisius of Bonony sayd that he dorste not cum, for thEmperor hade wryten to hym two letters, and also hys Ambassadors had often tymes wryten to hym, that he shuld not be ageynst the Quens Grace; notwithstandingyng that the sayd lerned men wer wons conductyd for Your Hyghnes ys parte. Seyng farther, that the Ambassador of Venise, and certen Cardinales, Venitians, beyng here, unto whom Syr Gregory resortyd, and desyryd them to wryt to the Senate of Venise for to licence theyr lerned men to cum; who showyd playnly, that unlesse the Imperiales be contentyd, hyt shuld be but labor loste, and yn case the Emperors Ambassadors here wold say that they are contentyd, they dowbyd not but the Dominion of Venise wold licence suche lerned men as Your Hyghnes wold have. Showyng farther to Hys Holynes, that the cheff redre of Perusio<sup>3</sup> wold not cum, without licence of Hys Holynes, and for the profe of the premisses, showyd suche letters as wer sent to Your Hyghnes ys Ambassadors theryn. And that done, seyng the terme was assigned to me, I desyryd Hys Holynes, wher Your Hyghnes lernyd men wer lettyd by the adversary parte, that He wold take away suche lettes, and compell the parte adverse to revoke suche instances and unlawfull desyrs, wherby Your Hyghnes sayd lerned men wer subtractyd and lettyd, that they shuld not cum to show the truth, and to defend Your Hyghnes great cause, and that Hys Holynes wold also licence suche as wold

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.<sup>2</sup> Vincent de Herculaniis.<sup>3</sup> Not found.

not cum other wyse. Hys Holynes sayd, what He myght, He wold ghytly done; and as tochynge those lerned men that be withyn the Iuris of the Churche, He sayd He wold licence them; but as concernyng them that be under the Venitians, He sayd He cowd not compell them, ne yet licens them, contrary to the prohibition of the Dominion of Venise; and sayd farther, that hyt semyd to Hym that the part adverse, yn desyryng the Dominion to prohibit the lerned men to be for Your Hyghnes parte, dyd but for them selfe, and yn so doyng may not be letted: and also tochynge Parisius of Bonony, though He shuld licens hym, He thought he wold not cum, for he was borne withyn the realme of Napules, and therfor he had a good cause not to cum, seyng thEmperor, and hys Ambassadors also, had requiryd hym to be with the Quens Grace, and not to be ageynst Hyre: and for hym of Peruse, He causyd a licence to be mayd streyght wey. To the premissis I sayd, that I desyryd nother compulsory ne yet licence of Hys Holynes, contrary to the prohibition of the Dominion of Venise, for the lerned men beyng under them; but that Hys Holynes wold compell the adversary parte to revoke theyr unlawfull desir and request, mayd to the Dominion for the lett of the sayd lerned men; and that stoyd yn Hys Holynes for to doo, seyng the parte adverse suyd befor Hys Holynes. And wher Hys Holynes thought hyt lawfull for the parte adverse to stope suche lerned men, after suche sorte as ys above wryten, I sayd hyt was ageynst the law expresly so to do; wherfor I desyryd Hys Holynes, seyng hyt stoyd by the adversary parte, that the sayd lerned men cowd not cum, that Hys Holynes wold provyde yn tyme theryn, and that Hys Holynes do not impute to Your Hyghnes agentes, that the disputation be not mayd in the tyme assygnyd, but rather to the parte adverse, who do lett hyt. Then Hys Holynes sayd, that to remedy thys thyng, hyt concernyd the Consistory, and wyllyd Your Hyghnes Ambassadors and me to resort to sum of the Cardinales, and to show them the same thyng; and, of hys parte, sayd He wold doo what He myght. Then Your Hyghnes Ambassadors and I went to Cardinal Anchona and showyd to hym lykwyse; who sayd that the delay was not grauntyd to conduce the sayd lerned men, but for to begyn the disputations. To that I sayd and desyryd hys Lordshyp moste reverendly to call to hys remembrance, howe that the Pops Holynes, befor the delay assygnyd, had in wrytyng of me the cause why I stoyd for the delay; upon that, the treaty was in the Consistory, and the delay grauntyd, wyche cause was, to have the cheffe lernyd men in all Italy to be at the disputations; and be hyt the delay were assigned, as hys Lordshyp sayd, yet seyng owre lerned men be lettet by the parte adverse, without whom the disputations cowd not be, seyng the cheff instrumentes necessarye therunto be  
kept

kept awey unlawfully, ageynst all reason, hyt ought to be provided fore, for no thyng may be imputyd to Your Hyghnes theryn. And thys affirmyd your Ambassadors likwyse, and showyd hym what diligens was mayd for to have the sayd lernyd men withyn the terme. To thys hys Lordshyp sayd, that Your Hyghnes hade here as good lerned men, as they be whom we lokyd fore, and that they myght dispute the maters. To that Your Hyghnes Ambassadors and I sayd, nay, thoughe Your Hyghnes lerned men here wer sufficiently lerned therunto, for they dare not frely speke in thys mater, for theyr lyvynge dependyth of thys Court, and that other men, whose lyvynge dependith not of thys Court, both dare and wyll speke frely, yf suche growndes as be brought ageynst them be not good; therfor we sayd, the sayd lerned men be more expedient for Your Hyghnes, then those that be here, wherfor of congruence they ought to be taryd fore, and the impedimentes ought to be provydyd fore. Then sayd my Lord Anchona, yf the Pops Holynes wold call hym and Cardinal de Monte together, he wold show hys mynde heryn. Therhens Your Hyghnes Ambassadors went to Cardinal de Monte, and to Cardinals Fanesio and Trane, who dyd stay with Your Hyghnes stify in the Consistory, accordyng to the informations gevyn by Your Hyghnes Ambassadors and me heryn; and accordyngly suche other of the Cardinals, as was thought expedient, wer informyd.

The day assignyd, viz. the 8<sup>th</sup> of thys present, when every man was commaundyd to departe forth of the Consistory, thEmperors Ambassadors, with the Quens Councell, taryd ther behynd, wyche after the departure of every man, purposyd ageyn me, as Excusator, and also desiryd expedition of the cause, accordyng as hyt ys in ther petition; of the wyche Your Hyghnes shal receive a copy heryn ynclosed. Therunto, after a treaty had amongst the Cardinales, the Pops Holynes sayd, that He wold hyre the Englishmen, what they had to say for them. Then were Your Hyghnes Ambassadors and I callyd yn, and the Imperiales departyd. The Pops Holynes demaundyd of Your sayd Ambassadors, whether they had any thyng to say to chynge the terme assigned for the disputation; to that my Lord of Worcester sayd, that he, and Mayster Gregory, had nothyng, but sayd that I, unt[*o whom*] the terme was assigned, had to say to Hys Holynes. Then I purposyd to Hys Holynes, and the Consistory, three thynges in effect: the fyrst was, for what effect or yend Hys Holynes had assigned the delay; secundarly, what diligence was mayd of my behalfe to opteyn the effecte of the delay; thrydly, that the effect was letted by the adversary parte; wherfor I desyryd Hys Holynes of lawfull remedy in that behalfe. After thys, Your Hyghnes Ambassadors and I were commaundyd forth of the Consistory, wyche was then shoyt.

Ther

Ther my petition was yn long treatye amongst the Cardinals, as I hard credibly; Cardinal Sancte Crucis, Cardinal Egidio, and Cardinal de Pistoya, otherwyse callyd Sanctorum Quatuor, as I hard, wer very sore ageynst my petition, and sayd, that wher Hys Holynes had graunted me the disputation, and a terme therunto, I of that getheryd craftly diverse thyngs and occasions to lett the processe calumniously, et quod abissus abissum invocat; therfor they sayd hyt was not meyt, ne convenient, that I shuld be hard any farthur, but that the cause shuld be expedite.<sup>1</sup> To thys Cardinals Farnese and Trane, spekyng for Your Hyghnes behalfe, sayd, that yf I had reson, I ought to be hard; Cardinal de Monte sayd that hyt shuld be expedient my petition shuld be brought in wrytyng, that hyt myght be distynckly seyn whether hyt were relevant or no. Then hyt was decreyd, that both the Imperiales, and I, shuld bryng owr petitions in wrytyng to the Vice Chaunceler<sup>2</sup> ageynst the next Consistory, wyche shuld be the 12<sup>th</sup> of thys present; and so the Imperials dyd, and I also, of the wyche my petition Your Hyghnes shal receve herwith a copy also.<sup>3</sup> The sayd 12<sup>th</sup> day commyng, sum of the Cardinals sayd my petition was relevant, other sayd that hyt was not; for thys altercation hyt was assignyd to me to informe all the Cardinals (beyng 27<sup>ti</sup> in the hole) pro primo Consistorio, viz. the 15<sup>th</sup> of thys present, so that I had but two days to informe all the Cardinals, ne shuld have no more. And therupon Your Hyghnes ys Ambassadors, and I, with your lerned Councel here, informyd them all, tam verbo quam scriptis, and fornished at lenght Cardinals Farnesio Trane and Cesys with awnsers to all that the Imperiales dyd grownd them upon, in theyr informations; that they, yf nede were, myght opynly rede them in the Consistory. I hard say that Cardinal Anchona, wyche cumyth to no Consistory, but when maters of law be in handlyng, withoutt whome nothyng passyth there, shuld say my petition to be relevant. Herupon the Consistory day, viz. the 15<sup>th</sup> of thys present, after long treatye, hyt was concludyd in

<sup>1</sup> There is extant in the State Paper Office a memorandum, dated the 8th of January, which states that the Imperial Orator, with John Aloys as Advocate for Queen Catharine, appeared in the Consistory, and prayed the Pope to command the Auditor of the Ruota to expedite justice, and that Carne the King's Excusator represented that he had used his utmost diligence to obtain the attendance of the most learned lawyers of Italy, but had failed from various causes, viz. at Perugia, because Vincent de Herculanicus would not attend without the Pope's express licence: at Sienna, because Decius was decrepit: at Bologna, and Padua, because Peter Paul Parisi of the former, and Francischinus da Curte and Marianus Sozino of the latter, were forbidden by the King's adversaries; and Carne therefore supplicated that, except Decius, to whom the journey might be fatal, and Vincent, to whom licence had very lately been given (see p. 333.), the rest might receive a like licence at a convenient season.

<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Cesarino.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.

the Consistory, to gyve a delay, for me to prepayr the disputations, to the first audiens after the Fest of the Purification of Owr Lady ; and so showyd the Pops Holynes, after the Consistory was done, to Your Hyghnes Ambassadors and to me. Then Your Hyghnes sayd Ambassadors and I wold know of Hys Holynes, whether any thyng was done to chyng the impedimentes of owr adversarys, wherby we myght have suche lerned men as were expedient for Your Hyghnes cause : to that he sayd, no. Then Your Hyghnes Ambassadors besought Hys Holynes to cause the Imperiales to declare to the Dominion, and intimate to the Senate, of Venise, that hyt ys not theyr intent or mynd that they shuld prohibit suche lerned men as be withyn theyr Dominion, or let them, but that they may cum to defend thys mater, as fare as they may, yf they wyll ; and unlesse Hys Holynes wold so do or provyde theryn, we shuld be never the nere, for the impedimentes shuld remayn, and so Your Hyghnes shuld be disapuynyt d of your cheffe lerned men, wherby your maters shuld be disputyd. To that Hys Holynes sayd, He wold speke with thEmperors Ambassadors, and do theryn what he cowd. And so in thys case standyth Your Hyghnes cause at thys tyme ; and, Sir, the Consistory hath nother admittyd my petition above specifyyd, ne yet rejectyd hyt : yf they shuld admitt hyt, then they thynke hyt wyll aske a tyme for to prove hyt ; though I offeryd to prove hyt incontinenti, and therupon they have gevyn me a new delay, viz. ad primam post Festum Purificationis, entendieng therby to satisfye my petition.

The 18<sup>th</sup> of thys present I receyvd Your Hyghnes ys moste gracious letter datyd at Grynwyche, the seconde of the same<sup>1</sup>, wherby Your Hyghnes wold all diligens to be gevyn, that no acte passe here, tyll M<sup>r</sup> Benet ys arryvall hether, wheryn I shal endeuer my selfe to the uttermost that I may possible, as wel in that as all other that may confere to Your Hyghnes purpose ; and thus moste humbly I commend me to Your Hyghnes, besechyg Almyghty God to conserve Your Hyghnes moste noble royll state in long liffe by infnyte yers. From Rome, 20<sup>mo</sup> Januarij, 1532.

Your moste humble subject

and pore servant,

EDOWARD KARNE.

*Superscribed.*  
To the Kinges Hyghnes.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## CCCXII. KING HENRY VIII. to GHENUCI &amp;c.

(Signatur) HENRY R.

**R**IVERENDE Domine Wigorniensis, ac magnifice Domine Gregori, Oratores nostri plurimum dilecti, Salutem. Quam grata et accepta Nobis sint officia vestra, et quantopere Nobis probetur labor fides et studium, quod in nostra causa juvanda promovendaque, summa nostra cum voluptate, assidue prestari a vobis videmus, superfluum esse putamus id nunc velle literis explicare, quum brevi oblatam Nobis iri confidamus occasionem nostrum bene affectum in vos animum declarandi, et ob tam singularia vestra de Nobis benemerita gratiam aliquam referendi. Interim vos impense rogamus ut, sicuti facitis, nullos labores vigiliasque nullas recusetis in hac nostra sublevanda sollicitudine, que ut cor nostrum maxime premit, ita Deo juvante fideliumque amicorum nostrorum opera, speramus quandoque absolvii posse. Adhuc quum probè cogitemus quo in statu causa istic nostra versetur, quotque etiam adminiculis opus esse videatur, ne incuria aut negligentia juri nostro prejudicetur, quumque de admittendo Excusatore nunc potissimum agatur, solique Doctori Carne tantum pondus immineat, longe quidem gravius quam in tanta jurisconsultorum frequentia unius viribus commode sustineri queat possetque, vel egritudine suborta vel ex aliqua alia non expectata occasione excusatorium hoc, quod nunc tractatur, negocium multo nostro damno impediri vel perturbari, expedientissimum esse judicavimus, ut eidem Doctori Carne (qui hoc idem maxime cupere videtur) collegam aliquem in excusatoria hac defendenda causa adjungamus. Dilectum igitur familiarem nostrum Edmundum Bonar, Juris Utriusque Doctorem, istuc impresentia mittimus, non solum ut eidem Doctori Carne sua eruditione industria ac diligentia ad omnes horas presto sit, conjunctimque ac divisim (si ita rerum nostrarum status exposeat) hoc negocium sedulo curet, verumetiam ut, Doctore Carne impedito, Excusatoris partes ille subeat, et alter alterius vices obeat. Proinde, quum idem Doctor Bonar sit suis virtutibus fide diligentia ingenijque acumine Nobis carus, cum quam obnixe possumus vobis commendamus, volumusque ut de universo nostre cause statu ac processu distincte copiose et exacte illum instruatis, hominum mores quoad nostra intererit, stilum curiae, in causisque tractandis modum seriem ac progressum doceatis, in omnibus junctis et rerum omnium admonenatis, quas cause nostre quoquomodo prodesse posse videritis, quod certe

officium gratissimum et acceptissimum Nobis extabit.<sup>1</sup> Et bene valete. Ex Regia nostra Westmonasterij, die 21 Januarij, 1531.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendo Domino Hieronimo Episcopo Wigoriensi, ac magnifico Equiti Domino Gregorio Casalio &c. nostris in Romana curia Oratoribus quam plurimum dilectis.

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### CCCXIII. KING HENRY VIII. TO POPE CLEMENT VII.<sup>2</sup>

BEATISSIME Pater, post humillimam commendationem et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Breve, quod quarta die elapsi mensis Vestra Sanctitas ad Nos dedit<sup>3</sup>, accurate perlegimus, ex eoque intelleximus quanta animi sollicitudine nuncium illud de Turcico apparatu Ipsa nuper acceperit. Hortationes vero, quibus ad tantam perniciem mature avertendam apud Nos utitur, sic accepimus, ut quemadmodum toti Christiano orbi, ne dum Sanctitati Vestræ, testatissimum manefestissimumque esse putamus, nihil unquam in Christiana defendenda fide, in Apostolica conservanda Sede, Turceque apparatus repellendis, officij vel opere a Nobis hactenus pretermissum denegatumve fuisse (quarum actionum cogitationumque nostrarum, præter homines, ipsum quoque Deum lucupletissimum testem habemus) ita ex animo gauderemus, si nostri labores sumptusque et merita, quæ in Christianam juvandam rempublicam totiens antea contulimus, majori cum fructu prestita extarent, nostraque hec pietas et officium omnibus quam multum profuisset in commune. Consilia autem nostra omnia sic posthac cum Deo disponemus, ut Divinam ipsius Majestatem clementissimum potius judicem, quam iratum vindicem, conatibus nostris ad futuram confidamus, et (utcumque cesserit rerum eventus) sedulo curabimus, ne suo loco aut tempore religiosi Christianique Principis officio in fide Catholica tuenda, a preclarissimisque et optimis nostris parentumque nostrorum institutis unquam defecisse dicamur. Ad id autem, quod Sanctitas Vestra imminentium malorum (si quæ acciderint) culpam omnem et occasionem tum in Nos, tum in alios Christianos Principes, transferre velle videtur, quod-

<sup>1</sup> By another letter to Benet and Carne of the same date the King informed them of his having sent his Chaplain Boner to reside at Rome as one of his agents.

<sup>2</sup> Copy from the Vatican Papers.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.

que

que tam ardenter vehementissimisque adductis rationibus subsidium openque nostram ad Turcicos reprimendos apparatus postulat, priusquam irreparabili excidio inter Christianos prorumpant, et si arbitremur multis antea non obscuris indicij, ex nostrisque super ea re Vestre Sanctitati jampridem communicatis consilijs, animum nostrum satis compertum perspectumque Sibi esse; post maturam tamen consultationem nunc habitam, visum Nobis est, iterum velle nostra minimentem consiliumque nostris apud Sanctitatem Vestram Oratoribus super hijs rebus omnibus declarare, id quod impresentiarum diligenter fecimus, mandantes ut Vestre Sanctitati omnia copiosius ac distinctius nostro nomine exponant; rogamusque Nos ut hanc nostram mentem æqui bonique Ipsa consulere velit, ac referentibus illis certam indubiamque fidem adhibere. Que diutissime ac felicissime valeat. Ex regia nostra Grenwici, die 7 Februarij, 1531.

Excellentissime Vestræ Sanctitatis

Devotissimus atque obsequentissimus Filius,  
Dei Gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, Fidei  
Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,

HENRICUS.

(*Superscribitur*)

Sanctissimo Clementissimoque Domino  
nostro Papæ.

#### CCCXIV. KING HENRY VIII. to GHINUCCI, &c.

(*Signatur*) HENRY R.

REVERENDE in Christo Pater, alijque Oratores nostri quam plurimum dilecti, Salutem. Accepimus jam ante aliquot dies Breve quoddam Pontificis, Rome quarta Januarij ad Nos datum, quo graviter quidem et copiose presentem quem a Turcica invasione metum concepit exaggerat, culpam vero omnem tante calamitatis a Se ipso amoliri, et in alias rejicere, miro studio contendit. Ejus brevis exemplar ad vos nunc transmittimus, una cum literis ad Pontificem nostris, in quibus nil quiequam eorum scribimus, que ex nostro honore et pietate in Christianam religionem Pontifici respondenda decrevimus. Tantum rogamus ut vobis ea nostro nomine referentibus fidem indubiam velit habere. Visum est enim omnem animi nostri super hijs rebus sententiam vobis primum velle aperire et explicare, quo vos pro vestra prudentia singula expendentes, ita

consilia actionesque vestras omnes attemperetis, orationemque apud Pontificem ad eum modum instituatis, ut velit tandem longe aliam quam hactenus nostre dignitatis justissimeque nostre cause rationem respectumque habere, ac nostris vicissim votis et æquissimis postulationibus tandem acquiescere. Quoniam autem, et dum hoc Pontificis Breve studiose perlegimus, varie admodum affecti sumus, suspicantes etiam num non nisi vanis rumoribus inniti, que de hoc Turcarum adventu tam multis amplificat Pontifex; primum et ante omnia illud faciendum duximus, ut per vos intelligat, quam ægre in animum inducamus, ut putemus vera esse que de ea re narrantur. Nam si Cesar ingentes illos thesauros, quos ex omnibus suis ditionibus, partim ex cruciatis et decimis Illi a Pontifice indultis, partim vero ex alijs excogitatis rationibus, corrogavit et accumulavit, preter eam ingentem auri vim, quam a Christianissimo Francorum Rege, fratre nostro carissimo et perpetuo confederato, redemptionis nomine, solutam habet et possidet, ad defendendum contra hostes Christi Hungariam Siciliam et Neapolim, unde Illi detrimentum maxime pendet, converteret, et in hac parte Sibi vires, non voluntatem, deesse palam toti orbi comprobaret; porro autem, si Pontifex ipse precipuam in eo curam ponere vellet, ut fidem dictorum orbi faceret, atque ita Se se comparare in componendis illis causis, que nunc apud illum pendent controveſe, et precipue nostra, in justitia et veritate in dirigendis etiam actionibus et consilijs suis ita se gerere, ut reliqui Christiani in ipso Pontifice et Cesare cernere possent adventum Turce vere timeri: ita demum Nobis fidem facile faceret vera esse, que verbis et literis nunc profitentur, neque tractatibus opus esset quid quisque contribueret, sed suam quisque causam dicens, que et est et esse debet communis omnium, singuli nostra sponte uberrime conferremus animis et voluntatibus; ita concurrentes, ut conjunctis ad eum modum et unitis viribus Dei benignitate a Turca parum timendum foret. Nunc vero, quum Cesar ipse et Pontifex, de Turca securi, in alios usus sua servent alantque in Italia numerosum quidem exercitum, sed plane ociosum, nec alio ut videtur consilio quam ut sua tueantur, et Christianorum Principum potentiam infirment, et quidvis potius agant quam ut de reprimenda hac Turcarum audacia Se se ulla alia parte quam literis et verbis sollicitos esse ostendant, et Cesar quidem nihil aliud quam totius orbis Christiani monarchiam, et fratris imperium, adhuc ambire videatur, omniaque consilia vires opesque suas per universam Germaniam Hispaniam et Alemaniam huc potissimum et solum referat, Pontifex vero in Italia non nisi ampliandis prorogandis exornandisque dominij ac patrimonij suis incumbat, quam ridiculum hoc est alijs persuadere velle de Turcarum adventu, et alios eo periculo perterrefacere? Quin et illud satis

mirari

mirari non possumus, quo consilio Pontifex in Brevi illo quod ad Nos dedit duo potissimum reticuerit, que tamen totius hujus periculi quasi prora et puppis, ut dicitur, esse videntur: alterum, quod contra omne jus fasque, et in Cesaris duntaxat gratiam, Johannem Hungarie Regem indefensum et inauditum a regia dignitate exuerit, et extra Ecclesie communionem, sua sententia, quam Bononie tulit, ejecerit: alterum, quod idem Grimanus ipsi Pontifici coram multis Cardinalibus palam etiam retulerit, nempe quod Turca pacta quedam pacis et bellorum abstinentie cum Cesare Ferdinando ac ceteris principibus lubens et volens iniret, et, quemadmodum ex eo tempore per Oratores Regis Hungarie plenius intelleximus, idem Johannes Rex pollicetur, et fidem suam sanctissime obstringit, Se hanc pacem a Turca impetraturum, si quidem Cesar et Ferdinandus ad honestas aliquas et equas conditiones Secum devenire vellet, nec ferro amplius ac potentia rem cernerent, sed eam omnem causam aliorum judicijs expendendam et determinandam submitterent. Que cum vera sint, in quam partem Nos ista Pontificis et Cesaris facta interpretari et accipere convenit, quam quod Eos ipsos ista nihil permovereant, sed pro vanis mendacijs ac ludibrijs habeant, quibus alijs timorem incutere laborant? Neque enim par est credere, quin, si vera putarent, nollent que iniquissime contra tantum principem in leges publicas designarunt amplius dissimulare, et tam obvia expositaque remedia, quibus tantis malis nullo negocio occurrere liceat, statim arriperent et amplecterenetur. Debetis autem, dum apud Pontificem de hijs rebus agitis, omnes ingenij vestri nervos intendere, ut intelligat quanta Christiani sanguinis effusio, qui tumultus et bella, quante denique calamitates orbi Christiano ex hoc uno ipsius facto sint insecede, dum suis excommunicationibus et censuris, quas in Regem Hungarie, sive jure sive injuria, certe in Cesaris gratiam, tulit, tam potentem principem adegerit externa auxilia querere et implorare, unde nunc videt tam certum reipublice Christiane exitium imminere, ut vix ulla ratione reparari queat. Quam rem ita atrocibus verbis exaggerabis, ut factum imposterum detestetur et exhorreat, atque adeo hujus facti exemplo edoctus, nolit deinceps, in definiendis magnorum principum controversijs, in ullius mortalis gratiam, aut tuende private glorie sue studio, transversum abduci ab eo, quod divine leges, sacri canones, quod sanctissimorum virorum authoritas, quod naturalis æquitas et ratio, sequendum esse jubeant; atque hic sane optimam occasionem vobis captare licebit adhortandi rogandise Pontificem, ut nolit amplius que ab eo nostro nomine tamdiu multumque efflagitastis facere detrectare, nempe ut Excusatorem nostrum, et causas ab eo allegatas approbet, nec velit amplius contra Nos in causa nostra Rome procedere, sed ut eam remittat in partibus examinandam

ac terminandam pro veritate et justitia. Que cum sint per se justissima, obtineat hoc ab eo, si non Dei et ipsius justitie respectus, saltem horum temporum calamitas, cui, sotiris principum discordijs, et vera et non fucata amicitia cum Pontifice conjunctis quam facile mederi liceat, nemo non videt. Contra autem mutuis odijs inter se dissidentibus, et pro tuenda gloria et authoritate sua misere decertantibus, hec ipsa que videmus imminere pericula magis ac magis coalescant necesse erit. Nos vero rem hanc omnem vestre prudentie committimus, in qua plurimum confidimus vos, quemadmodum hactenus, semper ita nihil quicquam hic esse pretermisuros, quod causam nostram juvare, aut vota nostra quacunque ratione apud Pontificem promovere, posse arbitrabimini. Illud autem preterire nequaquam debetis, sed iterum atque iterum Pontifici inculcare, atque ejus socordiam in eo incusare, quod non alia ingrediatur via, nec alia querat remedia, quibus Turcarum violentie occurratur, quam nostra Christianissimique fratris nostri subsidia implorando. Neque enim Nos ad ista sic cecutimus, quin de longe aspicientes probe tamen sciamus ipsum Pontificem et Cesarem omnis hujus que a Turca timetur calamitatis esse authores, et solam aut certe precipuam causam prestitisse : Turcam vero non illud agere, ut Christianam religionem passim subvertat, sed ut Cesarem et Ferdinandum in ordinem redigat, et nimiam Illorum dominandi ambitionem ac libidinem quacunque ratione coherceat, ad idque tandem oportunitatem et tempus maxime propitium nactum esse Turcam, propterea quod putet inter ceteros Christianos Principes et Cesarem parum solide ac sincere amicitie intercedere, Pontificem vero potentissimorum Regum animos, nempe nostrum et charissimi fratris nostri Regis Christianissimi, jamdudum a Sese abalienasse, dum et sua et legum suarum authoritate in nostram injuriam misere abutitur, nec cessat non solum status quosdam Italie, sed etiam Regem Hungarie, et Nos precipue, in Cesaris gratiam injurijs lacessere, et cause nostre justitiam per fas et nefas opprimere ; ut jam ad repellendos et reprimendos Turcarum conatus alia via longe expeditior et facilior sit, quam ea qua nunc insistit Pontifex. Nostro enim judicio potius deberet consilium, adhortationes, supplicationes, et omnem denique que ei a Deo permissa est authoritatem, apud Cesarem interponere, ut sustineat tandem modum aliquem istis suis affectibus ponere, maxime autem nimie illi qua laborat dominandi libidini, et Se se intra legitimos mediocritatis et justitie terminos cohibere ; deinde ut causas sui fratris et Regis Hungarie studeat modis omnibus sine bello et sanguine componere, et de suo jure interdum aliiquid remittere potius quam ut universus mundus ad istum modum sua causa tumultuetur ; postremo ut Cæsar in causa nostra non amplius Se se immiscere velit, sed libere permettere

mittere Pontifici ut juxta sacrorum canonum pariter et legum divinarum ac humanarum omnium normam, moribus et consuetudinibus regionum omnium approbatissimam, et naturali etiam æquitati maxime consonam, eam omnem nostram causam in partibus examinandam judicandam et decidendam remittere. Que si non impetrat a Cesare Pontifex, aut certe si eo invito hec pro sua authoritate quod debet non prestiterit, frustra plane contendit Pontifex ut tantis periculis jacturisque Nos ipsos objiciamus pro tuendis duntaxat et fovendis privatis quibusdam, quas Cesar cum Turca habet, litium et discordiarum causis; contra autem, si obtinuerit, cogitet tum Pontifex, et expendat prudentia sua quantum hinc tranquillitatis ad universum orbem Christianum permanabit, quando istis ratione hac sublatis que sole sunt odiorum et discordiarum inter principes cause, et quasi quedam seminaria, omnes animis et voluntatibus sincera amicitia unitis et viribus et opibus concurrent ad ea prestanda, que ex honore et officio vere Christianorum principum quacunque ratione facere debent. Quod si Pontifex responsum hoc nostrum quasi novum et inexpectatum conqueretur, nec animo satis equo accipere videbitur, vos autem re propius ac penitus inspecta deprehenderitis nihil hic ab eo confitum, sed extra omnem simulationem verum esse quod Turca numerosissimam classem duosque maximos exercitus parat, ut proximo hoc vere non unius quidem aut alterius duntaxat principis terras atque dominia infestet et occupet, sed ad damna totius Christianitatis prorumpat, tunc et in eo casu tentatis prius omnibus que Pontificem inducere debeant, ut votis desiderijsque nostris adnuat, non minori studio et pari verborum apparatu Pontifici narrabitis, quanta Nos animi promptitudine et alacritate non opes solum et facultates omnes nostras, sed etiam sanguinem atque adeo vitam, pro tuenda contra Christi hostes Christi religione profundere gestimus, atque adeo hunc affectum in Nobis tam penitus insitum Nos habere, ut per nullos humanos affectus evelli unquam posse sustineamus, ut jam posthac non alijs literis aut hortationibus apud Nos uti necesse habeat Pontifex, quibus aliud plane nihil quam currentem quod dicitur equum incitare videbitur. Ad illud autem, quod tam enixe rogit Nos Pontifex, ut quocunque opis in commune conferendum duxerimus, illud quam primum conferamus, vos nostro nomine respondebitis primum quidem Nos eam persuasionem semper induisse, atque etiam nunc constantissime retinere; nihil videlicet magis salutare aut honorificum, nihil preclarus, nihil gloriósus principi Christiano posse obtingere, quam contra fidei tam juratos hostes fidem religionem ac Apostolice Sedis statum propugnando, personam et vitam etiam suam prodigere; deinde quod Nos longo rerum usu edocti probe intelligamus, quemadmodum ex subsidijs illis et pecuniarum contributionibus ac sumptibus, quos sine nostro milite ante hac

non

non semel ingentes fecimus pro conservandis ac tuendis sedis illius ac amicorum nostrorum juribus, parum quidem aut certe nihil fructus, glorie vero quam minimum, vel ad Nos seorsum, vel in commune ad Christianam tranquillitatem, redijsse. Proinde dicetis Pontifici, quod visum decretumque jamdudum apud Nos est, assentientibus etiam ad id atque adeo instigantibus nobilissimis quibusque Regni nostri proceribus, quod quotiens et quam primum per Pontificem certo Nobis constare poterit Turcam jam in ipsa expeditione esse, ut non unum aliquem principem (quemadmodum ante diximus) sed omnino totam Christianitatem invadat et occupet. Nos statim in propria nostra Persona exercitum militum subditorum nostrorum, quem facile in hoc nostro Regno conscribemus, et in quorum fide ac viribus secundum Deum Nos maxime confidimus, in Galliam ac Provinciam, usque cujus maritimos portus Turcam quoque occupare velle est verosimile, ducemus, et ducemus tanto quidem numero, et tanto aparatu rerum omnium que ad belli usum necessarie putabuntur instructum, ut, Christo res nostras bene fortunante et dirigente, certo speremus Nos una cum Christianissimo fratre nostro conatus omnes et molimina Turcarum facile pessundaturos. De numero autem militum nostrorum par non est ut quisquam dubitet, quem Nos ita conscribemus, ut tuende Personae nostre, quam tantis periculis non est credibile Nos temere velle exponere, et reprimende ac resistende adversariorum potentie pro virili nostra, sufficere debeat. Atque hic etiam cum Pontifice nostro nomine agitis, et modis omnibus persuadebitis, ut si tantopere a Turca metuendum videat, postquam Cesaris exercitus jam sit in Italia, Ipse private saluti et glorie sue ante omnia imprimis consulat, que quantam ignominiam, et quam inelutibile opprobrium hinc sustineret, si quidem Illius Persona in manus Turcarum (quod abominamur) aliquo casu incideret, vel ex superiori sua captivitate facile conjecturam facere poterit. Quamobrem nostro nomine hic apud illum modis omnibus contendetis, ut dispositis pro sua prudentia rebus et facultatibus quas habet in Italia, veniat Ipse in Persona sua in civitatem suam Avignonem, ubi Nos et Christianissimus noster frater Gallorum Rex conjunctis opibus et armis Personam Ipsius et dignitatem, nec non omnia dominia sua, ita tuebimur, eandem belli aleam cum Ipsa subituri, ut certum sit vel simul cum eo commori velle, vel ita vindicare et asserere nomen Christi contra Christi hostes, ut ipsi Pontifici ac Nobis eternam gloriam laudemque huic reportaturi simus.

Porro mittimus hic ad vos exemplar literarum Regis Hungarie, quas ad Principes Germanie misit<sup>1</sup>, una cum copia eorum que in dieta Lubece habitantur, ut, postquam eas legeritis, Pontificis fraudes, si quibus in hac re

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

utitur,

utitur, melius coarguatis. Mittimus etiam exemplar literarum, quibus Christianissimus Rex, frater noster charissimus, respondet ad Oratorem istic suum<sup>1</sup>, una cum literis dicti Oratoris ad prefatum fratrem nostrum<sup>1</sup> antea missis; quas volumus diligenter etiam atque etiam perlegatis, ut in hijs omnibus, que Pontifici nostro nomine estis relaturi, in unam eandemque sententiam cum dicti Christianissimi fratris Oratore consentiatis. In illis autem prefati Oratoris literis plurimum unum preter alia admirati sumus, quod vos, magnifice Domine Gregori, in frequenti Pontificis Cardinalium et aliorum Oratorum consessu palam respondistis, vos habuisse expressum mandatum a Nobis et sufficientem commissionem ad tractandum et concludendum cum Pontifice super rebus omnibus concernentibus subsidia et auxilia nostra contra Turcam; id quod neque verum esse putamus, neque rebus nostris ulla ratione conducibile, presertim quum idem fratris nostri Orator se nullam talem autoritatem habuisse tunc antea in eodem consessu affirmaverat. Nostra enim non parum referre arbitramur, si in Oratoribus nostris ac fratris nostri charissimi non minor concordia in dictis ac factis palam perspiciatur, quam est inter Nos ipsos indissolubilis plane et maxime concors et consentiens animus atque voluntas.

Porro narrabitis Pontifici quod quum eo animo simus, ut nihil putemus inexpertum aut intentatum relinquendum, quod in publicæ tranquillitatis commodum cedere possit, vel Christianam religionem a Christi hostibus illesam inoffensamque tueri: intelligentesque Serenissimos Reges Ferdinandum et Jo-hannem controversiam, quam habent de jure regni Hungarie, arbitrio et judicio Regis Polonie submisso componendam et definiendam, literas nostras ad ipsum Regem Polonie dedimus, Eum quam vehementissime rogantes, et quibusunque potuimus rationibus Illi suadentes, ut hanc causam omnino decidendam alacriter suscipere velit, tantaque diligentia ex equitate justitiaque terminare, ut ex illa discordia nullam Turca occasionem arripiat Christianitatem invadendi.

Ad hec dicetis Pontifici Oratorem Cesaris, qui hic apud Nos agit, Nobis significasse, quod Cesar jampridem fixum destinatumque in animo suo habeat, Se concordiam cum Principibus Germanic initurum, et eisdem concessurum ac consensurum in omnibus, que pertinebunt tum ad novationem ceremoniarum que sunt in Ecclesia receptissime, tum etiam ad redigendam summam illam Pontificis autoritatem et opes in eum ordinem et eam tenuitatem qui illorum arbitrio maxime convenire putabitur; que si vera sint, intelliget tandem Pontifex, ut multa paucis perstringamus, longe prestabilius sibi fuisse, si nostram unius amicitiam aliorum fucis anteposuisset.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

Postremo illud etiam atque etiam vos admonendos duximus, ut tractatum illum Lubece, pariter et exemplaria literarum que nunc hijs inclusa ad vos mittimus, secreto apud vos retineatis, neque ex illis quicquam ulli palam faciatis, nisi quatenus ad nostre cause commodum plurimum facere vestra prudentia judicabit. Et bene valete. Ex regia nostra Grenwici, die 9 Februarij, 1531.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendo in Christo Patri Domino Hieronimo  
Episcopo Wigornensi, ac Domino Willielmo  
Benet juris utriusque Doctori, et magnifico  
Domino Gregorio Equiti Casalio &c., nostris  
in Romana curia Oratoribus quam plurimum  
dilectis.

### CCCXV. CARNE to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASYTH yt Your Hyghnes. Thys ys to certyfye the same, that syns my letters of the 20<sup>th</sup> Januari, send to Your Hyghnes, to the tyme of the arryvale of M<sup>r</sup> Benet hyther<sup>2</sup>, nothyng was done in Your Highnes great cause, but that I did sollicite Your Hyghnes lerned councell here (accordyng as hyt semed best to Your Hyghnes Ambassadors here) to be in a redines for the disputation, in case hyt myght be opteyned after suche a sorte, as myght confere to the knowledge of the truth, and to Your Hyghnes ys purpose; wyche Your Hyghnes owne councell here estemyth no better wey to be done, seying I cowd opteyne none of those weys, wyche I stoyd fore, when the disputation was graunted, wyche I wrote of to Your Hyghnes in my lettres of the 17<sup>th</sup> of Decembre laste<sup>3</sup>, then to require all that shalbe deduced, aswel for Your Hyghnes parte, as for the parte adverse, to be delyveryd in wrytyng, immediately after the disputations, every day as hyt shalbe, to the Popes Holynes, and they to have a copy of owrs, and we lyke wyse of thyrs, and that every conclusion be disputyd severelly and sigillatim, and that the conclusions be printyd. Of thys your councell here estemyth that the Popes Holiness and the Cardinalles woll not wonly delyberatly procede, but also

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> During this interval Clement attempted, by a Brief of the 25th of January, to persuade Henry to take back his wife Catharine. It is printed by Herbert, p. 360, and remains in the State Paper Office.

<sup>3</sup> Referred to in his letter to Benet of that date, but not now to be found.

wyll have summe respecte to the truth, and that by suche wrytynges as shall be leyd in shal appere to every lerned man, whether the adversary parte ys growndes be accordyng to the commyn opynions of suche Doctors as hath wryten in law, or no; and in examinynge of every conclusion, severelly and sigillatim, the truth shall more clerely and distinctly be perceyvyd, than yf all shuld be accumulate together; for in so doyng, by the multitude and variete of deductions, all shuld be brought to a confusion, and the truth shuld be offuscated, and many thynge shuld not be brought to lyght; wher, in goyng gradatim and sigillatim, frome conclusion to conclusion, every poynt materiall must nedes be tryyd to the uttermuste.

And, Sir, immediatly upon the arryvale of M<sup>r</sup> Benet hyther, the Quens councell beganne to informe the Cardinalles upon Your Hyghnes letter, wyche I dyd exhibite. The effect of ther informacion was, that the letters do not conteyn a sufficient mandate for me to allege the maters excusatorye; and therupon intendyd to have Capisucca to refer in the Consistory the opinion of the Rote; wherunto the Cardinalles dyd muche incline.

The 7<sup>th</sup> day of thys present was a Consistory kept in Castel Angell, wher the Popes Holynes lyyth yet, as hyt ys sayd, purposly at the instance of the Imperiales, for the furtherance of the Quens cause; at what tyme the Emperors Ambassador, with the Quens Graces councell, purposed ageyn me, as they dyd befor, and also desyryd that the opinion of the Rote myght be referryd. Then the Popes Holynes caused me to be callyd in to the Consistory, and there, accordyng as was divised by Your Hyghnes ys councell here, I purposed by mowth; the whyche thynge purposyd, the Popes Holynes wyllyd me to resort to Cardinal Ceseryne, Vice Chaunceler, and delyver my petition to hym in wrytyng; and so I dyd; of the wyche Your Hyghnes shal receive a copye<sup>1</sup> herwith, with also a copye<sup>1</sup> of the conclusions that your councell here hath drawyn to be disputyd, of the wyche the Pops Holynes hath a copy also. Alredy, as fare as I can hyre, the adversary parte entendyth to make a great fundament, that the letters, wyche Your Hyghnes send to me for the prosecution of the maters excusatorye, doth not include a sufficient mandate for me to be hard to allege thys maters; for be cause of the clawse conteyned in them, viz. "quoniam autem" &c. as I wrote to Your Hyghnes in my letters, send by John Davis, sent with my Lord of Wynchester ys Bulles<sup>2</sup> thether; and, as your councell here

<sup>1</sup> These are not found.

<sup>2</sup> Late in October or early in November. See p. 327. Gardyner had restitution of the temporalties of the See of Winchester on the 5th of December. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 429.

sayth, hyt ys the best colore they have to stay upon, and many of the Cardinals doth take the letters for a thyng craftly made to deceve the Courte here; wherfor in omnem eventum, and to be usyd in case of extremyte, hyt ys thought good by your councell here, that Your Hyghnes, in case the same send non mandatum ad excusandum, yet to send a nother letter to me, wyllyng and commaundyng me therin to excuse Your Hyghnes appearance frome the Cowrt of Rome, as well for the commodite of Your Hyghnes Realme accordyng as hyt ys in the maters excusatory, as for impedimenta itinerum et mediorum locorum, not expressyng therin quo nomine, for hyt nede not. And yf yt shal please Your Hyghnes so to do, hyt wer expedient hyt shuld be here in tyme; for the disputation begynyth the 16 day of thys, and hyt ys uncertern how long hyt shall contynue upon those conclusions that tochyth wonly my admission to allege the maters; for the parte adverse wold not dispute the maters, whether they be canonicall, or no. In case they may exclude me, wyche I thynk, and yff justyce may indifferently be takyn, they can not, the order how and what maner the disputations shalbe ys committyd fully to Cardinals Anchona and Monte. All stondyth upon Cardinal Anchona, for as he woll, so every thyng shalbe; and otherwyse hyt can not be loyked for here. Hyt ys concludyd by them, that on Fryday next we shal begyn and dispute, first upon those conclusions that concernyth wonly my admission, wyche be the 6 first conclusions, not tochyng no poynt concernyng the other conclusions folowyng, wyche concernyth the maters excusatory, principally; and that every conclusion be disputyd singillatim, and that every man shal bryng yn, yn wrytyng, hys growndes both of Your Hyghnes parte, and also of the adversarys parte, and delyver them to the Popes Holynes; and we to have a copy of thyrs, and they of ows, and that to be done after the disputation, every day, for as myche as shalbe spokyn for that day; and so procede sigillatim, tyll all the conclusions be singillatim disputyd, or confessyd, by the parte adverse.

Thys day the Imperiales wer with the Pops Holynes and Cardinals Anchona and Monte, befor whome the Imperiales mayd a great exclamacion for thys order takyn; as the Pops Holynes, and Cardinal de Monte, showyd to Your Hyghnes Ambassadors, and also to me. The Pops Holynes hath referryd all the order to the sayd Cardinals, wyche be contentyd the order of the disputations to go forth, as ys above wrytyn, with also the disputations upon the relevancye of the maters, yf hyt shalbe so expedient, to Your Hyghnes councell here; and also that the conclusions be pryned, and the Pops Holynes and all the Cardinals, and the Auditors of the Rote, and all the Advocates to have the copy of them: and that Your Hyghnes counsell  
here

here thynketh very expedient. And thus moste humelly I commend me to Your Hyghnes, besechyng Almyghty God to conserve the same in hys moste noble royall state, by infinit yers. At Rome, 11<sup>o</sup> Februarij, 1532.<sup>1</sup>

Your Hyghnes ys moste humile  
subject and pore servant,

EDWARD CARNE.

<sup>(Superscribed)</sup>  
To the Kynges Hyghnes.

### CCCXVI. NORFOLK *to* BENET.<sup>2</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> BENET, with my herty recommendacions. This shalbe to advertise you of the receyte of your letters of the 11<sup>th</sup> of this moneth, by Fraunces, by the wch I perceyve the Pope toke in gode part such thynge as I desired you to shew unto Hym on my behalve, wherof I am right joyfull, and this day I have spoken with his Ambassitour here, who I dout not woll advertise Hym playnle of suche conferensi as wer betwene us, wch be necessary for His Holynes wisle [to] ponder, if He entende the contynewaunce of gode obedience of Inglonde to the See Appostolike; at the lest I have lyke a trew catholyke man discharged my consience, wher best remedy may be provyded. And on my behalve ye may sewerly afferme to His Holynes, that notwithstandingyng the Chyrche hath in this realme many wryngers at their high auctorites, yet no thynge hurtful shalbe done, onles the fault be in Hym in procedyng wrongfully and ungratly agaynst the Kyng. For, notwithstandingyng the infenyte clamours of the temporaltye here, in Parlment, agaynst the mysusyng of the sprytuell jurysdicion<sup>3</sup>; yet in His Highnes doth remayne to stop all such effectes, and woll so do, onles ill and unkynde handlyng enforce Hym to consent to the same. I asseure you this realme dyd never grudge the 10<sup>th</sup> part agaynst the abusys of the Churche at no Parlment in my days, as they do now. I

It appears from the King's instructions of the 29th of February, *post*, p. 350, that there was also of this date a joint letter from Ghinucci, Benet, and Gregory da Casale, which is not extant.

<sup>2</sup> *Holograph.*

<sup>3</sup> Parlment, which met on the 15th of January 1531 2, passed in the usual mode an Act (23 Hen.VIII. c. 20.) "concerning restraint of payment of Annates to the See of Rome," but it contained a power for the King, within a specified time, to declare whether it should be observed, or not; and on the 9th of July 1533 He finally ratified and confirmed it by letters patent. The Act is not printed in the ordinary editions of the Statutes at large, but it was published by Burnet, Vol. I. Collection, pp. 102–107, and in the Appendix to Ruffhead's edition of the Statutes, p. 117, and has of late been printed in the "Statutes of the Realm," Vol. III. p. 385.

pray God we may, or Ester, fynyshe our Parlment of gode sort ; wiche shall moche depende of gode newes to be sent fro you shortly. I trust your request to have some answer of your letter in zypher is accomplished, with the satifaccion of the old manrys<sup>1</sup> mynde. If this offer woll not please hym, I am in dout what other thyng woll do. Ye and Sir Gregory may be assewred the Kyng can be no better plesed, then He is, with your procedynges. Scribbed in hast the 28 day of Februarij.

Your frend,  
T. NORFFOLK.

I pray you recommande me to Sir Gregory.

(*Superscribed*)  
To my wellloved frend Doctour Benet, the Kynges  
Ambassitour at Rome.

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### CCCXVII. KING HENRY VIII. to GHINUCCI, &c.

(*Signatur*) HENRY R.

REVERENDE in Christo Pater, Oratoresque alij quamplurimum Nobis dilecti, Salutem. Ex literis, quas die 11<sup>o</sup> hujus mensis conjunctim ad Nos dedistis, copiose intelleximus singulare vestrum in rebus nostris juvandis studium, egregiam fidem, et assiduam indefessamque operam. Que certe optimi vestri in Nos animi testimonia etsi longe antea compertissima habuerimus, quum tamen officia, que tam sedulo in nostra promovenda causa præstatis, et jucundissima Nobis cognitu, et omni sua parte gratissima acceptissimaque Nobis extent, reticere quidem non possumus, quantopere labor industriaque vestra indies magis ac magis Nobis probetur; et quam maxime cupiamus, vestrisque actionibus consultum esse judicemus, ut in hujusmodi officijs quemadmodum egregie facitis, perseveretis. Quorum quidem nomine plurimum vobis debemus et ingentem gratiam habemus; uberrimam quandoque relaturi, occasionemque nullam prætermisuri, ut a vobis præstitæ in hac causa nostra operæ vos unquam pœnituerit. Quod autem in eisdem literis vestris scribitis, adversarios in eo se potissimum fundare, quod Excusatoris nostri literæ

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<sup>1</sup> The person here alluded to appears to be the Cardinal of Ancona, contrary to what is stated in the Cottonian Catalogue, Vitellius, B. XIII. leaf 151. His nephew, the Cardinal of Ravenna, was in the correspondence of this period styled "the young man."

sufficientem mandati vim non habeant, et propterea Excusatorem nullum admittendum esse, quemadmodum ex dicti Excusatoris nostri literis plenius etiam intelleximus; quanquam literis nostris, quas ad eundem nunc mittimus, quid animi atque sententiæ Nobis fuerit, et quid illum facere cupiamus, in supplendis priorum nostrarum literarum defectibus abunde explicavimus; vestrarum tamen partium erit, iterum atque iterum illud a Pontifice contendere, ne in nostram tam non ferendam injuriam ad istum modum, et ex eo solum capite rejicere nostrum defensorem velit, quod mandatum videlicet a Nobis non habeat. Quin cogitet potius, si hoc fecerit, quam inique fecerit, et contra omnem juris tum divini tum humani æquitatem, tum etiam quam sit illud exemplo perniciosissimum; maxime etiam cum literas nostras habeat, quibus de voluntate nostra singula illa que a dicto Excusatore nostro gesta sunt approbante tam liquido omnibus constare poterit, ut nemo de ea re dubitare queat, nisi qui pertinacissime ipse sibi oculos obstruere velit, ne videat. Non dubitamus quin sæpius antehac ad aures Pontificis et Cardinalium ista acclamastis; et tamen cum ad querelas has vestras, longe quidem justissimas, hactenus obsurduerint, rogamus tamen ut pergatis non illud solum apud illos perpetuo inculcare, donec resipuerint, et ad cor redierint, verum etiam et in memoriam illis redigere, quam non sit conveniens aut tutus locus Roma ipsa, in qua Nos in hac causa nostra jus dicere conveniat; vel hoc solum nomine, etiam cætera suspicionis argumenta decessent, quod Cæsar ipse, qui Se in hac causa, non partem, sed totum, facit, alibi quam Romæ hanc causam decidi ac determinari nolit.

Quod si eo deductam rem esse tandem videritis, ut ad extrema queque præsidia, ac velut ad sacram ancoram confugiendum vobis erit, neque ullum aut justitiæ aut rationi locum datum esse intellexeritis, tum demum omni vestro consilio, studio, ingenio, ac arte quacunque, cum ipso Pontifice agite, insinuate, ac persuadete Illi, ut nulla habita personarum acceptione, neglectaque Cæsaris aut cujuscunque alterius in hac parte autoritate, causam omnem hanc nostram ad æquum aliquem ac indifferenter locum decidendam ac definiendam velit remittere. Qua in re æquissimi plane judicis pientissimique patris officio ab universo orbe defunctus existimabitur. Postremo et illud etiam atque etiam cum Pontifice agetis, ut compositis prius pro prudentia sua rebus et causis suis, quas istic habet, velit Romam mature ac in tempore relinquere, et alio concedere. Nos enim ex hijs que jampridem accepimus, certo scimus Sanctitatem Suam longe majori cum periculo salutis et vitaæ suæ Rome versari, quam Ipsa fortasse adhuc intelligat; neque posse eam diu illic salvam ac incolumem esse; et quidem multis de causis, quas partim Oratori suo, qui hic apud Nos agit, palam explicavimus. Neque enim Nos

veteris

veteris erga Sanctitatem Suam amicitiae nostrae, sic omnem affectum exuimus, ut non officij nostri esse putavimus Sanctitatem Suam harum rerum admonere, que in tam certam illius perniciem et exitium tendere Nobis videantur. Debetis igitur, et vos, nostro nomine, Sanctitati Suae fidele et amicum consilium nostrum exponere; et verbis quam potestis efficacissimis urgere, ut eidem obsequatur. Hac enim una potissimum ratione, et Sedis Apostolicæ dignitati, et privatæ saluti et vitæ suæ optime consultum erit. Ex Regia nostra Londini, ultimo Februarij, 1531.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendo in Christo Patri, Domino Hieronimo  
Episcopo Wigornensi, ac Domino Wilielmo  
Benet, Decano Sarisburiensi, ac Magnifico  
Equiti Domino Gregorio Casalio, nostris in  
Romana Curia Oratoribus perquam dilectis.

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### CCCXVIII. KING HENRY VIII. TO CARNE.<sup>1</sup>

TRUSTY and right welbiloved, We grete you well. And although in the effectuell execution and goode conduing of all suche thingis, as We have committed unto your chardge there, We knowe right well, and by long experience do perceave, howe wisely discretely substancialy and without any lacke or default on your partie, but with the deserte of our especiall thankes, whiche We geve unto youe for the same, youe have alwaies from tyme to tyme answered unto our expectacion, insomoch that any our further instruccions or advertisement unto youe at this tyme sholde not be in our opinion moch necessarie or requis[ite; yet] considering thobstinate and importune clamours of our adversaries there, with the unfriendlye and most unjust and ungodlye proceedinges of the Pope and his Cardinalles against Us, wherof ye advertised Us by your last lettres, and to thintent ye may more honorably defende the justice of our cause, and more scharpely occurre resist and mete with thair saied maliciose enterprises, We have thought good to require youe by thiese our lettres, that, folowing your former instruccions, ye note and regarde foure thinges in especiall, and do stedfastely consiste and stonde in

<sup>1</sup> From an original minute, mutilated by damp towards the end. It is without date; but the probability is, that it was the despatch written to Carne, at his own suggestion, see p. 348, and alluded to in the King's despatch to Ghinucci, &c. of the 29th of February, p. 351, and afterwards presented to the Pope on the 12th of June, see p. 373.

the setting forth the declaracion and mayntenaunce of the same, aswell with the Pope and his Cardinalles, as all other to whom it shall aperteign to knowe, howe greate an injurie, and how perilouse an example it is to all other princes and realmes to be handeled and entreated, as We be in this our greate and waightie mater. And where as our adversaries there gronde all thair malice upon pretense of justice, contynually exclaiming at the Popes eares and his Consistorie for sentence to be geven against Us, aswell for contumacie, as also in the principall cause, We require youe that ye woll on our behaufl, with no lesse clamour and importunitie, contende and crye unto the Pope and the Courte for justice to be ministred unto Us; for it is We onely and our cause, whiche hathe and doith susteign alwaies hitherto wrong and injurie in the hole discourse and processe of this mater, the particularities wherof be well knownen unto youe.

First. And therfore, first of all youe shall sollicite and labour, by all meanes to youe possible, that you, Master Karne, may be there admitted as our lawfull Excusatour, so as in no wise ye do relent or geve place in that pointe to our adversaries; but contynue still in maters excusatorie and the justice thereof; not suffering yourself to be by any meanes dejected ex illo gradu, but stedfastely and contynually to consist therin, proposing alleaging and proving still nullitatem citacionis, et proinde tocius processus inde facti, by reason off rejecting of youe our saide Excusatour. And in case of refusall of justice in this pointe, ye may boldly say, that they shall do unto Us so expresse wrong and iniquitie, as they shall never be hable afterwarde to redubbe; and not onely unto Us, and to al other Princes, and unto justice self, but also to the due ordre reason and equitie of all lawes. For justification wherof, what ye may say and allege, ye have been hertofore sufficiently instructed, as well by our sindrye lettres, as also by the bokes and wrtinges of the chief and most notable lerned men whiche be in Fraunce and Italye; so as We nede nothing to adde or supplie in that behaufl. But specially, among all other reasons, ye may engreave the iniquitie of soch rejection, forasmoch as the Pope and his Courte entendeth therby nothing els but to enforce us, either to abandon our Royaulme, and to appeare at Rome in our own Person, to the subversion of Us, our dignitie, and the privileagies of our Realme, or els to constraine Us to thexhibition of a procuracie there: thiniquitie of both which [things] is so evident and notable, ut nulla tergiversatione defendi queat. For who knowith not this commune principle of the lawe, quod quoties citatus ex privilegio, causa ve aliqua alia notoria in jure expressa, venire non teneatur in eo casu, nec tenetur aliquam sui copiam facere,

neque se neque procuratorem sistere? And who knowith not on thodre side, not onely the liberties and prerogatives of our Realme, to thobservation wherof We be bounde by our othe, but also the privileges of Princes, being publique persons, besides other greate and urgent causes whiche necessarily doith lett us tappeare at Rome, and lawfully defendeth and excuseth our absence; which being also evident and perfectly knownen unto the Pope Himself, We thinke, and ye may constantly affirme the same, that the Pope, of his office and dutie, ought and is bounde, etiam nemine pro Nobis postulante, Nos excusare. Debet enim quod juris est et equitatis, etiam absque alicujus persone interventu, supplere; hoc est innocentem, injuste apud ejus tribunal delatum, ab injuria inique irrogata defendere, ac sibi ipsi in processu male inchoato silentium irrogare. In hijs enim, que tam clara sunt et nemini non patent, queque ipsis legibus prescripta sunt, et cauta ne fiant, ibi vero iniquissimum est, ut judex conscientiam suam publica cognicione vel eruditione sic informatam dissimulans, solus non videat quod omnes vident, nescire incipiat que scit, denique in judicijs dormiat et stertat, nec nisi ad vocem procuratoris evigilet. Judges be constitute to have the governaunce of the lawes, and thair office is to see them duely executed, ne quid videlicet partium inscitia vel taciturnitate litigatoribus pereat. What iniquitie then is this in the Pope, Who pretendeth to have committed unto Him the universall governaunce of all the lawes of the Churche, first to cite and call Us, being a King, to appere at Rome, there to answer in a cause of so grete waight and importaunce, which thing He Himself knoweth to be, by Goddis lawes, the lawes of nature and naturall reason, the lawes of Emperours, the decrees of holie Counsailles, the constitucions of the canons, and finally by thole consent of holye and well lerned menne not onely of this our tyme but ever sith the first begynning of Christendom, to be determined as a thing unlawfull? and yett nevertheles He woll sitt still, and suffre Us thus to be wronged and injured, ne woll by any meanes redresse the same, bicause We woll not sende our procuratour thidre to require Him so to do. Ye may therfore saye, that it sholde becom Him rather to considre what He ought to do, of his office in thadministration of justice, to every manne, and specially in our cause, being a Kinges cause, and of such weight, touching so highly Us, our Realme, and succession: for it is a mocquerie, yea, and an argument of grete malice in Him, to saye, " Scio Me secus quam oportet fecisse, sed nolo male cepta corrigere, " nolo ab injurijs desistere, quia Tu Me per tuum procuratorem non prohibes, " non commonefacis officij." Aut enim bene, et ut oportuit, Nos Romam citavit Pontifex, aut male benefactum omnes negant. Si ergo male, quod  
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et omnes fatentur, omnino equius et honorificentius est, ut quod Nobis ignorantibus in Nos peccavit, etiam sine Nobis emendet. Et cur non secum deliberacionem hujusmodi velit inire Pontifex? “ Feci temere, feci inconsulte, injuriam irrogavi amico. Non debet Rex Anglie citari Romam, non potest venire, et gravior est causa quam ut teneatur dare procuratori. Vincat primum quod honestum est et legibus consentaneum, deinde reliqua videbimus, atque ita demum concludat ab injurijs desistendum.” Nos plane non videmus, quominus ista posset Pontifex, si vellet, nisi fortasse illius potestas minor sit, ut bene faciat, quam ut male. Male siquidem facere facile potuit, quum Nos citavit; bene autem facere nunc non potest, nisi Nobis id potentibus et admonentibus, cum officij sui est nimium hac in parte coarctata potencia, quam alias in nimis amplam amplitudinem porrigerre pertinaciter contendit. Oon other principle is also in the lawe, quod judici, qui extra territorium jus dicit, impune non paretur. Wherupon ye may inferre, that sith that Roma non est territorium Pontificis, in quo jus dicere in Nos Nobis invitis possit, whiche thing ye canne sufficiently declare, whi maye not We lawfully disobey his citacion, as made unto a place unlawfull, yea and therto most suspect and unsure, not onely for Us and our Personne being the principall parte, but also for the person of our proctour, yea and of the juge also, and specially for the self cause? Now ye know well, quod citando ad locum non tutum, et procedendo, judex facit inique et justissimam prebet appellationis causam; et quia legibus etiam id prohibentibus, necnon antiquissimis Concilijs et Pontificum Romanorum definitionibus repugnantibus, id facit, non solum inique, sed etiam nulliter facit. Then, sith these the Popes proceedinges, wherby He wolde compell Us to sende a proctour, or els personally tappeare at Rome, be repugnant both unto reason and lawe, like as by your lerning and greate experience had in the debating of that pointe, ye canne both by goode reasones and autoritie confirme and persuade to all indifferent persones the same; our mynde and pleasour is, that ye contynue still in propounding and engreving these so evident injuries doon unto Us, amplifieng and extending the same, with all suche exceptions and other meanes, as by your lerning and wisdom ye shall thinke may conduce and serve ad declinandam jurisdictionem Pontificis, and all other judges to be appointed there; so as by your continuall instance in that parte our adversaries may conceave som light, wherby they may undrestonde quam iniquam litem foveant, and so consequently be ashamed therof, or at the least it may appere to all those that be there of any sincere and upright judgement, what injurie is by these meanes inferred there unto Us by the Pope and his Courte, and specially for

the perniciose exemple therof concernyng oother Christen Princes. Quid enim, si Papa vellet omnes Reges simul e regnis suis Romam evocare, esset quidem illud durum; sed tamen si vellet, posset. Quia enim ratione unum adstringeret, omnes etiam Reges cogere posset, ut Romam ad se venirent, hoc est, ut regna deserant et curam sibi a Deo commissam negligant, ut Rome de suo jure apud ignotos disceptent, sitque jam in Pontificis potestate quos velit principes a regnis suis submovere, omniaque regere ac moderari pro arbitrio et voluntate sua ad humanos affectus subinde variabili.

Second. Albeit if by these forsaide persuasions ye shall not be hable tattaigne any justice for Us at the Popes handes, and our adversaries contending incessantly to have the contempte and contumacie, whiche they pretende to be in Us, to be decreed against Us by the Popes sentence: for the better satisfieng of them in that pointe, and the declaracion of our justice, We thinke it convenient ye discende unto another degree; which is this, that although the Pope coulde by goode lawe and raison prove unto Us, which We knowe impossible for Him to do, first, that the citacion had lawfully proceded, secondly, that our Excusatour ought not to be admitted sine mandato, and thirdely, that Rome were a place both competent and sure, wherunto We might without any our peril or detriment of our Reaulme have save accesse; yett We ne canne nor ought, by any lawe reason or equitie, be condemned for any contumacie shewed hitherto on our partie, forasmoch as there was never any personall citacion decreeed or directed unto Us, but onely per edicta; and ye know right well that citacio per edicta nunquam fieri potest, nisi prius constiterit quod impedita fuerit fieri ad personam per citandam. And ye knowe also that, in case We wolde have been contented to have appered there in our own Person, We coulde not have ben compelled to have constitute and sent thidre any other proctour for Us; which our contentacion, or the contrary therof, the Pope hath done nothing hitherto wherby He might have compelled Us to open and declare unto Him. Then We being in mynde personally tappeare there, and nevertheless not required ne cited lawfully so to do, what contumacie is this in Us, in that We, being not lawfully called, do not appere? For as unto that texte, quod illustres persone non debent, etiam si velint, in sua persona comparere in judiciis, that texte is to be understood onely in such judgementes, where as it [*is*] treated de causis pecuniarum et injuriarum; whiche thinges being of non or small importaunce, it were not honorable for princes and noble men to entreate in thair own personnes. But in the judgement of this mater, whiche is of so hiegh consequence and towcheth so nerely our state honour and the tranquillitie of our soule and conscience,

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and the perpetuell weale and stablishment of this our Reaulme, like as no lawe inhibiteth Us but that We may, if We wooll, lawfully and honorably appere in our own Person, so surely We wolde never, the matyer being of suche moment, committe thole chardge therof unto any personne, of what discretion lerning or auctoritie so ever he were, as unto our proctour, oncles We might also oftyntymes, maxime autem in principali actu, qui est interrogationis, be personally present in the same judgement. Wherfore, and to thentent We shall not be lawfully condemned of contumacie, youe shall saye unto the [Pope, that if none] of the thre thinges before rehersed can be lawfully and justely mayntained by the lernyng of indifferent persons, that is to meane, of soche indifferent universitees as be neither subject to Us, neither thEmperour, that than We will consent to come personally, furnished for our suerty, according to our estate, unto the Cite of Rome, at all soche tymes as the Poope shall appoynte Us to do; providing allwayes the justice and equyte of the lawes to be saved unto Us, and that soche lawfull and reasonable tyme be geven unto Us, as We may conveniently within the same have accesse thider. Whiche thing if youe shall so offre on our behaulf unto the Poope, and cawse it to be diuulg'd there, that We never refus'd to have come to Rome in our Parson, if We had been lawfully by the Poope requyred and cited therunto, We dowbte not shall worke som good effecte to empecement, or at the leaste the dclaye, of any soche sentence of contumacye to be geven againste Us. And in case the Poope, upon your saide offre, shall refuse and denye that We shulde com personally to Rome, then it shall evidently appeare unto all the world, what injurye He dothe unto Us, in that He procedeth against Us for contumacie withowte cawse. Wherfore that ye woll diligently and effectually set forth this degré with the Pope and others, to your possible powers, and as by your wisdom youe shall perceave may serve to the furtheraunce of our desires, We hartely require and pray youe.

Thirde. And in case, notwithstanding all your endevours so to be employed and shewed therin, ye shall not be hable to induce the Pope to relent any thing unto our desired purposes, We thinke it then necessarie that ye do insiste in one other waye of persu[asion,] which is this, that youe cease not to declare open and laye bifore the Popes iees, how litill benefite honour or glory sholde redounde by suche his sentence unto Him and thautours therof, or unto Her in whose favour the sentence shuld be so geven; sith that We may alwais have our lawfull refuge and remedie by our appellacion to be made by Us, from that sentence, unto the Generall Counsaill. For sith that all lerned men agre in this poynte, that processus factus Rome, ubi non tenemur comparere, et quo

quo non tenemur mittere procuratorem, quum aperto et notorio jure sit secus definitum, sit ipso jure nullus, He may be well assured that We woll not be afraied to interpone our appeall a tam iniqua et nulliter pronuncita sentencia, and to prosecute the same to the extremite. And for that purpose We have sent here unto youe the forme of our appeale, under autentique forme, whiche We woll that youe shall retayne with your self, untill youe shall see oportunyte, and than to exhibite to laye in the same in our name and behalfe, as according to the due ordre of the lawes, and as youe shall perceave may serve to the benefite . Whiche appellacion hanging, We thinke the Pope, being then subject unto the Consaill as We be, and Hym self being in tymes past content that We sholde appeale, shall not dare attempte to innovate any thing to our prejudice; and yf He so do, He shall therby nothing prevaile, but rather enforce Us on thoder side, that like as He, without respecte to Goddes lawes or his own, regardeth not what injurye He doth unto Us, so We, having onely regarde to the mayntenance of Goddes lawe, shall studie to confounde and distroye his, wherby He hath attaigned and forged Himself such a trone and power, as soundeth gretly to the blasphemie of Christ and His veray Church. For the good mayntening wherof We doubt nothing in thaide and assistance of God, considering it to be His veray cause, and as for socour of men, We cannot be therof destitute or frustrate, qui et amicos et subditos habemus ea fide et integritate in principem, ea vero religione in Deum, ut cum utriusque causa in hoc negotio versetur, nihil unquam sibi gloriosius ducant, quam vit[am] et sanguinem occumbendo profundere . What the saied Generall Counsaill, g[overned] by tHolie Goste, shall judge and pro[nounce] of the Popes so unjust and ungodlye sentence, and of other his most unjust de[crees], We thinke playnly and be well assured shall retourne unto his no litill confusion; for that Spirite, being the Spirite of trouth and justice, canne never approve thinges done contrary therunto, but woll unfaynedlye revenge the lewed presumptions of men, who, for the defence of thair own corrupt affections of glorie and ambicion, care not to abuse, yea and subverte, somoch as in them is, not onelie the trouth of God, but also the due and right ordre of His lawes. And ye maye saye also, that in like maner as We, not only for wante of justice in our said cause at the Popes hande, but also for the defence of suche extreme injuryes as He hath pryked Us withal, during the suspense of the same, (abusing Us with frusteratory delayes, altogether tending to the mayntenaunce of his oune pompe and glorie, without regarde or respecte to our astate, dignitie, liberties, privileages, and lawes of our Realme, conformable and agreeable to the [lawe] of God, and

and to the laudable counsailes hertofore passed, for to represse and kepe undre the malice of men for the better quiet of Christendom) have been of late compelled, by lawes passed by the hole consent of our Realme, to seke defensyve remedye for avoyding the said injuryes; and soo, aftre We had long troden the mase, to steppe forthe to thende, long labored for in vayn at their handes, to our great costes expenses and chargies, without any frute or good effect therof succeding: even so We, being in this pointe stinged with the Popes glory and ambicion, contrary to the lawes of Almightye God, let not the Pope thinke the contrarye, but We shal, by other lawes to be made and established within this our Realme, provide Us suche as sholde [*be our*] defence against his maliciouse injuste and un[*godly*] dealing therin; [*and* *t*]hus doing                    the [Pope] shal not onely wante and be clerlye [*lett*] and frustrate of his desire and purpose, but also at lenght redounde to his rebuke shame and utter confusion. Which as We wold be lothe and sorye to see happen and chaunce to Him, that, by his vertues lyving in the immytacion and folowing the steppes of Christ and of his Apostles, shuld shewe Himself, in the hole congregacion of Christen men, to be as a cheffe and pryncypall membre; soo now We be dryven of force by his contynual dealing to the contrarye, in shewing Himself rather the child of wrathe and discorde, then the immytator and folower of Crist, to withstande and resyst Hym.

And finally if, al thise reasons notwithstanding, the Pope shal shewe Himself mynded to proceде against Us, to thintent it maye the more clerly appere to the worlde, howe injuriously He doth handle and entreatе Us in this soo highe and weighty a matier, not only contrary to Goddes lawe, but also to his ounе lawes, [*We*] sende unto youe herwith the copie of a certain boke presented afor the [Popes] Legattes sitting here in judgement, by the late [*Quenes counsail*], in whiche be conteyned diverse answers [*and o*]bjec-  
tions there made against the Popes Bulles<sup>1</sup> of dispensacion conc[ernyn]g the mariage bet[wene Us] and the said late Quene; She consenting [*and*] assenting that they shuld be exhib[ited afore the] said Legattes, as her ounе counsail dothe k[*nowleage*] and ha                    ; wherby ye shal wel per-  
ceyve by the answers made to the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> argument of that boke, that the said late Quenes counsail, and She also, were inevitably constrainyd to confesse and knowleage, in the said answers, that the mariage betwen Prince Arthur and Her was consumat by carnal copulacion, or elles they must nedes have graunted that the said Bull had been of noon effecte, as ye may gather

<sup>1</sup> See Lord Herbert, p. 264. Burnet, Vol. I. Collection, p. 9.

of the said 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> argument, and of thanswers to them. For in the Bull is expressed, that the Pope dispensed [*with the impediment of affinity*], whiche springeth not without carnall [*copulation*], and no mencyon is made of justice, of publique honestie, were no carnal copulacion: by reason wher[*of, if He*] dispensed uppon affinitie, thenne the Pope dispensed uppon nothing, and soo his Bull was nothing worth; and consequently, for lack of a sufficient dispensacion, the mariage was not good, the impediment of justice and of publique honestie letting the same.<sup>1</sup>

### CCCXIX. KING HENRY VIII. to GHINUCCI, &c.

(*Signatur*) HENRY R.

REVERENDE in Christo Pater, et Oratores alij Nobis quamplurimum dilecti, Salutem. Cum non ignoremus quorundam ingenia ad maliciam tam propensa, ut etiam sancte recteque gesta calumniandi omnem occasionem studiose querant, opereprecium putavimus de hijs ad vos scribere copiosius, que in nostro Parlimiento hijs proximis diebus tractata transactaque sunt de abroganda Annatarum solutione, nimium quidem hactenus gravi (ut verum dicatur) et onerosa, et de qua omnes omnium ordinum homines vehementer conquesti sunt, et, Nobis conniventibus, egerime tulerunt. Qua in re, quamvis conscientia recte factorum Nobis satis esse debeat, ne aliorum calumnijs cogamur respondere, tamen quum hoc tempore audiamus, et Pontifex et Cardinales, quos hec causa proxime respicere videtur, Nobis non nihil quam antea propensiores verisimiliter futuros, convenire putavimus, cum hijs quos vel habemus amicos, vel habituros Nos speramus, non ex summo jure, sed ex amicitia agere, et ipsam illis veritatem exponere, atque factorum rationem ita explicare, ut ad aliorum calumnias refellendas, cognitione veritatis instructi, in probe recteque factis non offendantur. Itaque vobis mittimus exemplar Statuti<sup>2</sup> hujusmodi, ut omnem rei circumstanciam videatis; vobis videlicet mittimus vobis servandum, non ut alijs communicetur. Neque enim alijs permittimus aut permittemus communicari, donec casus inciderit ut effectum sortiatur.

<sup>1</sup> From this point follow about a dozen lines, so mutilated as to be unintelligible; but enough remains to show that they were very immaterial.

<sup>2</sup> See Note to p. 349.

Est enim, ut ex serie facile perspicietis, ita conceptum, ut de eo Pontifex et Cardinales, qui bene Nobis volunt, qui Nobis in justicia et veritate favere volunt, gaudere debeant, et item de quo dolere et contrastari si Nobis perrexerint sine causa esse molesti. Beneficium gratiam petunt, injuria talionem: quanquam Nos pro Christiana charitate talionem certe abhorremus in malefactis, nec tamen preposteram illam patientiam ita amplectimur, ut, cum injurias illatas ab alijs equanimiter sustineamus, eas non depellamus tamen, quas ultro ac sponte volentes subivimus, cujusmodi est solutio que de Annatis facta est in summis ignorantie tenebris ultro accersita. Quamobrem ut est varium Pontificis et Cardinalium ingenium omnia suo commodo metentium, et quos varij affectus in idem impellunt, ut nunc amore et precibus gratia et favore commoveantur, nunc contra timore et minis eo adducantur, ut faciant officium, et quid fieri oporteat animadvertant, in hoc potissimum vestra opera dexteritas et prudentia versabitur, ut hujus Statuti vim atque effectum, vel in commodum, vel in detrimentum illius curie cessurum, illis interpretemini. Adeo ut si in Pontifice, si in Cardinalibus, aliquam in Nos causamque nostram propensionem sese exercere animadverteritis, videaturque expedire, ut illorum favor et gratia, aliquo timore aut desperatione non interrumpatur, et jam ceperint vel Pontifex vel Cardinales de hijs conqueri et expostulare, videlicet, quod Annatarum causa in publicam discussionem producta sit; respondebitis, id quod res est, disceptacionem nostri Parlamenti liberam esse, nec posse a Nobis impediri, quominus de omnibus loquantur et tractent, ac demum quod ipsis videtur diffiniant in quibus ullum reipublice commodum versetur, aut ullum impendat reipublice detrimentum; porro autem Annatarum questionem veterem esse, et illarum solutionem in Consilio Basiliensi reprobatam; deinde novis officiarijs Romæ creatis, et estimacione pecunie aucta, in tam immensam exactionem crevisse, ut de eo Nobis gravissime conquesti sint omnes Episcopi. Nuperime autem querela apud populum suscitata est, quod Eborum et Wintoniensis Episcopi, a suis anicis pecuniam, quam presentem non habebant, mutuo accipere coacti sint, multo cum rumore, et aliquorum indignatione, ut tanta pecunie summa pro Bullis erogetur in nullum usum, nec ullis, ut ipsis videtur, juribus debita. Res relata est ad proceres et plebem, atque ita relata, ut protinus cesseret quod iniquum est, et ne nostrum Nobis sanguinem sine causa mittamus, hoc est, pecunias reipublice sanguinem temere profundamus. Nobis vero ne haberent quod conquerantur vel Pontifex vel Cardinales, a justicia et veritate non discedentes, etiam amicitie rationem habere voluimus; justum enim visum equa procerum plebisque consulta non aspernari, et nostre etiam cum Pontifice et Cardinalibus amicitie convenire,

ut non statim, et subito, ipsis inscijs et ignorantibus, nec prius amice admonitis, aliquid statuamus, quod ullo ipsis detrimento esse queat. Itaque nostra providentia atque consilio effectum est, ut ea questio Annatarum, que per populi ora volitabat, et que omnium bonorum judicio merito tractari visa sit, universa ad nostrum juditium atque arbitrium relata sit, et populi ac plebis ore obstructo, nostra solius stet valeatque diffinitio, ab omnibus inviolabiliter observanda. Quo sane temperamento populo satisfecimus, et Pontifici atque Cardinalibus prospexit videri possumus, si rem recta ratione velint estimare. Nam ut nostro fidunt juditio nostri, ita nec debent diffidere Pontificem et Cardinales, neque existimare Nos ab eo quod justum est discedere velle. Primus, ut par est, locus justicie et veritati dabitur, proximus amicitie, certe quicquid a Nobis in ea re fiet, ratum id ac firmum perpetuo manebit; id quod magnum habere momentum debet. Nihil temere diffiniemus, sed, servato Statuti tenore, veritate inspecta, et quid fieri debeat, et quid fieri possit, quatenus justicia extorquere, quatenus amicitia exigere debeat, diligenter considerabimus. Pontifici et Cardinalibus in manu est, in justicia et veritate amicitiam nostram promerer, que nunquam apud Nos ociosa fuit, neque latere in hoc nostro Statuto potest, si animadverterint nihil magis optandum quam ut controversie decidende is arbiter adhibeat, quem honesta amicitia afficiat, et qui a summa severitate deflectere, et ad equitatem omnia reducere summo studio contendat. Hoc itaque videndum vobis est, ut ne ex potestate Nobis in hoc Statuto commissa, quasi nostro verbis vestris prodito affectu, aut sperent nimium, aut nimium desperent. Spem tamen aut desperationem, pro temporis ratione, ita augeatis, eaque ratione adhibita, ut liberum Nobis sit, cum acciderit, libere pronunciare. Non est nostri pectoris istos fallere, et alere vana spe, sed quod res habet illis significare, videlicet, Statutum hoc in illorum beneficium cessurum, si modo se dignos beneficio ostenderint; contra autem juste damnosum futurum, si fuerint commeriti. Meritum a justicia primum, deinde amicitia, pendet; causa omni malitia vacat et nititur justicie, que ipsis et debetur et prestabitur, etiam cum sint inimicissimi. Reliqua vero in illorum manu sunt, ut Nos vel amicos servent vel reddant infensos: hactenus nihil diffinitum est, nec promulgatum in illos, sed potestas omnis in Nos translata, quod et Pontifex et Cardinales optare deberent, si quidem nostram amicitiam non aspernarentur.

Vestrarum autem partium erit, quoties de hoc statuto mentio inciderit, verbis quam potestis efficacissimis, iterum atque iterum apud Pontificem et Cardinales incalcare atque exponere, quanto Nos studio et solicitudine curavimus, ut, quanquam importunis et quotidianis querelis et precibus apud Nos instarent

instantent subditi nostri, et modis omnibus contendenter, et statim et cum omni dilatione Statutum hoc de abrogandis Annatis promulgaretur, ipso orum tamen in hac parte conatus alio diverterentur; nempe ut omnia nostro arbitrio et iudicio submitterent, atque ita occultum et celatum esset omnibus, quod actum est, ut nemo exterorum Principum hinc ansam ullam queat arripere ad simile de Annatarum abrogatione edictum in suis regnis statuendum. Quia in re ut ipse Pontifex et Cardinales magnitudinem amicitiae nostre erga ipsos velint agnoscere, vos omni studio et prudentia elaborare debetis. Sin autem hoc ab illis obtinere non dabitur, et hanc animi nostri gratitudinem et veri amici officium in aliam partem accipere et interpretare, illis libuerit admonere, saltem illos debetis, quantum incommodi et detrimenti Romanæ Curiæ, et illorum dignitati possit accidere, si Nos, sua ingratitudine, huc adigere non verebuntur, ut quod nunc occultum est, et palam orbi publicemus, et nostra auctoritate confirmemus, unde ceteros Principes et regna exempla arrepturos esse, non est inverisimile.

Postremo quod ad protectoris illic nostri officium attinet, Nos illud universum vestre prudentie permittimus, rogantes vos, ut si Reverendissimus de Farnesio illud nondum admiserit, aut acceptare recusaverit, tum demum vos idem officium conferatis, vel in Reverendissimum de Monte, vel in Reverendissimum de Tranes, in qua re vobis optionem permittimus, ut quem vestra prudentia ad nostras causas promovendas, et auctoritate et gratia maxime valere, et quem ad hoc muneric capessendum maxime propensum cupidum et idoneum judicabit, ei hoc quicquid est honoris nostro nomine deferatis. Miramur autem plurimum, quamobrem hactenus ad hoc muneric neminem Cardinalium designastis, et nunc maxima diligentia, ne res ea amplius differatur, opus est, quoniam jam certum est Reverendissimum de Campegijs statim cum Cæsare apud Pontificem futurum. Quo presente, si illud officium alteri conferatis, et ille iniquius fortasse, quam par est, acciperet, et Nobis non tam justas facti nostri rationes pretexere liceret. Ex Regia nostra apud Westmonasterium, 21 die Martij, 1531.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendo in Christo Patri Domino Hieronimo Wigornensi Epis opo. Domino Willielmo Benet,  
Decano Sarum, et Gregorio de Cassalis Equiti  
Aurato, apud Sanctissimum Dominum [nos-  
trum] nostris Oratoribus, Nobis quamplurimum  
dilectis.

Rome.

CCCXX. KING HENRY VIII. to BENET and SIR G. DA CASALE.<sup>1</sup>

(Signed) HENRY R.

*For answer to your cifer<sup>2</sup> ye shal understand that by Francis the curror we have depeched thither letters<sup>3</sup>, conformable to suche request as those men ther make concerning the Bishopriche of Chester<sup>4</sup>, for obteining the bulles at the Popes handes after our purpose served; and as concerning the temporalties wherof, whither they meane the present gift, or the profite only, to be avaunced unto them incontinently, or bothe, forasmuche as We may, notwithstanding the wordes in your cifer, justly doubte, We intende to instructe you how to answer therin in either cace.*

*First, as touching the gift of the temporalties to be presently made, forasmuche as it can not be don so secretely, but it must of necessitie come to the knowlege of to grete a nomber of persons to be kept secrete, as ye Master Benet knowe wel ynough, that is to say, Clerkis and Kepers of our Signet, Privei Seale, and Great Seale; by the same reason they them self have thought good and agreed unto, as it is in dede necessary, to obstane from impetracion of thair bulles, lest thair doinges should be espied or mistrusted, and so thair and our purpose disapointed. By the like reason also they may not demaunde of Us the present gift of the temporalties to passe frome Us in available maner. For that can not We do by the lawes of our Realme, but in suche forme and maner as it must nedes be known of many, as is before writen. Therfore We thinke they meane not that; and at the lest, when they shal here and knowe that We nowe write unto you, they wol, We doubt not,*

<sup>1</sup> This letter, except the date, is wholly in cypher, and no contemporary decyphered copy exists.

<sup>2</sup> The letter here referred to seems not to have been preserved, but this letter of the King manifestly has reference to an agreement, printed by Burnet, Vol. I. Collection, p. 110, from Vitellius, B. XIII. leaf 149, whereby Benet promised, the 7th of February 1532, to obtain for the Cardinal of Ravenna, from the King of France an abbey, and from Henry the Bishoprick of Ely, or some other See until that should become vacant, as a reward for the Cardinal's services.

<sup>3</sup> The subject of the letters despatched by the courier Frauncis on the 13th of March may be collected from the answer to them, which is found in cypher, but decyphered, in Vitellius, B. XIII. leaves 151 and 163, somewhat damaged by fire. An answer to the letter in the text is in the same Volume, leaf 183.

<sup>4</sup> The now existing See of Chester was not founded till 1541. But the Pope in 1532 granted a Bull, enabling Henry VIII. to erect six new Bishopricks, one of which was to have been Chester, and this must have been the See destined for Ravenna. See Burnet, Vol. I. p. 121.

change and alter thair opinion. And as touching the profettes to be paide unto thair use from hensforth by bank, We shall and ar content to take suche order therin, as, they prosecuting thair good wordes and promises made unto you for our benefite and the avauncement of our purpose, ther shall not faile to be paid quarterly, at our provision and furniture and by our commaundement, out of our tresor, suche some of money as the fourth part of the yerely value of the said Bishopriche amounteth unto, due for that quarter, and so from quarter to quarter, until the said Bishopriche may be conveniently brought and conveyed holly into thair possession; so as they shall have no cause in any wise to suspecte our procedinges with them in that behalfe; trusting to your dexterite wisdom and discrecion, that ye wol, as far as ye possibly may atteine, link them in suche sorte for performance of thair promises, as We be not frustrate of the same. Wherin, albeit We knowe wel ye wol of your self do al ye may, and when ye have al don, can not so assure them unto you, but they may notwithstanding frustrate your expectacion; yet We remember this unto you into thisse our letters, to thentent ye should alwaies remember that point to be knit and bounde as fast as may be, without geving them cause to thinke We suspecte them.

And as touching an Abbay to be gevin unto them for supplyng the rest of the yerely som they require, ye may say, although the provision of that Abbay should not succede in Fraunce, as We doubte not but it wil, yet may We and wil, in our oun Realme, provide them therof, and shall, ye may say, not faile so to do. And among other requestis to be made unto them, what they shall do for Us, ye may not forget to cause them to promise you, that they shall allure and drawe as many of the Cardinales, thair frendes, into our partie, as they can; to thentent that, not only to the confirmacion of thair opinion and sentence in oure principal mater to be gevin for Us, the auctorite of them may concure, but also to adhere unto Us in al maters, and to set forthe and avaunce suche other causes, as shall touche Us ther.

And furthermore considering our maters brought in open disputacion concerning the admission of our *Excusator*, We understand by you and Master Kernes letters<sup>1</sup> that We have for our parte not only the lawe, but also the favor of the herers, so as the Quenes counsail, as We take your letters, shrink and draw bak from defence of thair partie, We think ye have veray good occasion, wherupon to cause the men ther to shewe in some dedes thair good wil, to be known only to Us, to the furtherance of our purpose in causing our

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

*Excusator to be admitted. Therfore our pleaser is ye prese them therin, as moche as may be, and cause them so ernestely to declare themselfe in that behalf, as We may conceive certaine hope confidence and trust of their good mindes and intentes to do Us such further pleasure in the principal part of our mater, as ye write unto Us they say they will. But in the meane while, in the admission of our Excusator, as We have writen unto you, which is a mater facile and easy, being in the termes ye write it is, ye must saye unto them, as of your selfe, they must in any wise declare them selfe in dedes to Us without pretermission therof; for if in this mater, so conducible, they do nothing for Us, We shall be herdely induced to thinke of any certain truth to be conceived, of any frute to succede, by thair meanes, in our principal cause.*

*Ye shall also understand that, wheras We be credibly enformed that, notwithstanding suche report as hath been made unto you to the contrary, the Turk is utterly appointed and determined, and that very shortly, to bring into Italy his army and power to invade and subdue the same, and also that the Pope purposeth nowe to mete the Emperor at his retorning into Italy, either at Bonony or elles at Genes, our minde and pleaser is that ye, Master Benet, as of your self, and ye, Sir Gregory, as understanding the same by relacion and advertisment gevin unto you by other of your frendes, do indevor your selfe, in al that ye can, to persuade unto the Pope not only certenly to loke for and feare the arrival of the said Turk, and that the same shall unfainedly succede to the utter subversion of al Italy, and specially the Popes dignitie, but also to provide for the suretie of his person and astate by al meanes He can, and either to folow suche overtures as ye have made heretofore unto Him on our behalf for that purpose, or elles to devise and excogitate som other, which by his wisdom shall be thought may best conduce to the preservacion of the same: adding therunto, that considering the Emperors inordinate desire of glory and victorie in the atteining of al thinges by Him desired or purposed, wheras He shall now be forced to departe out of Germany rebus infectis; if the Pope should mete with Him now at his towne of Genes, and so put Him self into the Emperors handes and disposicion, it were greatly to be doubted that the Emperor, studiyng to gratifie and cccomplishe the desires of the Princes of Germany, wold offer the Popes person unto them as a sacrifice, so moche by them desired to be revenged of al thair old displeasures, and afterward chose and make Campegius Pope, or elles som other, who wold ministre unto them lawes after thair owne appetites and affections. It is also greatly to be by Him considred, how that, if He should nowe mete with the Emperor at any of thise townes, al other Princes wold conceave this opinion*

*opinion of Him, that is to say, that He is holy addicte and united unto the Emperor, and bound under his yoke to folowe and execute al and singuler his desires and requestes, wherby the Pope shall attaine nothing elles, but cause al other Princes to be affraed, and mistruste to intromedle or practise with Him in any cause or mater herafter, which might redounde to his great hinderance and damage in time coming. Al which thinges, or any other by your wisdom to be invented, wherby the Pope may be disuaded from committing Himself to the Emperors handes and arbitre, or meting with the same nove in Italy, We require you to set forthe and avaunce with al your wisdome diligence and dexterite possible.*

Yeven under our Signet, at our Maner besides Westmynstre, the 21<sup>th</sup> day of Merche.

(*Superscribed*)

To our trusty and right welbeloved Counsaillours  
Master Doctour Bennet, and Sir Gregory de  
Cassalys, our Ambassadours resident in the  
Court of Rome.

### CCCXXI. GHINUCCI, &c. to KING HENRY VIII.

SERENISSIME et Invictissime Domine Rex, Domine Noster Supreme, Salutem. Accepimus Majestatis Vestræ literas 22 die Martij datas; quumque videremus nullos hic sermones haberi de eo quod Majestas Vestra super Annatis scribit, et quum a Majestatis Vestræ rebus non alienum fore putaremus, si Pontifex rem ita cognosceret, ut Majestatis Vestræ literis prudentissime explicatur, ab Ipso data opera petivimus, nunquid novi haberet ex Anglia. Ad quod nobis respondit Nuntium suum Sibi significasse aliquid in Parlamento transactum fuisse, quod esset contra Sedem Apostolicam; quidnam vero illud foret, Nuntio esse parum cognitum. Tunc diximus putare nos hoc illud esse, quod in Parlamento super Annatarum solutione statutum fuerat; et rem ex præscripto Majestatis Vestræ, ac veluti opportunum visum fuit, recensuimus; ostendentes, quemadmodum proceres et plebs iniquo semper animo tulerint ipsarum Annatarum gravitatem, et de illis nunc in Parlamento libero retulerint, ita ut voluerint negotium primo quoque tempore expediri. Ostendimus insuper voluisse Majestatem Vestram Pontificis amicitiam respicere, et populi ora pro tempore obstruxisse, remque integrum suo arbitrio reservasse, id quod justitia et Sedis Apostolicæ merita requisierint,

requisierint, facturam. Quæ quum Pontifex audisset, gratum tantummodo sibi fuisse ostendit factum Majestatis Vestræ, in re ad suum arbitrium reservanda. Quæ res quum bene nobis evenisset, essetque Majestatis Vestræ mandatis satisfactum, nihil amplius diximus, ne Pontificem provocaremus, adeo ut talia deinde in Concistorio referret; quæ si Cardinales rescirent, quorum plerique occasiones hujusmodi querunt, contrarium causæ Majestatis Vestræ futurum videbamus. Quod autem Majestas Vestra scribit de sui protectoris officio, non censuimus ad rem facere, illud nunc alicui deferre. Horum enim temporum ea ratio est, ut nemo ulla in parte a Majestate Vestra sit alienandus. Si enim Cardinali Farnesio protectio deferatur, verendum est ne forte Cardinalis de Monte et Tranensis id ægre ferant; manifestum autem est Campedium et De Cæsis sibi injuriam factam existimatuos. Sed quoniam Dominus Hieronymus Previdellus, quem solum, ex multis quos conducere conati eramus, habere potuimus, egregie se' gessit, non videtur omittendum aliquid de eo præsentibus literis Majestati Vestræ perscribere. Venit Previdellus ex Bononia a nobis accersitus, fuitque in Urbe eo die, quo in Concistorio habebatur prima disputatio; postquam per Dominum Sigismundum, Majestatis Vestræ Advocatum, cui totum onus disceptandi imminebat, tres aliæ deinceps disputationes, quoniam ita nobis ad rem facere visum fuit, contra adversarios habitæ fuerunt. Enimvero quum Reginæ Advocati jam diu ad disputationes venire recusarent, impetrata venia a Pontifice, die 10 Aprilis, quo adversarij adesse noluerunt, Previdellus dixit, et quidem mirabiliter, adeo ut Pontifici et Concistorio mirum in modum placuerit, neque ullus fuerit qui potuerit negare plura ab ipso dicta fuisse, quam quisquam in hac causa dici posse putaret; ac ex Cardinalibus quidem plerique asserunt illius oratione sibi planum factum fuisse id, de quo est controversia, quod ipsis antea erat obscurum. Atque, ita jubente Pontifice, intra diem octavum iterum est in Concistorio loquutus; et præter cunctorum opinionem nova quædam alia fundamenta ad causam confirmandam jecit; unde multo etiam magis omnes admirati fuerunt. Incertum tamen nobis adhuc est, quem finem hoc negotium sit habiturum. Mittimus ad Majestatem Vestram, quæ Previdellus dixit, ita ut dicta sunt breviter perscripta. Post quæ nihil amplius in causa actum fuit.

Novi quid scribamus de Turcis nihil aliud habemus, nisi quod Venetorum Orator dixit, Turcarum classis Admirato imperatum fuisse, ut ex Christianis Regis Galliæ, Majestatis Vestræ, et Venetorum navigia, et res omnes ubique tuto esse possint; cæteris bellum sit indictum. Ad hoc vulgo etiam additum fuit Admirato Turcarum jussum fuisse ut præfectis Regis Galliæ parere debeat. Præterea ex Venetijs illud quoque habetur, classem Turcarum non esse

esse hoc anno Siciliam Italianam invasuram, ut quæ non validissima sit, sed tantum ad oram Græciae et Constantinopolim tuendam comparata. Optime valeat Vestra Majestas. Romæ, die 29 Aprilis, 1532.

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis humillimi servi,

(*Signatur*) HIR. EIS WIGORNIÆ.

W. BLNT.

GREGORI<sup>E</sup> CASALI<sup>E</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissimo et Invictissimo Principi, Angliæ  
et Francia Regi Illustri, Fidei Defensori,  
Domino Hiberniæ &c., Domino Nostro  
Supremo.

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### CCCXXII. GARDYNER to BENET.<sup>1</sup>

MASTER Benet. Afre my moost harty commendacions. Thise shalbe moost instantly to desire and pray youe to obteyne with al diligence possible a dispensacion for my Lord of Sussex and the Lady Margaret Stanley<sup>2</sup>, according to suche instruction as ye shal receyve in a bill herin enclosed. Wherin also, for thexpedicion of this matier, ye shal receyve a bill of exchaunge of the somme of two hundredth ducattes; hartly eftsones desiring youe with suche diligence to procure thexpedicion of this matier, as the same may be sent by the next currour. And in cace the chargies therof shall excede the said somme of 200 ducattes, I beseche youe to see it contented, and I shal see youe agayne repaid therof. And thus fare youe aswel, as your good harte canne thinke. At London, the 11<sup>th</sup> of May.

I have taken upon me to wryte in this matier, and therfor I hartely praye youe it may be sped and sent with asmoch haste as may be possible. I have conferred your benefice to your chapelen, and removed al controversy which was moved by gret men.

Your assured frende,

STE. WINTON<sup>E</sup>.

(*Superscribed*)

To my loving frende Mr Doctour Benet,  
the Kinges Highnes Ambassadour in the  
Courte of Rome.

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<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> In the margin it is stated, "They be in secundo et quarto affinitatis."

## CCCXXIII. FOXE TO BENET.

**M**AISTER Benet. After my moost harty recommendations. These shalbe to advertise you that ye shall receve herewith a letter unto you from my Lorde of Winchestr, wherin is inclosed a bill of instructions, and a bill of exchange for 200 ducates, for thexpedition of a certaine dispensation to be obteigned for my Lorde of Sussex and the Lady Margaret Stanley ; which thing I dowble not, althoough I wrote not unto you at all, ye wolde with moost convenient diligence obteigne, at my saide Lorde of Winchestres request. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as my saide Lorde of Winchestr, sins the first daye of this moneth of Maye being vexed with the gowte, soo that he canne not stand ne goo, hath ben compelled to absent himself from the Court, and to lye in the contre at Asshire, and my said Lord of Sussex hath desired me to commende his cause unto you by my letters ; considering further that the charges of the saide dispensation may perchaunce amounte, above the some of 200 ducates, so muche as shulde not be your ease to disburse ther presently, I have thought convenient that my Lorde of Sussex shulde send unto you and other bill of exchange for 300 ducates, whiche ye shall receve herewith. Desiring you, so effectuously as I canne possible devise, that ye will employ your accustummed diligence and good dexteritie ye cane to the expedition hereof, with all convenient spede possible ; wherin if ye might, uppon considerations that my said Lorde of Sussex is oon of the Kinges privie Counsaile, and a man in whom His Hieghnes hath grete affiaunce, and allsoo singulerly biloved with my Lorde of Norfolk, ye canne move the Popes Holines to be as favorable unto him, as ye write in your letters of the 29<sup>th</sup> of Aprile, which arryved here yesterday, the Pope was in graunting of my Lorde of Suffolks dispensation, ye may be well assured that His Holynes shall never repent his kindenes to be shewed in this matier, and ye for your labours and paynes to be susteigned in the same, shall deserve suche thankes of him and his frendes, as shalbe to your commoditie and benefite. Wherfor, good Maister Benet, shewe at this tyme howe muche your favour maye conferre to the obteigning of this matier, and also your diligence in the expedition of this currour, to whom my Lorde of Sussex hath geven 200 crownes to goo and come with diligence, allonly for the quick expedition of this matier.

Ye shall receve allsoo herewith, instructions, with a bill of exchaunge for 300 ducates, for Maister Poyninges dispensation. My Lorde of Norffolk and all other be now very well contented that it shall passe, and I think he  
writith

writith unto you concerning the same.<sup>1</sup> His Grace required me to write unto you therof; and therfor I hartely praye yow to p[re]sent the same with like diligence as bifore, and to sende the same by this currour; for Maister Poyninges dooth paye oon of the 200 ducates, which this currour hath receyved for his going and comming.

Ye shall allsoo receave herewith letters from Maister Wolman, and others allsoo, as from Maister Heretage, in thexpedition of whose sute unto yow at this tyme I hartely desire and praye you to declare your diligence, soo as he may perceve that ye have doon somewhat the moore for my sake, and at this my contemplacion. He is a very honest man and shalbe redy allwaies to doo you suche pleasour as shall lye in his litle power.

Newes<sup>2</sup> here be noon, but that Sir Thomas More hathe resigned the office of the Chaunceler<sup>3</sup>, and the parliament is proroged untill the 5<sup>th</sup> day of Novembre. Ye must also in your generall credance for the furderance of Sir Gregories matter undrestande this article, videlicet, that Sir Gregorie wolleyd have departed from Rome for the injuries the Pope dothe to hym<sup>4</sup>, onles the Kinges Hieghnes had desired hym to the contrary for the expedition of his cawses.

Ye shall have me moost hartily commended to Mr Karne, with like thankes for his perfumed gloves. At the nexte depeche I shall write unto hym, and Mr Boner also, to whom I have sent now oon pacquet of letters from Doctour Bagott; and what ye or they shall commande me in these parties, ther shall wante no good will in me to execute the same to the uttermoost of my power. I pray yow commende me to Sir Gregory. And fare yow all so well as I wold my self. At London, the 16<sup>th</sup> day of Maye.

Yō<sup>l</sup> owne assuredly,

EDWARDE FOXE.

(Superscribed)

To the Right Worshipfull Master Doctour Benet,  
the Kinges Hieghnes Ambassadour in the Courte  
of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> On the 19th of May Norfolk wrote to Benet that as he had formerly desired him to prevent the possisiō of any dispensation "for mariage to be had betwene young Poynges" and Frances "Ratelif wydowe," so now he desired him to further it as much as he could.

<sup>2</sup> The two last paragraphs are holograph.

<sup>3</sup> He resigned the Great Seal on the 16th of May 1532. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 433.

<sup>4</sup> On the 18th of May Henry wrote to the Pope in favour of Sir Gregory da Casale, relative to some property, the patrimony of his wife, and also requesting that the Lordship [Comitatem] Montis Georgij, detained from Andrew da Casale, might be restored to him. (Vatican Papers.) A draft of this letter is in Vitellius, B. XIII. leaf 176, dated April 1532, but very much burnt at the edges.

## CCCXXIV. CARDINAL DA MONTE TO KING HENRY VIII.

Serenissime Rex.

Ex literis Majestatis Vestrae Serenissime, et relatione suorum hic Oratorum plane perspexi, gratum sibi admodum fuisse studium meum in negocijs suis ex animo prestitum, quo mihi gratius nihil accidere potuit. Superfluum vero fuit propterea gratias egisse, cum id officij mei duxerim, et justicie, et tanti Regis negocijs, de Republica Christiana ac Sede Apostolica benemeriti, operam meam impendisse. Gratias tamen Illi ago immortales, si quam bonam de me opinionem concepit, et officia mea Illi grata fuere; et in posterum in omnibus negocijs suis confidenter opera mea utatur. Nam etsi, elapsis temporibus, tanto studio Serenissime Majestatis Vestrae et Regni sui fuerim negotia amplexus; multo studiosius nunc, literis invitatus, Serenissimi Regis, Fidei et Religionis Defensoris acerrimi, et cui Ecclesia Romana et Sacrum Collégium tantum debent, negotijs incumbam; ita ut facile agnoscat me animi sinceritate, diligentia, et fide, ulli servitorum et amicorum suorum cedere; prout ex literis prefatorum Oratorum Majestas Vesta Serenissima latius intelliget. Cui me semper humillime commendo. Rome, 5 Junij, 1532.

(*Signatur*) E. V. M<sup>ts</sup> Ser<sup>me</sup>

Humil<sup>s</sup> S<sup>tor</sup> A. PORTUEÑ,

CAR<sup>LIS</sup> D'MONTE.

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissimo Francie ac Anglie &c. Regi, Henrico,  
Fidei Defensori, Domino meo colendissimo.

CCCXXV. CARNE AND BONER TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Gratiou Highnes. This is to advertise the same, that sythen our letters of the 28<sup>th</sup> of the last moneth<sup>2</sup>, we have been dayly and contynually occupied in enformyng aswell the Popes Holynes, as also the Cardinalles, beyng a great noumbre; and in the said enformation Your Highnes advocates have taken great peanes, and opened clerely and sensiblie by mouthe the justice of Your Highnes defence concernyng the maters

<sup>1</sup> In the handwriting of Boner.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

excusatorie,

excusatorie, susteynyng in their soo doyng noo little hatred with the Juges of the Rote, which toke greatly to harte that the cause excusatorie was taken out of their handes. And likewise we have been occupied to set forthward in printe the informations forsayd, with the justification of all the conclusions published for the trouth of the said materes, and answeres also to such objections, as the counsell of the parte adverse hitherto cowde make ony maner wise; a boke whereof emprinted Your Highnes shall receyve herewithall, and also a little brief' information conteynynge the chieff effecte of the saide boke, emprinted to enduce the said Cardinalles moor gladly to rede the same, especially for the shortenes thereof; and therby to make theym the sander to understande the same.

There was of late, by the Imperialles and the Quenes agentes here, a citation obteygned, and executed by oon of the cursours after the maner here used, agaynst Your Highnes Ambassadours, to appere befor Capisucca, Dean of the Rote, ad videndum omnia produci, et ad dicendum contra producta, et ad videndum testes jurari, et juramenta testimoniis committi super recognitio[n]e. Whereupon I, Edward Kerne, by the advyse of your said Ambassadours and counsell here, repayred to the said Capisucca to knowe whether the said citation came forth by his knowlege or consent; which affirmed he knewe nothing thereof. I shewed hym that (the mater excusatorie depending, as he knewe, in the Consistorie before the Popes Holynes and the Cardinalles) he cowde make noo processe in the principall cause; and if he did, I protested de gravamine et de nullitate processus, requyring the notarie, beyng presente, to enacte the same. Whereupon the said Capisucca commaunded the notarie that nothing shuld be doon, oonles he had knowlege thereof befor; nevertheless in omnem eventum, whether processe shuld be made, he knowing the same or not, I repeted my protestation ther de nullitate processus, and over that gaff attendaunce all the audience tyme in the Rote; whar at the last the Quenes Proctour came in, and called for processe; to whom I answered, that (the matteres excusatorie undisussed) he cowd have noon: and therapon Capisucca decreed nichil esse faciendum pendente discussione super materij excusatorijs, and soo that thing was and is stayed as yet.

Moor over it hath been thought good (as Your Highnes shall perceyve by the letters of M<sup>r</sup> Benett your Ambassadour) to laye in certeyn articles additionalles to the matters, and also to delyver Your Highnes lettre to the Popes Holynes of the last day of February, to thentent it might fully appere that Your Highnes pleasure is, I, Edward Kerne, shuld be admitted pro legitimo excusatore. And acording to the premisses your Ambassadours and we repayred to the Popes Holynes the 12<sup>th</sup> of this present; wher

was

was De Monte and Anchona, sent for by His Holynes purposely to see and here what we woold doo. At what tyme I, Edward Kerne, first exhibited to the Pope the boke of enformacion and justification, both of the maters and the conclusions; secondely, I did exhibite a brieff enformation of the same; thirdely, I did moost reverently delyver Your Highnes saide letters, which His Holynes redde openly de verbo in verbum, in presence of the said Cardinalles; and forthely, I did laye in the said articles additionall, a copie whereof Your Highnes shall receyve herewithall. And forasmuche as the said letters tended to the habilitation of my person, and the said articles to the defense and lawfull excuse of Your Highnes, I desired His Holynes that all the same might be enacted; and the partie adverse cited to shewe a cause, why the saide articles shuld not be admitted: and His Holynes commaunded the Datary, then beyng present, soo to doo. Over this Your Highnes shall receyve herewith a boke<sup>1</sup> of enformacion of the adverse parte.

Other thinges we have not as now to advertise Your Highnes of, but that we shall with all our studie and diligence contynue to sett fortheward the premisses, as is our dutie. And soo moost humblie we recommende us to Your gratiouse Highnes, beseching Almyghty God longe and well to preserve the same in his royll estate. From Rome, the 15<sup>th</sup> day of June, 1532.

Your Highnes moost humble subjettes  
and poore servauntes,  
(Signed) EDWARD KARNE.  
EDMOND BONER.

*(Superscribed)*  
To the Kinges Highnes.

### CCCXXVI. KNIGHTE and TREGONWELL to HACKETT.<sup>2</sup>

RGHT Wurshipfull, in our herti manyer we commend us unto yow. And where as a Dycete was desyred of the Kyng our master by thEmperour in wynter last past for reformation of certayne injuryes surmysed by the

<sup>1</sup> Neither this, nor any of the other books referred to in this letter, are now to be found.

<sup>2</sup> From an original minute wholly in Knighte's handwriting, and indorsed by him, "The copye  
" of a lrc sent by M<sup>r</sup> Tregonwel and W. Knighte unto M<sup>r</sup> John Hacquet Ambassat<sup>or</sup> w<sup>t</sup> the Lady  
" Dowagier of Hongery, from the Dyet that was last kept at places in Flaundres and Calays by  
" egall ass'mbles at the saide places."

Flemmynges to be done unto theym by the Merchauantes Adventures of Englond and othre of the staple of Calays, and was agreed that the same Dyete shold begynne the first day of Marche last passed, and be kepte at Burborough in Flaundres and Calays by egall metynges; so yt ys, that thEmperours commissioners dyd cum unto Burborough at the day apoyneted, and we alsono dyd repare thidre the same tyme for the Kynges parte. Where, aftyr salutation and humanyte used, aftyr thaccustomed manyer of commissioners of sondry regyons, and the cause of the metyng frist declared by thEmperours commissioners, bycause they were the complaynantes and their master dyd frist procure this Dyete, we dyd exhibite our commissions and red theym; fyndyng that the sayde powers were veari discrepant, thoон from thother, for we supposed that our cummyng had bene for reformation of injuries, and of attemptates agaynst treaties made heretofore bitwene the Kinges Highnesse and thEmperour and their progenitours, and allso for restitution to be made of suche spoyles as cowde be proved to be committed by any of the Kynges peple against thEmperours subiecttes; for which cawses our power was veari strong and sufficient, and their commission conteigned no power for the same, but recited that forasmuche as the treatises of intercourse bifore tyme made betwene the Kyng and thEmperour, of which parte was mysused, parte not observed, and sum were veari pernicious and damigeable unto thair commune weale, and by reason of the same theyr subiectes dyd fall dayly more and more in ruyne dekaye and extreme povrete no lenger to be suffred and endured; therefor they had full power to commune treate and conclude a new treatye of intercourse, and none other power. Of which new intercourse our commission made no mention. Nevr the lesse bicause we wold not lose the tyme, and thei had sayd that they had meny complayntes asweale general as particuler, we requyred theym to put thaire complayntes in writing, and we wolde make answere by writing. So we contynued, tyll we had doubled to theyr replication, and then they lefte and wolde wright no more, saiying that the tyme were lost, oonles we cowde gete a sufficient commission to conclude a new intercourse; and yf we wolde labour therefor, then they in likewise wolde labour to gete another power more large and ample, whereby they might redresse injuryes and cawse restitution to be made. Upon this we sent owre letters unto the Kinges Highnes for knowlege of his pleasure in the premisses, and how His Grace was mynded towardes a new intercourse; and we had answere from His Mageste that the intercourse, that now ys, ys faithfully observed by Hys Grace and by his subiectes, and the same His Highnes wolde kepe and cause his subiectes to observe, unto such tyme as His Grace sholde see and  
know

know cawses reasonable, why He sholde leve that intercourse, and commune upon a new.<sup>1</sup>

Ye shall understand that the yere of our Lord God 1506 a treatye for the intercourse was made betwene Kyng Henry the VII<sup>th</sup> of noble memorye and Kyng Phylip thEmperours fadre<sup>2</sup>; which treatye was yeari profitable for thEnglishe merchauntes, yf it had bene weale kepte of thEmperours parte. The same treatye had a clause in the latter ende, that bothe Princes sholde conferme the same treatye, withyn thre monethes folowing: but bifore thende of the thrid moneth Kyng Philip dyed, and then the Flemmynges beganne immediatly to interrupte the sayde treatye, saiying that the treatye dyed when the Prince dyed, bicause yt was not confermed. And upon this the merchauntes of Englond complayned, and then commissaries were appoynted by bothe Princes to assemble and commune at Bruges, and there to bring the best raisons that they cowlde; thoon parte for annullyng of the treatye bicause yt was not confermed, and thother parte to justifie that the treatye was good, and owght to be observed notwithstanding the lacke of the confirmation: and this parte was best justifyed.

Aftyr long communication and no thing agreed, that Dyete was dissolved, and oon other metyng was at Bruxelles the yere of our Lorde God 1515, where a treatye<sup>3</sup> was made for 5 yeres, and in the same a provision made that the treatye of 1506 sholde remayne in suspens for the sayde 5 yeres, and at thende thereof yt sholde stand in the same strenght, neyther bettre nor wors, as yt was bifore the begynnyng of the foresaide treatye of and for 5 yeres. The 5 yeres passed, that treatye was extincte, and oon other<sup>4</sup> was made the yere 1520; wherein was this clause, as ye may perceyve by tharticle which we do send with this, that the sayde treatye of 1520 sholde endure 5 yeres fully, and aftyr that, other 5 yeres, and so from 5 yeres to 5 yeres, tyll such tyme as a new treatye of intercourse were concluded, or els the treatye of 1506 confermed; and bothe Princes sholde faithfully procure that eyther thoon or the other of the saide alternatyve myght be brought to passe: which albeit they dyd not, nevrtheles the treatye de quinquennio in quinquennium sholde stand in hes full strenghtc.

Upon this alternative thEmperours Commissioners taketh holde, as weale

<sup>1</sup> The King's letter of the 19th of April 1532 to Knighte Tregonwell and Hackett remains in the State Paper Office, but has not been printed, because many passages of it refer to the articles, and respond to them in such brief terms as to be unintelligible without those articles, which have not been found.

<sup>2</sup> See Rymer, Vol. XIII p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 533, 539.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 714.

as they think good; saiynge that the confirmation of the treatye 1506 shold not be requyred, bicause yt ys so enorme and prejudicial unto theyre commune weale, and that thEmperour will not conferme hit; offeryng thother part of thalternative, and that ys to entre and commune upon a new yntercourse: which if we refuse to do, they say that thEmperour standyth at his liberte, and may sett new impositions, contrarye to the treatye of 1520, withowte breche of treatye or promesse. And we remayned upon the negatyve, that thEmperour cowlde not do soc, doyng lawfully; for neither parte of the alternatyve standyth as a condition, that myghte bynde other of the Princes to folow the same. Or yf thei shold so stand and so be taken, the woordes of the treatye byndeth no more thoone of the Princes then yt byndeth thother, neyther yeveth any more avauntage unto thoone, then yt doyth unto thother, which it shold do if tharticle were so to be interpretate, as thEmperours Commissioners doyth take hytt. For the alternative ys put demonstratiue, as moche to say as to shewe by what wayes the treatye of 1520 may cease and be extincte. For the fulfulling of eyther parte of the alternative doyth extincte the treatie; and neyther beyng fulfylled, the treatie must be perpetuel. And in that that neyther parte of thalternative ys to be considred as a condition necessarili byndyng the Princes to folow, yt ys evident bi the same article, which hath thies woordes, "Quod si non fecerint, " durabit tamen tractatus," as ye may se by tharticle whiche we do send with this.<sup>1</sup>

And thus ye may perceyve that the Kinges Highnesse is conformable to all reason, and thEmperours Ambassatours foloweth oonly wylfulnes. For the last daye of Maye late passed we mett to gydre at Dunekyrk<sup>2</sup> in Flaundres, and offred unto theym all that ye may see in our protestation<sup>1</sup> that we do send with this; which, for justfyeng of the Kynges Graces good disposition and offre of justice, we were compelled to make, inasmuche as thEmperours Commissioners refused to entend upon redresse of enormytes or restitution of spoyles, oonles we had a more ample commission, and wolde first treate upon a new intercourse.

The Kynges pleasure is therefor, that ye, making yourself ripe in the premisses, do reasorte unto thEmperour, and shew the towardnes of the Kynges Highnes, and favour that He bereth towardes the Low Contrees of thEmperours, and that ensuyng the treatises passed and observed by His Grace

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> On the 25th of May the Imperial Commissioners wrote from Dunkirk, desirin' a vis of certain points previous to meeting the English Commissioners. Vitellius, B. XXI. leaf 63.

meny yeres heretofore, wyll in moste favorable fashion contynue and use thEmperours subiectes frequenting hes domynyons hereaftyr; trusting that for the faithe zele and true love, that eyther of the Princes long tyme hath borne and yet beryth to eyther othre, thEmperour wyll commaunde that the Kinges subiectes, haunting into the Low Contrees, shalbe used gentlye, entreated favorably and lovyngly, and accordyng unto the foresaide treatises.

And such answeare as ye shall have, it shalbe convenient that ye do wrighte unto the Kinges Highnes with all diligence; for so ys His Graces pleasure that ye do.

### CCCXXVII. BENET *to* CRANMER.<sup>1</sup>

Wryten the 15 day off September 1532.

MASTER Doctor. In my hartyest maner I recommend me unto yow. Advertysyng yow that the thyrd day off thys present I receyvd yours from Regensburgh the 17<sup>th</sup> off the last monthe. And where yow wrote that the Kynges Hyghnes had geven commawndement unto yow, by hys letters, to signifie unto me from tyme to tyme yn what state hys affayres dothe stonde there, and also the newis occurrant, whyche thyng yow have don yn your sayde letters, and also that Hys Hyghnes had geven unto me lyke commaundment to certfyfe yow yn what state hys cawse ys here, &c; veryli, M<sup>r</sup> Crammer, as yet I have receyvd no suche commaundement from Hys Hyghnes; the cause peraventure ys, that I have receyvd no letters from Hys Hyghnes syns the 19<sup>th</sup> day off Maij last, yet neverthelesse I schal geve credence to your wrytyng; and for the satisfaccion theroff yow shal understand, that 12 monthys past and more Master Carne, tanquam unus de regno et subditus Regis, leyde yn a mater excusatori before the Dean off the Rote (to whom the cawse was committed), to thentent that no farder processe schuld be made yn the cawse, consideryng that the Kyng myght not cumme hether, et, quia causa est gravis, He was not bownde to constitute a proctor. The opinion off the Rote was, that M<sup>r</sup> Carne owthyd not to be admitted to ley yn the sayde mater withowte a proxie. From thys resolution yt was appealed, and after many thynges done and sayde abowte the apele, at lenghe thys mater was browte before the Pope yn the Consistory, and apon hyt

From a draft in Benet's handwriting.

there

there was by 8<sup>th</sup> Consistoris opin disputacions byfore the Pope and Cardinalles, wher ware lykewyse present many prelates and other lerned men off the Court. After whyche disputacions, and particular informations made aswel to the Pope as severally to the Cardinalles, and at the last an other disputacion yn the Consistori the 9 day of Julij, the Popis resolution<sup>1</sup>, with assent off the Cardinalles, was, that ther shuld be a supersession yn the cawse, tyl the begynnyng off Novembr next, and that Hys Holynes shuld wryte hys Breve, and the Cardinalles, nomine Collegij, schuld write a letter to the Kyng, to exhorte and persuade Hys Hyghnes to sende a proxie unto the principall cawse; whyche breve and letters ys sent long syns. Thus stondythe the Kynges cawse here, yn a staye tyl November, and by thys yow may perceve that ther saynges ys not trew, whyche reportyd that a sentence shuld be geven here yn the begynnyng off October next.

Newis. The 11 day off thys present, woord was brought hether that the old Abbot off Farfa had taken his brother Segnior Hieronimo presoner yn a castel belongyng to the Abbot of Farva; whyche Jheronimo was yn order to have departyd from hens towardes thEmperor with an 100 lyght horse. Yff your capitens be taken uppe after thys sort, byfore they cumme unto yow, the Thurke shal sone overrunne yow.

The 10<sup>m</sup> day of thys present, dyvers marchantes had letters off the fyrst day off thys monthe from London, wheryn they have avises that our Master and Frenche Kyng shal mete at Calise.<sup>2</sup>

### CCCXXVIII. BENET to NORFOLK.<sup>3</sup>

PLEASYTHE yt Your Grace. Thys shalbe to advertysye the same that we here be yn a great anxite off mynde, bycause we have had no letters from the Kynges Hyghnes thys 4 monthys, and also yn a perplexite, as we cannot tell what to do; for the old and yowng<sup>4</sup> man, by reason theroff, are enteryd ynto suche a suspition, as yt ys not possible as yet to remove hyt owte off ther heddes; and off the other parte I see a great casuelte yn the old man, by

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the resolution, which is in the State Paper Office, states that on Monday the 8th of July it was decreed, that the King of England should in the month of October next produce "Mandatum in causa principali, alioquin lapsus dicto termino procedetur prout justicia suadet."

<sup>2</sup> They met there on the 20th of October following.

<sup>3</sup> From a draft in Benet's handwriting.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 350.

reason off hys age, and late syknes whyche he had, wheroff yn every mannis opinion he was yn jeopardy off hys lyffe. For yff he schuld dye, the cawse thys hangyng, and yff any thyng shuld cumme to the young mannis handes, yt war but lost; and yff nothyng shuld cumme, we shuld lese them, and also shuld bryng the practise to lyght; whych shuld be the destrucion theroff. Wherfor yt ys thowght necessary, bothe for the enterteignyng off the saide old man yn the meane tyme (yff no woord whyche may satisfye shal cumme from thens the soner), and also for the better providing off the foresayd chawnce, to take summe meane to save bothe, that Sir Gregory shuld cumme therethen; hois cummyng shalbe lesse suspectyd here, and best satisfye the foresayde persons. Wryten the 17<sup>th</sup> day of September, 1532.

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CCCXXIX. BENET *to King Henry VIII.*<sup>1</sup>

Wryten the fyrst day off Octobr, 1532.

PLEASYTHE yt Your Hyghnes. Beyng so long without Your Graces letters, and also havyng avises from the Frenche Court, that nothyng schalbe obteyned there, but after suche a sort as the practise shalbe opinly knownen, and that yt ys sumwhat dyv[*ulga*]tyd there, wheroft those men, that Your Hyghnes wote off, have an inkelyng: they are browght ynto suche a desperacion, as we cannot with no wordes satisfye them; so that Sir Gregory, levynge hys owne caws here yn ruyne, was inforced, for the interteygment off them, to take apon hym to cumme unto Your Hyghnes at this tyme; off whom Your Highnes by mouthe shal know every thyng. And thys most humbly I recommend me unto Your Hyghnes, besechynge Almighty God to conserve the same yn felicite many yeris.

Ther cummythe with Sir Gregory hys cosyn germayn M. Andrea de Casalis, who I ensure Your Hyghnes haith taken at all tymes great paynes yn Your Graces cawse at Bonony, yn obteynyng the cownselles off the doctors there yn Your Graces caws, and hathe byn at all tymes most redy to do any plesure that he myght shew to those, [*that come*] from Your Hyghnes. Yt may therfor plese the same to geve hym your thankes for hyt.

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From a draft in Benet's handwriting, much mutilated.

CCCXXX. BENET *to* NORFOLK.<sup>1</sup>

Writen the 15 day off Octobr, 1532.

PLEASYTHE yt Your Grace. The 12 day off thys present arrived here a post, dyspached from Vienna the 4<sup>th</sup> day of the same by the Cardinall de Medices, Legate with thEmperor, whyche the sayde Cardinall dyd send to the Pope to advertyse Hys Holynes off [*the retyre*] off the Thurke ynto Thurky, ynsomuche as at the same tyme he was past all Hungary; and yn passyng, he destroyed all the brygges whyche he had passed over the 2 ryvers yn Hungarye, called Drava and Savva, to thentent that he myght flee more suarly. Also the sayde Cardinall used the more diligence yn sendyng the sayde post, to advertyse the Pope that thEmperour departed from Vienna the same day towardes Itali, and that He woold withyn too dayes after send yn post a gentylman off hys chamber, called Don Peter de la Cova, unto Hys Holynes, to desyre the same that they myght speke together, other at Placence, or els at Genua; for He woold not gladly comme to Bonony, beyng yt sumwhat farre oute off hys way. Also the sayde Cardinall wrote that thEmperor had promised to the Germayns to procure that ther schuld be a Generall Cownsell. As towchynge the meatyng, the Pope ys fully determyned to speke with thEmperor, but yff Hys Holynes canne, yt shal be at Pisa. How be yt the determination off the place shalbe made at the cummyng off the sayde Don Peter della Cova, whyche ys lokyd for here withyn thys thre dayes; and yt ys thowght that Hys Holynes wul departe from hens abowght the begynnyng off the next monthe, towardes the place where the meatyng shal be.

Hys Holynes takythe hyt greatly for yll, that He ys not avised, from thens, off the meatyng off the Kynges Hyghnes and the Frenche Kyng.<sup>2</sup> The Frenche Ambassator haith had oftyn avises off hyt from the Court off Fraunce, and I thynke verely that he at every tyme dyd schew them to Hys Holynes; how be hyt he hathe dyssymulyd with me that he dyd nat. And thys day he schewed me that the Pope schowed hym yesterday, that the Kynges Hyghnes wul not yn no wyse that no Ambassator shal be at the meatyng. I cannot beleve that the Pope shuld have the same avise of any other then hym, for I remember wel, that the sayde Ambassator told me,

<sup>1</sup> From a draft in Benet's handwriting, now in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> At Calais, on the 20th of October.

two dayes past, that he thowght the Popis Ambassators with the Kynges Hyghnes and the Frenche Kyng shuld not be suffered to be at entervue off the Kynges; with many other thynges, whyche he hym self hathe schewed me that the Pope knowe them. Whether he hathe shewed them to Hys Holynes for to bryng hys matters passe or not, I canne not tell. Also thEmperour hathe send Conte Guido de Rangon to Venice, to obteyne passage for thEmperour and hys trayne thorow Fryoule, whyche ys under the dominion off the Venitians, offeryng that He and hys wul not cumme into any towne that ys walled.

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CCCXXXI. BENET *to NORFOLK.*<sup>1</sup>

Wryten the fyrst day off November, 1532.

PLEASYTHE yt your Grace. The 27 day off the last monthe arryved here Don Peter de la Cova, whyche ys the gentylman that was lokyd for here from thEmperor, as I wrote to your Grace the 15 day off the same. And bycawse the Pope had wryten to thEmperour, byfore the arryal off the sayd gentylman, to shew Hym that Hys Holynes woold nother go to Placens nother to Genua, but yff thEmperour woold cumme other to Bonony or to Pise, Hys Holynes woold gladly cumme to other of them, whyche thEmperour woold choyse; therfor Hys Holynes did not resolve Hymself apon the place till yesternyght, at whiche tyme came an answere from thEmperour to the said letter, whiche was, that He was contentyd to cumme to Bonony. And apon thys the Pope causyd to be intymatyd this day to the Courte here, that they shuld make them redy agenst the 10<sup>th</sup> day off thys monthe, for then Hys Holynes woold departe. Yet, thys notwithstandingyng, thys day when the Ambassator of Fraunce and I dyd speke with Hys Holynes concernyng thys hys departure, He sayde, as towchynge the day when He woold departe, He cowde not wel assure us, for He seyde He must tarye bothe for hys owne provision, and yn lyke wyse for many others, whyche must goo with Hym. Nevertheles Hys Holynes sayde that He was fully determinyd to meate with thEmperour, for He sayde that He cowde not resonably deny the same, seyng that He was required off thEmperour unto hyt for the welth of Christendome. And Hys Holynes offered Hym selfe, that yff He, beyng

<sup>1</sup> From a draft in Benet's handwriting.

with thEmperor, myght do any thyng that myght helpe unto assured amite betwyxt the Kynges Hyghnes, Emperour, and Frenche Kyng, He woold do yt most gladly. And thus He desyred the Frenche Ambassador and me to wryte unto our masters.

The cawse, why the Pope wold not shew unto the Frenche Ambassador and me what day hys Holynes woold depart from hens towardes Bonony, was, as I thynke, bycawse that thys nyght past ther was dyspached a currou to thEmperour, whyche ys now nyghe unto Mantua, to see and thEmperour myght be induced to cumme hether to Rome: and answar therunto ys lokyd for withyn thys 7 dayes att the uttermost. ThEmperour, intendyng from Vienna the next way ynto Itali, must nedis passe thorow the country, whyche the Thurke hath now, yn his last beyng yn Hungary, destroyed; for the whyche thyng He determinyd that hys company shuld be dividyd ynto thre partes, for the better conveyng of the same, the oon to departe with Hym, the other to cumme with the Legate, and the thyrd to depart with the Duke off Alba; with thys, that the Legate shuld tary, tyl the commissaries apoynted to make provision for lodgynges, vitelles, with other thynges, shuld retourne to Vienna to conducte hym with hys company; and the Duke shuld tary yn lyke maner, tyl the sayde commissaries or other shuld cumme for hym, whyche shulde be withyn 4 dayes after the departure off the sayde Legate; and the said Legate shuld be sent for withyn 4 dayes after the departure off the Emperour. Yt chawnced that the commissaris dyd not cumme for the Legate withyn 4 dayes, but taried mo then 6 dayes; and when they camme they toke the Duke off Alba and hys company, and lefte the Cardinal. Whether they dyd hyt by commaundment of thEmperour, or by errorur, yt ys not knownen. The Legate perceyvyng thys, fearyng many jeopardes, that the perverting off the sayd order was don for sum purpose whyche myght be dawngerous unto hym; wherfor he, takyng with hym 25 off hys company, departyd the next day after the departure off the Duke, and made great jornayes, as 40 or 50 myles a daye, and at last came to a towne where the Conte off Sainte Secondo was loged; and there the Legate alygtyd, and logyd with the sayde Conte, beyng bothe alone in a chamber by the space off 4 howres; and so beyng together, ther camme a Spaynyard from the Emperour, and toke the Conte presonar, and leyde to pryon. And schortly after they toke yn lyke maner the Legate, and browght hym to the towne howse, and there was kepte thre dayes; and at the 3 dayes yende there came oon from thEmperour to relese the Legate free off the prison, and so Legatte, not other wyse resortyng to thEmperor, camme streyte to Venice, where he ys yet.

Whyche

Whyche Conte was oone off the capitayns off the bande off the Italians, whyche war yn number 7000 or there abowght, whyche dyd mutyne shortly after the departure off thEmperour from Vienna, for defawte off payment off ther wayges, beyng payde unto every off them but a doucate for ther hole payment. ThEmperour heryng off thys, havynge no smale suspicion that the same mutyne shuld alonly procede off the capitayns, to whom He had ordeyned to be disbursed for the hole vayges, incontinently send to take the capitayns off the sayde bande, beyng Marno de Columna and the sayde Conte de Sant Secunde. And at the same tyme that the Legate was so logyd, there camme dyvers from thEmperour to the sayde towne, and sodenly areysyd the towne, and cawsyd the gates to be shutte; and the same nyght oone off those, that camme from thEmperour, camme to the sayde Contes lodgyng, and arestyd hym, and caryed hym to pryon; and so the towne gates stode shutte by the space off thre dayes, and the Legate not sufferd to departe, wheroff he had no lytel marvel and feare. The thre dayes expired, ther camme oon from thEmperour, whyche cawsyd the gates to be opined, and schewed to the Legate, that thEmperour woold he shuld cumme unto Hym, for he had dyvers maters off importance to entrete with hym. The Legate, beyng departed owte off the town, send to thEmperour that hys commission was expired, by reason that those thynges, wherfor he was sent unto Hym, war completyd; and so streyte way makynge great jornayes, he camme to Venice, wher he arryved ther the 18 day off the last, abydyng there the Popis pleasure to the 28 off the same; at the whyche tyme, havynge commaundment from the Pope, he departyd from thens towardes thEmperour. Thys was the very maner off the Legates departure from thEmperour, so far fourthe as I canne perceve.

CCCXXXII. NORFOLK *to* BENET.

**M<sup>R</sup> BENNET.** In my right herty maner I commend me unto yowe. Signifieng the same, that I had forgoten to acertayne yowe, by myne other letters, that wher the Kinges Highnes hath many tymes<sup>1</sup> writen to the Pope for the Byshop of Worcestour to be made a Cardynall, wherin His Grace hath hitherto receipved very sklendre aunswers, His Highnes thinkynge not

<sup>1</sup> See Note to p. 231.

to be well entreated therin, as His Grace hath no lesse cawse, wull in no wise at this tyme wryght to the Pope in the same; albeit I assure yowe His Highnes tendreth the preferrement of the said Bishop no lesse then He hath doon before. Wherfor I requere yowe to extend your loving favours towardes the said Bishop, whom I do love very well, not only in thattaignyng of the said Cardinalship, but also in all other his affayres, as I may do yowe pleasure. And hertely fare ye well. From Caleys, the 6<sup>th</sup> day of Novembre.

(Signed) Yō<sup>r</sup> frend,

(Superscribed)

To my right welbylovid frende, Doctour Bennet,  
the Kynges Oratour resident at Rome.

T. NORFOLK.

### CCCXXXIII. HACKETT *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

**R**Ight Honnorable &c. After my moste hartty and due recomendacions, this shalbe to advertis your Mastership that this day mornyng thepartyth here hens toward Calles, and so to Ingland, the Bysshop of Ross, and with hym Lion Kynge of Herauldes of Scotland, who 2 of late was Imbassatour for the Kyng his master in France, to gyddyr with the Secrettary of Scotland. And for the good mynd and intent that I fynd in his Lordship to make aquentans with your good Mastership, affor his departyng in to Scotland, and with the mynd that hath, as a passenger, to se the Kynges Hyghnys, and spek with my Lord of Norfolk is Grace, I toght conuenyent to advertis your Mastership of the premysse, and for myn aquital I have advertissid my Lord of Norfolk of the same, be my letters derechtyth to my Lord Berners, Deputte of Calles. The Holly Trenytte prospere your good Mastership with long lyfe, good helt, and honnour. Wryttyn at Nyewport in Flandres, the 15<sup>th</sup> day of November, 1532.

Faythfully your own JOHN HACKETT, S.

The personage here before menssond, as I understand, toght to a gone alongges the sees fro Seland to Scotland, like as the Secrettary his compagnoth hath done, but be cawse his ship, wher he toght to aeventter hym self, was

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

broken with the last tempest, he durst no more take the aeventter of the long sees, but left his men and baggage to goo trow, and goos hym self, with the Kynges saulfeondyt, trow Inglond.

(*Superscribed*)

To the ryght honnorable [Sir] Thomas Cromwell  
[Knayght], one of the Kynges [Couns]eil, and  
Master of [hi]s Joyell Howsse.

CCCXXXIV. NICOLAS HAUKINS TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

Jesus.

PLEASITH it Youer Gratiouse Hines benigneli to perceive, that I am right pensiffe, that sin mi departing Yower Hines had never word from me; the cause wheroft is this, for that in all mi journei I never mett with post, nor curren, or oni other man of Inglond, or of els where, bi whome I micht convenientli send unto Your gratiouse Hines oni letters; wone Ingliche man wonli except, whome I mett towerd evin on horsbak, and passed bi me, no thing signifijng to me what he was. At nicht, in mi lodging, mi guide, whiche rode before to take up loging, showed me that it was a marchantes soon of London.

But now to certifi Youer Hines of mi journei. I, mi licence obteinid of Youer Hines at Grenewiche on Wednesdai<sup>2</sup> towerd evin, arrivid at Calice on the Saturdai folowing; and on Saturdai five wekis<sup>3</sup> after was cum into Itali, both I and mine all, salve and sownd, resting wonli 3 daies in the hole journei, thankis be to All-michti God; and on Saturdai six wekis<sup>4</sup> had accesse to thEmperour his Majeste in Mantua, whiche, with gentil behavior and semblable wordis, both dismissed Master Cranmar, and admittid me to dimore and reside in his lieu<sup>5</sup>; seyng unto me, that I was welcum, and that I schuld at all times resort at mi libertie unto Him, and evermore He benigneli to geve me audience; and unto Master Cranmar, that he shuld have libertie to return with all salve garde, with commendations and other

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> The 2d of October.

<sup>3</sup> The 9th of November.

<sup>4</sup> The 16th.

<sup>5</sup> In the State Paper Office there remains the Emperor's original letter of the 18th of November, acknowledging the receipt of Henry's letter of the 1st of October, recalling Cranmer, and announcing as his successor Doctor Haukins, Archdeacon of Ely.

woordis mo to Youer Hines, as the same shal better understand both bi Master Cranmar, and also, as I judge, bi thEmprour his letters sent to Youer Hines bi the seid Master Cranmar. As for Youer Hines letters and commendations, He gave the same most harti thankis agein, and lyke wise for yourer rejoysance and gratulation of his prosperite agein the Turke; where upon He seid Him self to have certifyd Youer Hines, and so to doo on all other thingis from time to time.

Monsieur Roeulkx, le Grand Maistre, after most harti and humble thankis for Your Hines kinde letters, did promise, that what so ever service he shuld be hable to doo for Youer Hines, or to me for yourer sake, he wold not faile at all times to doo it. Lyke answer made also Monsieur Grandvèle, whiche, as I, parteli bi that I hard and sawe, parteli bi Master Cranmars wordis, do wel perceive, is veri harti towerd Youer Hines. Pleasith it the same therfor bi yourer gracieuse letters to geve him thankis.

As for Youer Hynes letters to the King Elect of Romains<sup>1</sup>, and to the Princis of Germani, I have as yet none deliverid, because here is not wone of them all abowt thEmprour: and as for riding to them wher thei be, I thocht it not best; first, because I had in maner commandement to the contrari, that is, to deliver them as I saw commodite and opportunite, whiche here lacked, for thei dwel so fur owte of the wei, and so fur a sunder wone from an other, that I wot not how muche time I must have spent there a bowte; second, because I had not as yett spokin with Master Cranmar, bi whome I micht have knownin ther mindis and inclinations; third, because that 2 daies journei and an halfe on this side Colen, and abowte 3 or 4 daies beyond Colen, I hard certen word, bothe bi soldiers and also bi a worshipful gentilman of Alman, that thEmprour had dismissid his armi, and was departid in to Itali, ye, and that from thens He wold with all spedie in to Hispaine. And of this shorte passage in to Hispaine the rumor was so great everi where, that upon 12 daies journei on this half of Itali, I, fearing lest thEmprour shuld have ben departed or I came, leaving mi cumpani on ther journei, rode bi post to Ausbroke, for to know the certentie, and so to have ridden fourthe bi post if nede had ben, because the post lai that wei: but there I had suer perceverance, that He wold not depart this winter; wherfor I humbli desier Youer Hines to be certified, what yourer pleasure is that I doo with these letters. Commendations to Youer Hynes from Princis of Itali, whome we saluted in Youer Hines name, me thocht it better to leave them to Master Cranmar to show bi mowth, then for me to impesche Youer Hines with reading

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand, King of Hungary.

of them, seinge thei be but commendations. And thus have I expedite thend of mi journei. Now bi Youer Hines pacience I schal recount sum what of the beginninge and of the processe of the same, as compendiosli as I mai.

First, after mine arrival at Calice, ther was I certifid that the wei bi Fraunce and Lorain was muche longar, and also as evil and dangerose, or more, as bi Alman. Wherfor, to begin at Gravelin, ther anon as I was within mi lodging, the Capitan of the castel resortid to the howse where I was, to salute me, and to bid me welcum. And after ower meting he seid he was richt glad to doo me that honor for Youer Hines sake, and so went in with me to diner, causing his soldiars to bringe me presentes, both of wine and wildfowle, and other suche as he had. In communication he began muche to excuse him self, as wel of extreme and manifold curiose questions demanded of youer subjectis, therebi passing, as for certen pietcis of artilliori, losid agein them whiche came from Calice to vew the sclewsse, sayng that he wold have don the same to his Master thEmprour, being none other wise advertisid of his cumming, specialli with suche a cumpani, whiche he reckeind to the numbre of a hundred and fiftie, or 2 hundred. He exhortid me ernestli wonis or twise to doo and sei suche thinges, whiche micht helpe to conserve peace betwene Youer Hines and thEmprour, adding this there unto, that the great masters do muche as thei be informid bi ther servantes; moreover, that he fulli proposid to visit Youer Hines at Calice. After diner he, being accumpedned with a gentilman of Madame de Vandome, brocht me a mile owte of the town. Bothe there, bi the capitans own wordis, and also bi all the wei to Colen, I perceivid that the people was marvailosli afeard of Youer Hines and the Frenche Kingis intervewe; lest, occasion taken bi thEmprour his absence, You wold have joinid armies, and have invaded all those contreies: the whiche fear also (as a gentilman of Flaundres returning owte of thEmprours host, and thEmprours servant, affirmid to me at Magunce) was the veri cause whi thEmprour did so sodenli dismisse his armie. Evermore the hiar that I came in to Alman, the more I perceivid that thEmprour hath gottin Him but smal favor in those parties; wonis, because He hath not paied his soldiars as He schuld have doon, in so muche that ther over toke me the Bischop of Trivers Chancellar and an other of his great officers riding to Wessels, where I also lai that same nicht, to treact with the Duke of Hessens and the Bischop of Mens Counsel, how thei micht content ther subjectis, whiche at ther commandment other hath sent men of werre, or had gon them self, and were returnid with owte painment. The next dai I mett with 2 soldiars whiche had monei of me, making unto me a great complaint on ther Caisar. Agein thei be sore displeasid with Him, because of his Spaniardis and

Italians,

Italians, whome thei hate there, wurse then Turkis, because thei have dealid more cruelli with them, as thei sei, then have the Turkis, not wonli destruинг, burning, and spoiling ther townis and citees, but also ungoodli abusing ther wives and dochters in ther sicht, in so muche that the forseid gentilman of Flaundres showid me at Mens, that he wold not geve a peni for all the goodis and lives of as mani Spaniardis, or of other nations what so ever thei wer, as shuld passe bi Francford, Nurnberg, Regensberg, and so forthe, to Vienna; nor yet for mine, if I passed that wei: so that he him self, with 3 other gentilmen lodged there the same time, and in the same inne, being of Lowe Douche Lond, for fear of jeopardi were constrainid to cum home bi Bohem, and durst not adventure thorow Hy Alman. For, as he showid me, evin that wei that he came was a Spaniarde, having as mani servantes as had I, slaine and hewid all to pleteis, both he and his; moreover that the Almains fellid great firris over thwart the weis, and digged pyttes in the weis for to incumber the strangers passing therebi, and while thei were so incumbrid, thei to cum upon them, and to slea them and robbe them. And a gentilman of the Dukis of Millan schowid Master Cranmar and me, how that of an hundred and seventi Italians there were slain bi the Almains, in returning, an hundred and 10; the residew hardeli escapid, of the whiche he was wone. In Itali as yet it is not so evil, but the grudge is as muche or more, if thei durst utter it. Thei call Him here "Misero," and sei that He dothe mani thinges for monei, whiche be veri ungoodli: thei commune also that his brother and He were the cause of the cumming in of the Turke; because thei have put John Vivoda wrongfulli from the Croune of Hungari, and wold fall to no composition. Wherfor sum answer that, if this wer cnouen, men wold geve lesse credence to His Holines, and lett Him defend his own cuntrie at his owne peril and charge, seing it is in dangier bi his own defaute wonli; as Master Cranmar can show Yower Hines of this communication.

Youser Hines Dialogue, whiche you commandid me to convert in to Latin, I have finischid thone halfe thereof in mi journei, and shal bi the grace of God absolve the remenant with all diligence that I mai. Wone thing there in I wold most humbli desir Youser prudent Hines to consider, whether it be best that those complaintes on Youser Hines people, and to them made of ther onkindnes and onnaturalnes, and suche other, be turnid in to oni other language then owers, or no.

Abowte thende of this moneth, thEmprour is proposid to depart from hens to Ferrare, and so to Bononi, there to mete with ower Holi Father, and afterwerd, as thei think, in to Hispain. Wherfor I beseche Youser Grace to cnowe Youser pleasure, whether it be that I folow bi sea, whiche I mai evil doo,

doo, because I am a veri sori sea man, as Master Aldrige can infourme Youer Hines ; or els bi londe, as thEmbassador of Fraunce dothe.

Furthermore most humbli and intierli I make supplication to Youer Majestie, that, accordinge to youer accustumid clemencie, you supporte mine ignorance in indicting, and imperitnes in goodli behavior to so noble a Prince, and the rudnes also of mine hand ; for allthocht it be to mi singular pleasure and cumforte to wryte unto Youer Hynes, never the lesse it grevith me, what I consider how fastidiose it shalbe to Youer Hines to read so deforme scribbeling as this is.<sup>1</sup> Wherfor if it wold please Youer Hines to be so good and gratiouse unto me above mi merites, as to send me wone that cowld write faier, and that micht be made of counsel, Your Hines shuld be deliverid of muche molestie hereafter, and greatli shuld binde me for the same. At mi departure Thomas<sup>2</sup>, that writh Youer Hines letters in Frenche, made instance to have gon with me ; but because I knew that he was necessari for Youer Hines busines, whiche at that time shuld be intreactid at Calice, I wold not be importune then to desier him of Youer Grace. Now if Youer Hines wold vowchesalve to licence him, this shuld not wonli be commodiouse to Youer Grace for his writing, but also most necessari for cnowlege of suche thingis here, as Youer Hines desirith most to be certified on : and for this wone consideration wonli, none I think of your Imbassadors have so muche nede of suche wone, as have I ; as Master Cranmar can wel infourme Youer Hines ; whiche can also certifie Yow for a trewth, that here is none Imbas- sator, whiche hath not his secretari, notwithstanding that the personages, to whome thei pertein, be muche inferior to Youer Gracis Hines.

Mi Ladi Marques of Penbroke<sup>3</sup> schowid me, that it was Youer Hines commandement that we shuld seke owte suche bookis, as be found here, de potestatae Papæ ; wone have I sent bi Master Cranmar unto Youer Hines, whiche, as Master Rinke<sup>4</sup> of Colen showid me, treatith this mater veri sub- stantiali, wonli that it besene to Youer Hines to command Master Crumwel to finde an interpreter. The same Master Rinke confirmid to me that the Bischop of Colen and of Trivers, with ther Canons, remaine stil yet excom- municate, for collation of ther beneficis, and that the Vicars wonli do sing and sei.

The 19<sup>th</sup> dai of this moneth Master Cranmar departed hens, I prei God

<sup>1</sup> The handwriting is much plainer than the usual writing of the period ; the orthography, it will be seen, is very singular.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Soulemon.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> Anne Boleyn.

send him his hartis desier, that is, shorteli to exhibite him self unto Youer Hines most noble and to him most confortable presence; whiche truli bi his prudent and gentil demeaner hath gottin him suche benevolence and existimation here, both within the Courte and without, and specialli with thother Imbassadors, but most singularli with thImbassador of the Frenche King, that here thei judge him a man richt worthi to be hy in favor and authorite with his Prince. He, supposing that mi letters shuld prevent his return, instantli desired me most humbli and harteli to commend him to Youer graciouse Hines. He hath according to Youer Gracis pleasure delivered me youer plate and other thinges, and likewise is returnid wonli upon mi word and upon sicht of mine instructions, bi Youer Hines signid. As for letters to him I thocht, if it had ben requisite, Youer Hines wold have remembred it, or sum other wold have admonischid Youer Grace therof; and if it were not requisite, I thocht it sum what præsumptuose for me to demande a letter of Youer Hines to him. Ower Lorde Allmichti have Youer Hines in His most tendre governance and tuition. From Mantua, the 21<sup>st</sup> dai of Novembre, 1532.

Youer most bounden Orator  
and Chappellain,  
NICOLAS HAUKINS.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kingis Hines.

### CCCXXXV. BENET TO NORFOLK.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Grace. This is to advertise the same, that this day it is here resolved that M<sup>r</sup> Boner, within this 2 or 3 dayes, shalbe dispatched from hense towardes the Kinges Highnes, which shall cumme in poste. The causes of his dispatche, I doo not write, seyng that, within a litle after that thies shall cumme to your handes, the said M<sup>r</sup> Boner (God willing) shall arryve there, by whom at lenght your Grace shall better understande by mouthe, every thing, then now can be expressed in writing: nevertheles such, as I trust, whiche beyng well handeled shall produce some good effecte; and the moor rather, if the hope of the saide effecte be not divulged *and comunicat to the Frenche Ambassadour ther<sup>2</sup>*, afor his said commynge. And this most humblie I commend me unto Your Grace, beseching the

<sup>1</sup> The body of this letter is written by Boner; the compliment and signature by Benet.

<sup>2</sup> The words in Italics are in cypher.

same to recommende me moost humblie unto the Kinges Highnes, and to certifie the same of the premisses. To morowe Cardinales Turnone and Gramond shall enter here. From Bononye, the seconde day of December, 1532.

(Signed) Yo<sup>3</sup> G<sup>a</sup>c<sup>e</sup> most

bownden Bedman,

W. BENET.

(Superscribed)

To my Lord of Norfolk hys Grace.

### CCCXXXVI. CARNE TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASYTH yt Your Hyghnes. Thys ys to certyfye the same, that syns the departure of Your Hyghnes ys Ambassators and Mayster Boner hens with the Court towardes Bononye, nothyng ys done or attempted yn Your Hyghnes great cause here, save oonly the 28<sup>th</sup> of the laste, at the instance of the Quens Graces proctor, was rede a citation yn the Audience of the Contradictes ageynst Your Hyghnes, yn the cause, for processe to be hade yn the same, before Capisuccha Deane of the Rote, the next audience day folowyng, wyche was the next morow after; of the wyche Your Hyghnes shull receive a coppe herwith.<sup>2</sup> Wherupon I called together Your Graces lerned councell here to consult upon a meane to stay the sayd Capisuccha; makyng my grownd upon too poyntes, the oone ys, upon suche appelles as Y have mayd frome the Pops Holynes before He departed hens towardes Bononye, wyche, as Y doo pretend, dependyth as yet indiscussed; the other ys upon the Emperors beyng yn Ytalye. Yn thys hyt was dowtyd whether I shuld deduce the premisses by the wey of a plee befor the sayd Capisuccha, with a protestation de non recedendo frome anye suche appeles, protestations, or remedyse that I had used before, as well before the Pops Holynes, as also before the sayd Capisuccha, or eles whether I shuld appelle frome the said Capissuccha, deducyng the premisses by the wey of gryffes in theappele. After mature study and discusse theryn, Your Hyghnes sayd councell concluded, that I shuld appelle, yn case the sayd Capisuccha wold procede, deducyng the forsayd growndes by the wey of gryffes yn hyt; for notwithstandingyng the premisses, purposed before the sayd Capissuccha by the wey of a plee, myght stay him for a tyme (seyng that he ys but judex ad referendum

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of this citation, dated on the 28th of November, accompanies the letter.

to the Pops Holynes and the Consistore, wyche relation muste nedes a byn sent to Bononye, and that wold require a tyme; yet yn so doyng I shuld have byn yn daunger of renuncyng all suche appelles and protestations, wyche I hade made befor the Pope, wherbye the parte adverse myght have taken great advantage, spetially at thys tyme; therfor to appelle was thought moste suryste: the copye of the wyche appelle, conceyved by Your Hyghnes sayd councell, the same shall receve herwith.<sup>1</sup> The next mornynge I, beyng yn the Audience yn a redynes, gave attendaunce all the audience tyme, to see whether the parte adverse wold make instance for any processe, that I myght prevent hym with my appelle. Yn conclusion no man apperyd for the parte adverse; wherfor the sayd citation was circumducted, and came to none effecte, for nothyng was done nor called upon there. Further, thoughe suche citations commynlye byn rede yn the Contradicteis without any deacre of the Judge, and stond in good effecte, yf they be certfydyd befor the tyme that processe shuld be made, yet to avoyd all daunger, and to stand yn a suyrtye every wey, after that the audience was done, I moved the sayd Capisuecha, whether he had decreyd any suche citation or noo; who assured that he had decreyd none, and that affirmed the Notarye of the cause lykwyse. For yf the sayd Capisuecha had decreyd hyt, I wold appelled frome the same, for thoghe noo processe had byn made by the vertu of hyt, yet the same deacre myght have byn prejudicall to the maters excusatorye and other remedise used before by me, yn case I wold use no remedye ageynst hyt; therfor I wold a used the appelle from hyt. The sayd remedye of appelle, with the protestation comprised withyn hyt, ys devysed by your lerned councell here, to be used as often as any thynge ys attempted in Your Hyghnes cause here, in the Pops absens, and theryn, accordyng to my moste bownden dutye, I shale endevor my selfe, and to all other that shal serve for Your Hyghnes purpose, to the uttermust. And thys moste humblye I commend me to Your Hyghnes, besechynge Allmyghty God to conserve the same in hys moste noble royall estate by infinite yers. From Rome, the 7<sup>th</sup> of Decembre, 1532.

Your Hyghnes ys most humble  
subject and pore servant,

EDWARD KARNE.

*Sig. excribed*  
To the Kyng's Hyghnes.

1. This also accompanies the letter, together with other relevant papers.

CCCXXXVII. BONER *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

My dutie moost humblie remembred to your Mastership. This is very intierly and hartely to thanke the same, not oonly for the singuler benevolence ye have shewed me concernyng the benefice of Chery Burton besides Beverley, wherin M<sup>r</sup> Wynter<sup>2</sup> hathe otherwise used me then I have giffen cause, but also for your moost lovyng and jentell remembrance made for me unto the Kinges Highnes concernyng the benefice of Ribbechester, late oon of the promotions of M<sup>r</sup> Clayton; of the whiche your goodnes, with that speciall favor ye shewed to my very lovyng frende M<sup>r</sup> Doctour Bagard, your hertie lover, and my singler good master and patrone, M<sup>r</sup> Achedeacon Bell<sup>3</sup> largely enformed me of late by his letters. By reason whereof of a greate detter your Maystership hathe purchased unto you of me a contynuall bedeman, with that service and pleasure I may doo here or otherwher at any tyme, whereof ye shalbe moost well assured.

To advertise your Maystership of our newes, ye shall understand that the 18<sup>th</sup> of November the Pope, taking with Hym oonly in his journey and companye 6 cardinales, with no great noumbre entred his journey towarde Bononye, not keping the common way, which, as ye know, is by Florence, and fowle enoughe, but by Peruse and the landes of the churche; 6 other Cardinales, to make up a brown dosen, and yet not all good sayntes, taking their journey by Florence, with the rest of the companye. The said journey to the Pope, by reason of the contynuall rayne and fowle way, with other infortunable accidentes, as the losse of certeyn his mules, and the breking of the legge of oon Turkie horse that He had, speciall good, and above all for the evell lodging that He had with his compaynye, was wonder paynfull; the Pope diverse tymes compelled, by reason of the fowlenes and daunger of the way, to goo on fote the space of a myle or 2, and his compaynye, besides that pleasure and pastyme, for lak of a fether bed, compelled to lie in the strawe; wher, if I had been harbinger, I woold other have caused theym to lie on the boordes with sorowe, or elles have sett fyre in the strawe: for sythen the tyme that that journey was commyned on and sett fortheward, we had never oon fayre day, and yet ther is moor then a full

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> The Provost of Beverley. See Vol. I. pp. 319, 329, and Vol. VI. p. 547.

<sup>3</sup> Archdeacon of Gloucester.

moneth passed. Ther is noo man, that I can here, doth syng "Salve festa dies," other for the pleasure he had, or the wynnyng. The Popes entrie in to Bononye was 2 tymes, the first apon Our Ladyes Even<sup>1</sup> the Conception, secretly, without ceremonyes or pride, oonly within the walles of the cite; the other was in die Conceptionis<sup>2</sup>, with ceremonyes accustumed, and yet noo great companye; the Pope riding in his longe white curtle, havyng his rochet apon the same, and a stole about his nekke, and soo commyng to his palace. Of any myracles doon apon any halte or lame or otherwise, I herd not of.

It was appoynted that the next Thursday folowing<sup>3</sup> the Emperor shuld also entre into Bononye; howbeit, whether it was by reason of the great waters, encreased by the rayne that had fallen the Wenesday before, or elles bycause that apon the said Thursday was the full moon, which to some was thought for that purpose an unhappy tyme, the said entre was put over to the day folowing, whiche was Friday.

The said Friday, at after noon, the Emperour, at the gates of the cite towardes Modona, was receyved with 12 Cardinales, havyng a canopie borne over his hede, and put bytwen 2 the eldest Cardinales; passing so forthe, but in noo wise havyng the dosen, parte of the companye He had at his first entre, nor yet such companye as was bragged of afor.

In the companye ther was the Dukes of Mantua, Myllan, Alba, Florence<sup>4</sup>, and other of the Emperours howse: it was spoken of 2 thowsande horses, but I verily byleve it was not above 5 hondrethe, if it were soo muche.

The Emperour rode in a cote of gold; and whether it was by the reason of the fowle way and wether, or otherwayes, I can not tell, but ther appered no great myrthe in his countenance for all this solemnite, whiche of trouthe was not suche to make a dowble fest.

Conducted towardes the Popes palace, and lighting at an oratorie prepayred to saye his devotiones, the meane whyle that the Cardinales might goo in solennibus, and assiste the Pope remaynyng in Saynt Petronius churche, joynynge in maner to the said palace, and shortely after put bytwene 2 Cardinales, He was brought to the said churche, and beyng a litle entred in to the same, He made oon lowe obeysance to the Pope, and goyng a litle furthe made the second, somewhat lower, and thirdely, commyng to the Pope,

<sup>1</sup> 7th of December.

<sup>2</sup> 8th of December.

<sup>3</sup> 12th of December.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander de M diei, natural son of Julian the Pope's brother. See Vol. VI. p. 727. He was created Duke of Florence by the Emperor in 1531.

kneled down, offering Hym self redy to kisse his fote: and albeit the Poope woold not have suffred Hym soo to doo, yet in conclusion, after longe stryvyng with the Pope therein, He did kisse his foote, and afterwardes his hande, and thirdely his cheke; and yet with what love, your wisedom can conjecture. And after the accustomed suffragies sayd, the Pope, taking the Emperour by the hande, went out of Saynt Petronius churche, and ther was a bridge made from the greces of the said churche unto the gate of the palace, that 2 persones might go apon; and apon the same the Pope and Emperour did passe, and commyng in to the pallace, and beyng at a stance, where oon way turneth to the Popes lodging, and the other to the Emperours, the Pope departed from the Emperour, and the Emperour, making lowe curtesie, went to his chamber.

Moche labour was made that the Spanyardes shuld have lodged in the cite, but the citezines in noo wise woold agree thereunto, for diverse causes, and chiefly as I suppose for herte bronnyng that is betwixt theym.

Of lanseknyghtes the Emperor, for his savegard, hathe in the cite 5 thowsand or ther about, whiche by cowrse do kepe watche in platea juxta palatium.

Also within 3 or 4 dayes after the Emperours entre, the kayes of the gate whiche is towardes Modona, apon great sute made therein, were delyvered to oon appoynted by the Pope and Emperour and citie. Thies lanseknyghtes do in parte entreat the Bononises after the Gospell, for in what howse they doo entre, they will eate and drynk suche as they fynde, payeng nothing therfor, and over that, besides the gospell, they will wel favouredly beate theyr hoste too. The cite is moche wary of theym, and Hispanorum nomen est odiosissimum apud illos; a man may bye as muche good love for an halfpeny, as any Spanyard hathe in thies partes.

Dominica 3<sup>a</sup> Adventus the Emperour was in the Popes chapell, and ther hard an oration, whiche a frere flaterabunter did make.

The last monethe and this present, 2 the grettest clerkes of the Cardinales, ye I suppose of all Christendome, the oon a dyvynne called Cardinale Egidius, the other a lawer called Cardinale Anchona, departed, the oon the 12 of the last, and the other the 12 of this present; levyng a full bare colledge in thoos 2 lernynges.

Aloisius Gonsaga, that was capitayne for the Pope, especially at Vico Varro, wher was the oold Abbat of Farfa, beyng striken ther with a gonne in the brest, is of late departed; the Pope for mony consideracions beyng moche sorry therfor. The said old Abbot of Ferfa, reconcyled soo soo to the Pope, hath been of late at Rome with 3 score in companye, besides 20 stafyres, and ther

ther oonly did make mery. Andreas de Aurea, as the sayeng is, is now at Naples with his mayye, entending, as he may, to prepare to Genua with the same.

The 2 cardinales of Fraunce<sup>1</sup> are not as yet commyn; moche speking is of theyr commynge, but I suppose it wilbe after the 12 day afor they have publike audience, bycause they must be receyved in the Consistorie.

This dialoge bytwen Marforius and Pasquillus, which of late cam to my handes, I doo send to your Maystership to laughe, not havyng a better thing as I moche desired. Your Maystership dothe I knowe well remember that great statua lyeng benethe the capitole, whiche is called Marforius; and as for M<sup>r</sup> Pasquillus ye knowe, I know well.

And this desiring your Maystership to accept and accompte me your right assured bedeman, and oon that shall not fayle to doo you suche pleasure and service can lie in my poor power during my life; I pray God send you soo good helth and as well to fare, as your own hart can desire, beseching you moost hartly I may be recommended to my good Lord of Winchester, M<sup>r</sup> Almer, my great patron and very good master M<sup>r</sup> Archedeacon Bell, and to jentell M<sup>r</sup> Heneage, with lovyng M<sup>r</sup> Welshe, and M<sup>r</sup> Brereton. And that it may please you to contynue your goodnes towardes me with your jentill remembrance, as ye shall see convenient. At Bononye, 24<sup>o</sup> Decembris.

Your own assured bedisman to command,

EDM<sup>OD</sup> BONER.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right honourable and my great patron,  
M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Cromewell, one of the Kynnes  
moost honourable Counsell.

### CCCXXXVIII. BENET and SIR G. DA CASALE to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASITH it Your Highnes, that in the first congresse, that I, Sir Gregory, had with the Pope, I fully concluded with His Holynes, that the grettest benefite and pleasur, that His Holynes could doo in Your Highnes cause, was

<sup>1</sup> Tournon and Grammont.

<sup>2</sup> This paper is in the handwriting of Thomas Derby, Clerk of the Council, and is evidently a decypher, the original of which has not been discovered. The first page is headed "Commyn letters of 24 of December," which leaves little doubt that it was written by Benet and Gregory da Casale.

to make thEmperour capax of your right and justice in the same; for He being made capax therof, may be moche more facilie conduced to your purpose; whiche at this tyme is most hard to do, He having a contrary opynyon therin. And, to bring this to passe, His Holynes resolved Hym self, that ther was not a more apte instrument than Cardinall Anchona, having respecte bothe to his lernyng, and auctorite that thEmperour doth attribute unto the same; and His Holynes seing that Cardinall Ancona, bothe for his age and also for his siknes, might not come unto Bonony, intended to have attempted and seen whether he might have enduced thEmperour to come to Rome; so that, thEmperour being there, good occasion might have be fonde, that Anchona might have spoken with Hym in this mater. Howebeit in the divice hereof, it chaunced, unfortunably for us, that the said Cardinall dyed, whose deth the Pope lamented for the consideration aforesaid. Nevertheless God so fortuned, that Cardinall Ravenna, being bothe circumspecte, and also oone that desyreth moch to serve Your Majestye, perceiving his uncle this somer past, by reason of his age and syknes, did sore decay, endevoured hym self, as by our letters sent to Your Majesty we have writyn, to have his hole opynyon in your cause; and it was knownen in the Courte to many of the Cardinalles and also to the Pope, that the said Cardinall Ravenna did the same. And I, Sir Gregory, speking with the Pope for that purpose, shewed unto Hym, that I had herd on a tyme Cardinall Mantua say, that Cardinall Anchona caused to be writyn, by his nevewe Ravenna, suche thinges as he had shewed in this cause. And His Holynes sayde I sayde true, for because He had herd say the same Hym self, and added also, that He wolde send for Ravenna, whiche was in his legacion at Anchona: and according to the same immediatly sent for hym, whiche cam in post, and very gladly (having understandyng afore by the letters of me, Sir Gregory, howe moch Your Majesty had done for hym); and immediatly upon his arrivall here, we went unto his Lordship, who sayd unto us, that the Pope had caused hym for to comme hither, to thentent His Holynes might knowe the opynyon of his uncle, and howe moch he had writtyn in this cause. And he shewed unto us that whiche he could say in that behalfe, whiche appered unto us to be of greate importance: and that was this; that his uncle continually did studye this cause, and not trusting other, wold alwaies that the said Cardinall Ravenna shuld be assistant, ye, and that personne by whose meanes he did studye, forasmoch as his uncle aforesaid was not of habilite that he might goo from place to place and turne his bokes; and when his sayd uncle did fynd any notable thing, and unto the purpose, he caused the said Ravenna to note the same; and afterward, not onely oone tyme but many, he told unto hym what

what the Pope ought to doo in the proceeding in the said cause, Your Highnes sending a mandate in the principall cause; and also his vote and opynyon, when he shuld come to giff sentence: the whiche vote was in the favour of Your Majestye.

Over this, as a most feithfull servitour of Your Majestye, so alwaies to be taken, and willing to recognise his life and honour holly to depende upon the same, dothe offer hym selfe to help the said cause with dexterite, and veray greatly in the relation of the vote and opynyon of his said uncle; and he promyseth that he will never faile to serve Your Majesty, with most good affection in all accurrantes, and principally in declaring the said vote at all tymes it shalbe required; not alonly afore and to the Pope, but also to thEmperour, and in the Consistory, and wheresover it shall do service to Your Majesty, frankly at all tymes.

We, knowing the vote of Anchona to be with all men of marvelous auctorite, and perceiving that the Pope woll beleve that Ravenna doth say, being of suche great reputacion with His Holynes as he is; and bicause also he being accompted rather imperiall than otherwise, it can not be thought otherwise, that he declaring the vote of his uncle in the favour of Your Highnes, and against the Emperour, he doth it for none other but to tell the truth, without respecte to any person; and bicause the said Ravenna had heretofore perceived by the letters of me, Sir Gregory, what Your Highnes had gevyn and promised: we, to confirme and establish hym in his good will that he had to serve Your Majestye, and also to thentent he shuld make the relacion of the vote and opynyon of his uncle more favourable (as he woll make it), knowing perfittely that herin he shall do good service to Your Majestyc, I have delivered the writing that I, Sir Gregory, did bring; although Ravenna had afore the same in his hand, in maner, by reason of a promyse made to hym by us, upon that writing sealed and subscribed by Your Highnes hand.

And as for the three thowsand ducates, we have takyn respect, forasmoch as I, Sir Gregory, alleged that I ought not bring the money into Italye, and therfore left it at Lyons, and bound us that within a moneth, at the furthest, the same shuld be payde to hym; and this we afermed many tymes to bring him in perficte assurance; and we see not that we may deny it, and hertofore we had payde it, if the letters of my Lord of Winchester<sup>1</sup> had not kept us in suspence; wherin is conteigned that we shuld not pay it, oonles the maters were admitted: whiche thing if we shuld have sayde, it shuld have appered

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

to Ravenna that we had mokked hym, bicause this is against the promises which be not knownen, wherin is not conteigned that Anchona did promise any tyme that the matters shuld be admitted, bicause it appered not to hym that they were just, and he also afore had spoken against the said maters; but he promyzed he wold differr the mater, and procure the same by an other maner waye, unto the tyme that he might helpe the cause principall: the which our trust is he hath restourid in this Courte, after that sorte, that nowe must nedes folowe moch good; which afore was impossible to have folowed, yf Anchona had not auctorised it with his spech and disputacions, made afore the Pope and Cardinalles and thEmperours oun Ambassadours. And bicause we, Sir, not sure what here, upon the admission of these maters, Your Highnes shuld obteign that which You desire; therfore we do attende and consider that which is of more importance, which is the principall cause.

Ravenna going to the Pope, incontinently the Pope was in hand, and inquiered moch in this mater; to whom he answered as was with us convented and apoynted; begynnyng to declare the mater with reputacion, and seing that which was therwith, and that which that his uncle, studying the cause, did shewe unto hym, and caused hym to note all that that he founde to the purpose in the cause; and many tymes he told hym, what was hys opynyon in this cause, yf he shuld be judge: whiche, when it shalbe necessary, he woll shewe and declare to His Holynes, and wher it shalbe required, not having respecte to any, but oonly to the trouth; and he wold not suffer His Holynes to knowe it, for entent to kepe the thing in more reputacion: and yet, in the communication of Ravenna, the Pope remembred certain wordes that Anchona afore had said to His Holynes; whiche moche pleased the Pope, and made hym glad that Ravenna could tell the vote and opynyon of Anchona; requiring Ravenna that he wold kepe secrete the same, and when it shuld be necessary, to declare it.

And this day thEmperours Ambassadour was to visite Ravenna on thEmperours behalfe; and, after ceremonyes had, told hym that thEmperour had understand by the Pope the doing of Ravenna in the gething of the writinges, and the vote of his uncle in the cause; which mervelously pleased His Majestye, and that He wold more beleve the said vote, then all the booke and men in the world, and that He did exhorte hym to kepe all this as a most precious thing, and above all other hereditamentes that his uncle had laft to him. Ravenna answered that it was trewe that he had takyn labour this somer passed, and more added, that he remembred, that Hym self did exhorte hym so to do. Ravenna in effecte concluded, that when it shuld be

be convenient he wold declare that vote frankly. His Lordship within these twoo daies will goo and do his duetie to thEmperour, and if His Majestye do ask hym hereof, he woll say the same, and will do his dute, as shall appertain, as oone which is most dedicate to Your Majestye. And, Sir, by the premisses Your Highnes may perceive, howe moch the enterteyning of this man may be profitable unto your cause; therfore we desire Your Highnes to knowe your pleasure in the premisses, and chefely concernyng the delyvery of the money.

### CCCXXXIX. BENET *to King Henry VIII.*<sup>1</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Highnes. The 19<sup>th</sup> of the last moneth, 2 howres befor the day, arryved here at Rome Thomas my servaunt, with Your Highnes letters dated at Calice the 7<sup>th</sup> of the same<sup>2</sup>; and albeit that afor the receipt of your said letters, I had right good hope that nothing of great importance shuld be attempted in your said cause, durynge the abode of the Emperour here with the Pope, apon suche comfort as the Pope had put me in the day of his departing from Rome hitherwardes, likewise as Your Highnes shall perceyve in the common letter of Mayster Karne Boner and me<sup>3</sup>, yet nevertheless according to Your Graces pleasure and commandement, to confirme and establishe the Pope in that good mynde, I signified unto His Holynes the commyng of Sir Gregorie, beyng dispatched from Your Highnes<sup>3</sup>, and that I trusted, apon his arryvall, His Holynes shuld knowe suche thinges as might please Hym; not dowting but, wher His Holynes had promisseed me that nothing of importance shuld be doon in your said cause, that now He woold utterly resolve Hym self to doo pleasure unto Your Highnes in the same. And albeit His Holynes woold not expresly make me promisse herein, yet in suspension of processe prejudicall to be made, His Holynes did persiste nothing beyng doon, to the commyng of Sir Gregorie, nor unto this day. And, Syre, bycause of the premisses, and also that Your Highnes said cause (as the same shall perceyve by our letters now sent) is in suche trade, and the Pope in suche good moode, that (if great alteracion do not folowe) processe is like to be stayed for a season; I did and doo, according to Your

<sup>1</sup> In Boner's handwriting, signed by Benet.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> His stay in England was extremely short.

Graces pleasure and commandement, forbeare the delyverie of Your Highnes letters<sup>1</sup> of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Octobre unto the Pope, as wherby I shuld rath haue procured hynderaunce then fortherance of your purpose. And veryly althoughe I have been at sondrie and mony tymes with the Pope, aswell afore the commyng of the Emperour, as sythen, yet I have not at any tyme founed His Holynes moor tractable or propense to shewe gratuite unto Your Highnes, then now of late ; insomuche that He hathe moor freely opened his mynde then He was accustomed, and said also that He woold speke with me frankly, without any observance or respecte at all. At which tyme, when I greatly lamented that (Your Highnes cause beyng soo juste) noo meanes cowde be fonde and taken to satisfie Your Highnes therin, and said also that I dowted not but (if His Holynes woold) wayes might be fonde by his wisedome, now at the Emperours beyng with Hym, to satesfie Your Highnes ; and that doon, His Holynes shuld not oonly have Your Highnes in asmuche, or moor, frendeship as He hath had hereafor, but also procure therbie that thing whiche His Holynes hath chiefly desired, whiche is (as He hathe said) a universall concorde emonges the Princes of Christendome : His Holynes answered that He woold it had cost Hym a joynte of his hande, that suche a waye might be excogitat, and said also that the best thing He cowd see to be doon therein at this present for a preparatiff to that purpose, was that thing whiche is conteyned in the first parte of the cifre ; and how, speking of the justenes of your cause, He cald to his remembrance the thing whiche He tolde me two yeres passed, whiche was, the opinion of the lawieres was moor certayne favourable and helping to your cause, then the opinion of the dyvynes ; for He said that as fer as He cowd perceyve, the lawyeres, althoughe they holde quod Papa possit dispensare in this case, yet they commonly do agree quod hoc fieri debeat ex maxima causa adhibita cause cognitione, which in this case dothe not appere. And He said, that to cum to the trouth herein He had used all diligence possible, and enquired the opinion of lerned men beyng of fame and indifferencie, bothe in the Cowrt here, and in other places. And His Holynes promysed me, that He woold herein use all good policie and dexterite to emprinte the same in the Emperours hede ; which doon, He rekonethe mony things to be invented, that may be pleasaunt and profitable to Your Highnes ; adding yet, that this is not to be doon with a furie, but with leisure, and as occasion shall serve, lest, if He shuld otherwise doo, He shuld let and hynder that good effecte, which peraventure might ensewe therbie.

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<sup>1</sup> Not found.

And,

And, Syre, seyng the Pope is in this good mynde, I doo conceyve a better he<sup>t</sup> of some good frute to followe, by the yeege mannes relation of his uncles opinion beyng made as is conteyned in the cifres; for I did knowe well that, If the old man<sup>1</sup> had lyved, the Pope woold have folowed the said old mannes opinion afor any mannes lyvynge. And therfor for the better entertenement of the said yonge man, and that suche thinges as are promissted apon hym shuld the sander comme to passe, I durst not utterly resiste the delyverance of suche thinges as Sir Gregorie delyvered unto hym; and moche a doo I had to save all things uprightely, and yet to staye the delyverance of the money unto the tyme Your Graces pleasure might be knownen; casting this, that the delyverance of the writing (retaynyng the money) shuld not be prejudicall to Your Highnes, in case suche thinges shuld not fortune to be doon of the yonge mannes behalfe, as are promised, bycause it shall alwayes remayne in Your Graces libertie to performe the wrtinges, as You shall think best. And, Syre, what soever is otherwise written of the yonge man, I assure Your Highnes I can not see what is to be loked for, or can be obteyned by hym or his auctorite; otherwise than in the benefite that may ensewe to your said cause in the said relation.

Syre, after my simple opinion it shuld doo meruelously well that Your Highnes, havyng the Pope in this towardnes, shuld write unto Hym some jentill letter, though he were but of credence, wherby He (perceyvyng his doynges to be taken thankfully and in good parte) may be encoraged to procede farther, to the benefite of your said cause; wher otherwise Your Highnes shalbe sure first not to get ony frute by Hym, and over that (bringing Hym in to desperation) may feare that He, entring in to his olde obstinacie, will rather hynder then forder the same.

The 2 Cardinalles of Fraunce as yet are not commen, but are (as it is thought) nye unto Placentia at this tyme.

And this moost humblie I commende me unto Your Highnes, beseching Almyghty God to conserve the same in muche felicite mony yeres. From Bononye, the 24<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1532.

(Signed)      Yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes most hūble  
                  subject ſvant and chaplen,

W. BENET.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Hyghnes.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 350, note.

CCCXL. HAUKNIS TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

Jesus.

**P**LAISETH Youer Hines to understand, that with these mi rude letters, for thaccompilment of mi promisse in mi last letters writin the beginninge of this moneth of December<sup>2</sup>, I send Youer Grace, for youer Ingleshe Dialogue, a Dialogue for mi smale eloquence latinisond, most humbli beseching the same taccept mi good wil, what so ever the thing be, and breveli to perceive the maner of mi translation with mi slender consideration in the same. I cowde, if it lyke Youer Grace, soone have conversid it in to Inglisch or Frenche Latine, but I perpendid, that for Ingland that in Inglisch was sufficient; and for France, that whiche Youer Hines hath commandid to be transposid in to Frenche, and further that thei be defensors of your cause. Almain like wise I trust wol bi litil and litil cnowledge the truthe. The difficultie is in these Italians, whiche I know to be so curiose and delicate, that if the writing plaise them not, thei abject it, be the thinge never so good, in so muche that, for this cause wonli, veri mani of them fastide the studi of scripture: wherfor I thocht it convenient, sum what after mi litil facultie in that language, taccommode mi style to ther appetites, wherbi I micht the better allechte them to the reding; with owte whiche it is hard to perswade them. Secund, I have in diverse placis addid sum where more, sum where lesse, as in the first leffe, that the Pope can not dispense in the law Divine, moral. [“For that God makith evil, man can not make it good,” &c.] is addid, and therfor inclosed, and markid with suche strikis as Youer Hines seeth, and all other notid like maner, to thintent thei shuld at the first vewe be cnownen; and if thei plaise not, then Youer Hines to command them to be strikin owte. Thirdli, I have omisid the seynges of Concils and authors, desiring Youer Hines, bi cause I lacke the quotations, to command Master Cranmar or Master Gudric<sup>3</sup> to wryte them in, word for word as thei be in thoriginals. The praeface also I have not interpret, because I did not enowe whether Youer prudent Hines thocht it necessari to be in oni other tonge then owers. In summa, for the translation, if it plaise God and Youer Hines, I have mi desier.

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<sup>1</sup> Holograph. The parts printed in Italics are in cypher.

<sup>2</sup> The letter referred to seems to be that of the 21st of November. See p. 389. The Dialogue has not been discovered.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Goodrich, in 1534 Bishop of Ely.

*Tre daies passid, came to me streicht oute of Alman, one longinge to Master Cranmar, schowinge me that the Duke of Sax trustith to be Kinge of Romans, and that the Princis of Germanie favorith him grately toward the same; in so muche that it is there openly spokin: and that the Dukes of Bavar be sore displaisid with Don Ferdinand, and so is the people. More over he saieth himselfe, being now at Ausproke, aboute the wek is passid, to have communid with Laurence Stabar of Nurnberge, demandndin him if he wolde oni thinge to Master Cranmar; he answerid, "None other, but that I " soupid with the Kinge of Hungari here in one of Focars housis, and hath " ben here aboute thre monethis secretli and oncknowin." After this felow inquirid of Focars clarke, and the answerid him that it was a Duke of Hungari perteninge to Wivoda. Whiche, as sone as he was cnowin, secretli conveied him self awei. Item, that the Duke of Wirtenberge, that fled oute of Alman, is now with the Prince Landgrave, and his son fled from Don Ferdinand, it is oncknowin to whom. These thingis, as I write them plaiseth Youer graciouse Hines so to take them, not as thinges certenli cnowin of me, but wonli bi suche relation as Youer Grace seeth. I had liever (Youer Grace I trust wol perdon mi plaines) write the secrettes of Youer Gracis Realm, then of this countre, for I can cnow more here of yourer secrettes, then mani there doo, or then I can of the secrettes here. And if suche incerten writing is not to Youer Gracis appetite, I humbli desier the same to be advertised there on, and I shal here after tari after thingis more certen. In the mean time I wol adde this, that sum sai here that the Duke of Milan shal mari the Popes nepce<sup>1</sup>; sum the Emperours nepce, dochter<sup>2</sup> to the Kinge of Denmarc departid; and the Kinge of Scottis, her sister.<sup>3</sup>*

The Pope and thEmprour be lodgid here both with in wone house. ThEmprour hath within the cite 6 thousand Almans, beside his howschold, and his Counsel. His wetche nichtli is of 500 withowte his lodging, and 200 within, so that an Italian reckenid to me thEmprour to have the cite in his hand. If I had a mater in lawe, I had liever have suche a judge, whiche bare me suche amite or suche awei, then to be judge there in mi self; for that at lest schuld have sum cloke of justice.

*TheEmperour hath given Campegius a Bischoprike, and at his cumming now to Bononi, came to him sitting emonge the Cardinals, and did him greate honor and reverence, as Augustin his Physicien schowid me, twise, for*

<sup>1</sup> Catharine de Medici. See before pp. 314, 315. She married the Duke of Orleans 1533.

<sup>2</sup> Christina married the Duke of Milan 1533.

<sup>3</sup> Dorothy married Frederic Elector Palatine 1532. See Vol. IV. p. 574.

*forgettinge* Youer Hines boke *de potestate Papæ*, and that also, whiche at youer commaundment I did sett in ordre, and causid to be writin agein for Youer Grace: if it wold plaise Youer Hines to commaund them to be writin owte and sent us here, thei shuld do us good service in your mater, as I perceive bi communication had in the same, bothe with Master Benet and Master Bonar also, whiche have made me sum what of counsel of ther affaires here, trustinge that Youer Hines wil not there with be discontent. At mi cumminge now to Bononi, I found them bothe 2 veri gentil and kinde unto me, as I have at other times before; wherfor as concerninge Master Bonar, I wold make most humble supplication to Youer Hines to have in memorie his just petition, if I did not consider how kindeli the same is accustumid to remember youer pouer servantes of your own corage. Ower Lord Jesus Christe have Youer Hines in His most blissid tuition. From Bononi, this Christmesse Evin, 1532.

Thei comune, that the Duke of Sabaudia is cumming, and thEmprours bastard dochter<sup>1</sup> to be maried to ower Holi Fathers brothers bastard sonne.<sup>1</sup>

Of thEmprours departing I cnow no certentie.

Youer Hines most humble

Orator and Chaplain,

NIC. HAUKNIS.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinge his Hines.

#### CCCXLI. HAUKNIS to CRUMWELL.<sup>2</sup>

RICHT worschipful Sir. After mi veri most harti and loving manner, I commend me unto yow, in like wise desiring certenli to cnow of your good helth and successe in your no smal affaires. The beginninge of this moneth I sent yow letters; if thei be cum to your handis I am glad; if not, I prei yow let me cnow, for that I mai be the more circumspect, what and how I write unto yow here after, in more grave maters, if at ani time case shal so require. Sir, I must prei yow to be frindli unto me in a mater, and specialli to be an equal judge to me in the same, whiche now I schal declare unto yow. Treuth it is, that the knowledge of suche thingis whiche I shuld certifi the King on, for the most parte I must gett it of thother Imbassadors; and therfor must bothe invite them, and be invitid. Now so it is, both Master Benet, and the Imbassadors bothe with thEmperour and with the Pope, and all

<sup>1</sup> Margaret married Alexander Duke of Florence 1536.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph.

other

other Imbassators as wel smal as great, have ther meate vessel for ther tabul all of silver; as Master Cranmar, to whome I have also writin on the same, con certifie yow: how be it, he had none, no more have I. Now thei, whiche at home be daili servid in silver, divine yow, how thei be content, and what thei thinke bothe on the King and me, to be servid with me in tin or peuter, and that nocth as ye cnow in Itali. To bi mi self I am not habil. And I were, I wold, for the Kingis honor; thoch, God to witnes, it shuld be muche agein mi fantasi, because I cnow wel, if it were mine own appetite, it were plain agein the Councils Carthaginense with other, as the Kingis Hines richt wel dothe cnowe, and yow. And certen to yow it is also, that I have muche plate here of the Kingis, but, wonli the salte, the basin, and thewar, the 2 flagons, and the spones except, all unprofitable, servinge me to none use. Wherfor, if ye thocht it convenient, I wold desier yow to do so muche to move the Kingis Hines, whether it micht be his plaisir that of this plate, to me onprofitable, I cause to be made me plate profitable and serviseable. I schal restore so mani unces, and the same silver, and wil bere mi selfe the charge of the fascion. Here in yow shal do me great plaisir, and the King honor, and no dispreffet, if it shal plaise yow bothe to bring this thinge to passe, and also, as I seid, to be an equal judge, that is, to think that I desier it, not for mi fantasi, but for the honor of the Kingis Hines: as cnowith our Lord, who evermore conserve and guide yow in all besognies, harteli desiring yow to be good in Master Bonnars cause, specialli seing that he is absent in the Kingis busines. From Bononi, this Christmesse Evin, whiche I prei God send yow as meri as I wold have mi self. 1532.

Youer own assured

(Superscribed)

NIC. HAUKNIS.

To the Ryght Worshipfull Master Cromwell,  
of the Kinge his Counsell.

#### CCCXLII. BENET to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

*PLEASE it Your Highness to understand. Cardinal Turnone schewed unto me, that this daie he and Cardinal Gramont had fulli concludid with the Pope, that His Holines and the French King schal meate together within a convenient time, to be apointed after the Emperors departure owt of Italie.*

<sup>1</sup> This letter is holograph, and, with the exception of the concluding lines, is wholly in cypher.

*Furdermore*

Furdermore he schewed unto me, that the Pope dothe write at this present to the French King, concerning the saide meating, and in the same letter His Holines writith in effect, this clause folowing; that His Holines is contentid to comme to somme place where the same and the French King may speke to gether; and especially His Holines desirethe hit, trusting that in the same meating, by the meane and thorow the wisdom of the French King, His Holines mai directe Youre Highnes cause to somme good end; and to the entent that suche direccion mai be more facile taken in the saide enterview, His Holines willed the foresaid Cardinalles to write in ther letters to the French King, that His Majeste should write unto Youre Highnes, to desire the same to send somme honorable personages, most fully instructe of Youre Highnes mind and saide cause. Also the saide Cardinal Turnone schewed unto me, that it semid unto hym and to Cardinal Gramont, that the better service unto Youre Highnes and the French King there maister, that they should procure of the Pope, that His Holynes should not enterre into this particular leage for the defence of Genua, which the Emperour dothe so greatly sollite, til that His Holines had communicate hit to the French King, which thing they obteined of the Pope, so that the French King would send his mind in hit schortli, and if He did not send an answer schortli, and suche a oon as schuld have reasons necessarili concluding that His Holines should not enterre into the saide leage, His Holines would then, notwithstanding any other answer to be send, enterre into the foresaide leage; and so His Holines hathe promised to the Emperor, as the same schewed unto the saide Cardinalles. The saide Cardinal Turnone schewed unto me, that he and Gramont writethe at this present to the French King, as of them selfes, and so councelling Him that His Majeste should make an answer unto the Pope schortly, and that the same should not schew Him selfe to esteme that the Pope should enterre into the saide Leage, for they dothe not see that the concluding of the foresaide leage should be prejudcial, other to Youre Highnes or to the French King, but rather it should be to the avauncement of Youre Highnes cause and the French Kingis affaires here, considering that the Pope will never enterre into hit, but that the contribucion, which is made by the Potentates here of Itali (which montithe to an hundred thousand ducatis a monthe) for the finding of the Emperors armi here in Itali, shall ceasse; also that the said armi shall clerli departe owte of Itali, and no parte therof to remaine in hit, but only thre thowsande men, which shall lie in the realme of Napullis at the Emperors charge for the defence of the same: and to this the Emperor hath agreid. Which things donne and the Emperor being departid into Spaine, the Pope and all Itali shall be bruught into liberte; which

which thing, as the saide Cardinalles takithe hit, should muche conduce to the foresaide meating; and a good resolucion to be had in the same in Yowre Highnes cause. For thes consideracions it semithe to the said Cardinalles, that Yowre Highnes and the French King ther Master, should conniventibus oculis suffer the foresaide leage to passe, and the saide Cardinalle besechithe Yowre Highnes, to kepe most secrete the conclucion of the aforesaid entervew betwixte the Pope and the French King; for if it should cumme ever so litel abrde and to the Emperors knowlege, it should never take effect: and the saide Cardinal bounde me most streiteli, that I should not scheue the premissis to nother of my collegis. Furdermore the saide Cardinal Turnone scheued unto me, that it was thought unto hym and Cardinal Gramont most expedient, both to yowre cause and the French King there Master affaires here, and cheffeli for soner inducing the Pope to the foresaide meating with the French King, to use in all there conferencis with the Pope, at this beginning, and as long as the Emperor shall tari with His Holines, as good and plesat woordes as they coude devise, and suche as might encurrage His Holines to embrace the frenschip of Yowre Highnes and the French King; and in effect the saide Cardinal saide, that he hathe perceivid that so using them selfes, they have moche profit. And he said that he is in opinion, that if they had begunne with His Holines with scharpe woordis and thretningis, they should have utterli causid His Holines to have utterly addicte Hym self unto the Emperor, and to have embraced only his frenschip, which should have binne bothe greate hindrance and ruine to yowre cause, and to all the French Kingis affaires here, and so he desired me to write unto Yowre Highnes, to certifie the same of hit on his behalf and of the premissis. And thys most humbly I commend me unto Your Hyghnes beseching Almyghty God to conserve the same yn felicite mani yeris. From Bononi, the 14<sup>th</sup> day of Januari, 1533.

Your Hyghnes most humble  
subject, servant, and chapleyn,

W. BENET.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynges Hyghnes.

CCCXLIII. BONER *to* BENET.<sup>1</sup>

**R**Ight Honourable. After my very humble and intier hartie maner, with recommendacions and like thankes for all your jentilnes and singuler good mynde, ye have alwayes borne and declared unto me in dede; this is to advertise you, that departing from Bononye, as ye knowe, the 8<sup>th</sup> of this present, at nyght, beyng letted, as ye perceyved, diverse wayes, I went oonly that nyght to Castell Frank, taryeng for diverse thinges to be sent after me, levynge the currour for that purpose; and than proceding in my journey forthe-ward with celerite, I had noo let, but at Lyones in providing thinges necessarie, at Parise by reason of M<sup>r</sup> Walloppe, and at Bologgne by reason of the see, apon the whiche I was wondersly trowbled, lieng apon the same almoost 2 dayes, like not oonly to have been drowned, but also with the shippe and all thinges therin conteyned to be bronned: of the fowle wether in parte of my journey, with other small lettes, I doo not speke. Sir, in conclusion, after that, with moost great peane and difficultie, I was arryved at Rie, beyng afor (as was convenient) determyned to Dover, and ther had taried a hooll day for to have horses, and had theym at the last, which yet were apoynted to the repars for to carie fishe, I rode night and day till I cam to the Kinges Highnes, which was that tyme at his Palace at Westmynster; and the 25<sup>th</sup> of this present, in the mornyng, I repayred to His Grace, whiche, beyng a Prince of moost vertue honor and goodnes, gaff me moost gratiouys and benigne audience. And after that I had made your moost humble recommendacions unto His Highnes, and like wise for my Lord of Worcestre and M<sup>r</sup> Gregorie, declaring unto His Highnes the singuler diligence and dexterite, whiche ye had used in His Graces affayres, shewing with all, the benevolent mynde and kyndenes the Pope entendeth to shewe unto the Kinges Highnes, His Majestie toke all the same very grately and acceptablie; not a litle rejoysing to here that His Holynes myndethe to shewe suche gratuite and pleasure, and that the same now, at the last, remembreth Hym, whiche in woordes and deades alwayes hath been to His Holynes noo common frende. And verily, Sire,

<sup>1</sup> Printed from a copy, wholly in Boner's handwriting, with the following contemporary indorsement: "The copy of a lre sent by M<sup>r</sup> Boner to Doct<sup>r</sup> Benet, afstre the said Boner cam in to " Englande, to declare that the B. of Ro. offred to cōmitt the cause to indifferent judges; wt sundry " proves, that the Douagier was cognita ab Arthuro Princepe."

the thing standing as it doth, if the Popes Holynes in dede performe all thinges that He hath promised, and enlarge it to suche thinges as may be beneficiall to His Highnes cause, not using delayes, but with celerite and diligence effectually setting fortheward the same ; His Holynes, in my opinion, shall have the King, with all that He can doo, to doo Hym pleasure : and, on the other side, if the King perceyve but woordes oonly, or small dedes, with delays, soo that in conclusion small or noo benefitees do effectually folowe, me thinketh I can assure you the Pope is like to be here, and other where, in great daunger and trowble, without faynyng or dissimuling with you. Wherfor seyng the Kinges Highnes takethe this doyng of the Popes Holynes in soo good parte, if His said Holynes accomplishe his promises and enlarge the same as may be moost beneficiall, studieng from tyme to tyme how He may retayne the Kinges Highnes in his accustomed benevolence, and giff Hym cause to encrease the same, He shall therby acquyre unto Hym self quietnes and tranquillite, with great commoditees and profites also at the Kinges handes, besides noo litle pleasure and profite to be shewed unto the See Apostolique.

And, Syre, forasmuche as at this tyme my Lord Electe of Canterburye, Mr Doctour Cranmar, a man, as ye knowe, of singuler good lernyng, vertue, experience, and all good partes (for the whiche the Kinges Highnes hath nominate hym unto the said See, to the great comfort of the Nobles of the Realme, whiche favoreth hym greatly), doth sende for his Bulles, it shalbe very expedient and necessarie that in the same he be, for diverse respectes, favourablie handeled, especially concernyng the Annates, and charges of his Bulles ; for if he shuld not, the matter of the Annates (whiche is in communication greatly, and oonlye, stayed by the Kinges goodnes) in my opinion shuld be with all celerite called apon, and thinges attempted therin and otherwise, that shuld be not a litle prejudiciale unto the Courte of Rome. The good and favourable handeling of this man shall staye, as me thinketh, many thinges, and cause diverse, and the Kinge especially, to take it very thankefully. Wherfor ye are desired moost effectually to sollicite and sett fortheward all the same, to his moost commoditee and profett.

And moreover mynding by thies letters to enforme you not oonly of that I have herd, but also of that I grope and fele here, ye shall understande that by ought I can perceyve, forasmuche as suche like matters of great Princes have been alwayes examyned and decided in their Realmes, and that this cause of the Kinges Highnes, beyng of great importance, was not oonly heer begonne, but also ought to be here determyned, as in a place indifferent,

and wher the trouthe may soon be knownen, His Highnes speciall desire shalbe that ye, with all your studie, diligence, good policie, and lernyng, doo attempt and labour all the wayes possiblie ye can, to obteyne that the said matter may be committed hither in to Englonde; whiche His Highnes, as I perceyved in his communication, veryly supposeth ought to be, and thinketh also, that the Pope, entending to committe the matter to indifferent juges (as He sayeth He wooll), will not muche stick at it, if He be well handeled and put in remembrance aswell of the great kyndenes shewed unto Hym in tymes passed, with as moche and more like to succede apon his good doynges towardes the Kinges Highnes in his said cause, as also of many and infinite inconveniences very like to ensue, and in maner necessarie to folowe, if the Kinge be not kyndely and frendely handeled, as He hath greatly and moche deserved: whiche matter I pray you take not for a fraske or bragge, ne to be written by me without great apparaunce and cause; for I assure you, beyond your expectation and myne, and contrarie to the same, diverse thinges is taken, which yet I must pray you to kepe to your selfe, and sett fortheward the premisses all that ye can.

And surely, Sir, men be moche persuaded here, as far as I fele theym in communication, that it is a great equite and reason, seyng the juges whiche shalbe appoynted shalbe mete and indifferent, and that the chieff merites of the matter, and the oonly pithe, standeth in this, whether the Quene were cognita or not cognita, whiche thing in noo place can be better knownen then in this Realme, that the Pope in conclusion shuld not stikke herin to committe unto the said juges hither in to Englond all the said cause, thoughe peraventure now, at the begynnyng, His Holynes sheweth Hym self (as is thought) not moost plentefull and abundant; fearing percase that, if He shuld, ther shuld be to muche requyred of Hym. And to be plaine with you, as fer as I can perceyve, ther must com moore and of other sorte, then is yet commen and offred, afor the King can be fully satisfied; thoughe otherwise it appered to you, and other ther, and thoughe also I have doon my best therin; which and how in all partes it was accepted, I shall hereafter at large declare unto you.

I beseche you eftsones to set fortheward and procure the premisses, with all other thinges that by your wisedome can be thought to be beneficiall for the Kinges purpose, and use great celerite therin, whiche shall procure unto you most grettest thankes and favour; and, for the reverence of God, doo you your best therein, as I knowe ye will, for hereapon in my opinion hengeth mony thynges. I knowe well ye wooll marveyll at thies lettres, and besides that,

that, loke for somme resolute answer from the King; whiche, if I could have obteyned, I woold now have written it to you: but of trouth as yet, by reason of suche lettes and busynes, as the Kinges Highnes hath in his other great affayres, I cowld not attayne knowlege thereof, and therfor thought by this post oonly to shewe you how greate thing it shuld be to the Kinges Highnes to have his matter committed hither in to his Realme, unto juges indifferent, to be here both examyned and determyned, without restraynt. And I desire you to consider this effectually, trusting that within fewe dayes ye shalbe advertised of the Kinges determynate mynde.

Over this the Kinges Highnes willeth you, by all possible meanes ye can, to procure that the Popes Holynes doo write unto His Highnes suche thinges as by your wisedome He shalbe enduced, or of his frendeship shall entende, moor amplie to schowe and doo unto His Grace; soo that His Majestie may therbie be in moor assured hope: and willeth also ferther that ye sollicite His said Holynes to make answer unto that jentill letter<sup>1</sup>, which of late His Highnes sent unto the same, and soo with dexterite to use the Pope and other ther, that beyng retayned in suspense untill the Kinges pleasure ferther be knownen, nothing be attempted or doon ther, prejudiciale to His Highnes in the said cause. And, notwithstanding that I have had as yet but litle tyme here, yet I have seen and perceyved diverse thinges, whiche befor I never sawe nor hard of, towching whether the Quene be cognita or not cognita; and have lerned therbye that She is confessed to be cognita by the traitie concluded bytwixt the King her father, and the father of the Kinges Highnes, whos sowle God pardon, and by thies woordes: “ Non “ obstante impedimento publice honestatis, justicie, eo quod prefata Serenis-“ sima Domina Catherina contraxit matrimonium per verba de presenti cum “ prefato Domino Arthuro, prelibati Regis Anglie et Francie &c. primogenito, “ ejusdemque inclitissimi Principis Henrici fratre et germano: non obstante “ etiam quod sunt affines in primo affinitatis gradu, eo quod idem matrimonium “ inter prenominatos Dominum Arthurum et Serenissimam Dominam Cathe-“ rinam facie Ecclesie solemnizatum, et postea fuerat consummatum.” Wherby me thinketh moost playne and evident, that She was carnally knownen, and consequently the Kinges matter in this behalf to be moost juste.

Besides this, seying parte of suche letters as M<sup>r</sup> Gregorie sent to the Kinges Highnes of the 26<sup>th</sup> of December<sup>1</sup>, I understande that he had thies woordes in effect, mony thinges are that maketh for the Kyng, all the Divines conclude gaynst the power of the Pope in this behalf. The Doctours of

Canon partly be adversaries unto the Popes auctorite, and thoos, that favoureth it, be of sentence that the Pope may dispense, soo that ther be moost urgent cause; as for example, if a realme shuld otherwise utterly perishe, that the parte of the Pope is to examyne and juge, whether the cause proponed be of suche sorte; and bycause in the dispensation of Julius, ther is noo mention made of suche examination and jugement had by the said Julius, therfor the dispensacion not to be vayleable; also that the Emperour there shuld saye, "Why was not ther moost great batell bytwen the Spayneyards and the Englishemen? and oonles this alyaunce had ben made, moche calamite shuld have folowed," and that then the Pope shuld answer, "Mary then, ther was and is a moor error, bycause they did not put thies causes to the jugement and examination of the Pope." Wherfor it is not to be merveyled if moor were not doon for the Quene, wher moor cowd not be doon, and finally that here the Pope shuld perceyve that the Emperour was estonyed.

Ferthermoor I have perceyved, sythen my commyng hither, that in the said treatie made bytwen the Kinges father that is now, and the King Ferdinando of Spayne and Quene Elsabethe, his wiff, ther is conteyned, that afor the mariage was made bytwene Prince Arthur and the Lady Catherin, doughter of the said King Ferdinando and Quene Elsabeth, ther was made a solempne leage, frendeship, union, intelligence, and confederacion; and then followeth, formalibus verbis; "Ex quibus quedam quasi innata benevolentia hinc inde hactenus accretit, et in predictorum Principum cordibus adeo radicata consistit, quod, divina favente gratia, nulla prorsus temporum varietate minui aut dissolvi facile possit." By the whiche wordes preceding, and other woordes and clauses hereafter folowing, in my opinion it appereth evidently, that to dispense in this behalf, ther was not "urgentissima causa," ne yet "urgens;" and consequently that the Pope, percyvyng the same as He doth or may, shuld for respecte aswell to justice as tranquillite of Christendome, make the Emperour and other pretending interrest capace hereof, with other thinges herein conteyned, and also, as in matter clere and evident, with celerite procede to jugement super non validitate Bulle.

Also ther is conteyned in the same traitie thies woordes: "Et quamvis prematura morte (quod non sine dolore referimus) prefati quondam Principis Arthuri, predictum matrimonium, quod inter ipsum Principem et Serenissimam Dominam Catherinam predictam contractum celebratum et consummatum fuerat, solutum sit; ob singularem tamen affectionem incredibilem mutuumque amorem, quo prefati Principes jamdudum ad invicem præ ceteris Principibus Christianis colligati atque uniti sunt, et

" ad

“ ad amicitiam, ligam, intelligentiam, unionem, affinitatem, et confederationem  
 “ predictas continuandas, confovendas, augendas, et amplificandas, ac perpetuo  
 “ observandas, tum etiam ob ipsius Illustrissime Domine Catharine modestiam,  
 “ ceterasque virtutes, ac nature dotes, quas Serenissimus Anglie Rex in ea  
 “ videt esse maximas, et que Suam Serenitatem ad hanc affinitatem reno-  
 “ vandam magis invitant, &c.”

Over this ther is conteyned in the same, and in the first article of the said traitie, “ Quod Bulla debeat impetrari sufficiens ad contrahendum matrimonium inter Illustrissimum Principem Henricum et Serenissimam Dominam Catherinam, cum clausa speciali que sequitur: ‘ Non obstante impedimento publice honestatis, justicie, eo quod prefata Serenissima Domina Catherina contraxit matrimonium per verba de presenti cum pre-fato Domino Arthuro, prelibati Regis Anglie primogenito, ejusdemque inclitissimi Henrici fratre et germano: non obstante etiam quod sunt affines in primo affinitatis gradu, eo quod idem matrimonium inter pre-nominatos Dominum Arthurum, et Serenissimam Dominam Catherinam in facie Ecclesiae solemnisatum, et postea fuerat consummatum.’ ”

Besides this I have red in an autentike storie, that ther was a King of Spayne<sup>1</sup>, that maried a kynneswoman of his in tertio gradu, havyng soo to doo a dispensacion of Pope Celestine; and afterwardes Pope Innocent, abhorring the said matrimonie, and not allowing suche dispensation, dissolved the said matrimonie, rejecting also the said dispensation: whiche thing if the Pope did, in tertio gradu, notwithstanding dispensation, muche moor it is talked and thought He shuld doo in primo gradu: and by the premisses ye may, in my opinion, see whether ther was urgentissima causa in dispensatione Julij, with diverse other thinges that maketh moche for the purpose, to be even now considered with hym that attendeth the pithe of the matter, moore than the ceremonyes accustomed.

And, Sire, it is merveyled here with diverse, seying the remissorialles super examinationem testium in meritis causæ, et an erat copula (wherein standeth all the hooll weyght of the cause), are not stikked at to be send hither in to Englond, that ther is suche stikking in the commission of the matter hither, seying that super illa copula, to be examyned here by letters remissoriall, standeth all the pithe as is abovesaid. I beseche you eftsones to consider that here is not my vayne fantasie, but with some apperance and grownde.

<sup>1</sup> Alfonso IX., King of Leon, married his first cousin, Theresa, daughter of the Countess of children of Alphonso I., King of Portugal.

I shall desire you moost hartely to commende me unto Mr Blanchet, your hoste, with his brother and sonne and all the howsehold. And thus Almighty God preserve you in moche good helthe longe and well to fare. At Grenewiche, the last day of January, 1533.<sup>1</sup>

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CCCXLIV. KING HENRY VIII. to BENET.<sup>2</sup>

**T**RUSTY and right welbiloved, We grete youe wel. And having receyved your letters of the 8<sup>th</sup> of this moneth, We have thought right expedient to depech incontinently these our letters unto youe, partly to resolve the doubte and perpl[exitie, that you seem]e to be in for payment of our money to the [young man], and partly to supply sumwhat that was omitted in the instructions geven to Master Bonar, concerning such matier as shuld be by youe there alleged and declared to the Pope and other on our behaulf.

First touching the payment of the money to the young man, We be content that ye, taking of him a copye of the said vote subscribed with his hande, soo as it may appere to be the same wryten by the olde man, and that it is wryten in our favour and for our parte, ye thenne make payment unto him of the said money, with as good wordes as ye can divise to excuse the delaye therof, and by good facions to divise with him to kepe the original in his handes, for oon other maye altre the sentence of that is wryten, and soo counterfaicte and adulterate the same to serve and make against Us.

Secondarily, considering by your letters nowe sent, and conferring to them your other sent heretofore with [*those now*] sent by Master Boner; forasmoch as We fin[*de and per*]ceyve the Pope most chieflye to oppone himself, to withstande let and differr the decision of our cause for mayntaunce and preservation of his jurisdiction, entending to amplifie the same with our not oonly high prejudice derogacion and detriment, but also in this cace most notable displeasour, and therfor adjoynith always to al his overtures

<sup>1</sup> There are in the Chapter House two holograph letters to Crumwell from Boner, when on his return to Bologna; the first dated from Gravesend on the 13th, and the last from Calais on the 14th of February, accompanied with presents of Italian seeds for Crumwell and the Duke of Norfolk. (Miscellaneous Letters, 2d Series, Vol. IV. leaves 98 and 95.) Boner reached Bologna on the 27th.

<sup>2</sup> Printed from a minute (much decayed and mutilated), which bears a contemporary indorsement, "Mylste of a bre sent from the King<sup>C</sup> Highnes to D. Benet upon the dispech of D. Boner  
"touching overtures to be sett ."

the sending of our mandate thither unto Him, which stringe He ever touchith, the sounde and noyse wherof We cannot here and moch lesse agree unto ; We have thought good to instructe youe more amplye therin, and, with such other matier as We have signified unto youe by Master Boner, to set forth and allege this, that We nowe write, concerning our not app[ering] there, being grounded upon the determination of the Universite of Orliaunce, the copie wherof We sende youe nowe with thiese<sup>1</sup>, exemplified ; wherby apperith that neither be We bounde to appere by Ourself or by our Proctour, and that the processe doon there is nothing, and that the matier ought to be committed in partibus, as by copye therof doth playnly appere. Wherfore, if the Pope hath sent any commission to Capasukka contrary to this, He hath doon Us extreme and intollerable wronge. For, if the determination of the Universitie of Orliaunce be trewe, as We for the auctorite of those lerned men take it to be, and as by our lerned men here We understande it is ; thenne may not our cause be harde there, and thenne ought it to be harde here ; and We be double wronged, to be molested there, and, asmoch as in Him his, empeched here. This we take as truth. Thes lerned men tellith Us for truth ; and unlerned men think reasonable and agreeable to truth, and the prerogatives and privileges of our Realm.

We knowe what the Pope shuld doo, what He ought, and what He may doo ; and entende always to experiment the qualites of his proceedinges, and to answer Him with the semblable. Unto Whom ye may say as of yourself, “ Sir, see Youe not this determination made by those that be lerned in your lawes, gret famous clerkes and notable lerned, though it persuade Youe not “ to be as Ye saye, yet it must nedes make the matier doubteful, either to “ Youe, to the King my master, or booth. Wherfore Youe to doo any thing “ to so noble a Prince, soo puissant a Prince, soo great a frende, and that hath “ doon so moch for the welth of Cristendom, dayly dooth, and may doo, which “ in any mannes opinion might be taken for wrong, and is as Ye must nedes “ saye doubteful ; it wer not circumspectly doon, considering that in matiers “ of gret weight being in any point doubteful, ye must take the surest waye, “ and rather forbere the extremite of the right, thenne approche any thing “ to the termes and limites of wrong. Remember, Sir, what respect Emperor “ lawes have had to noble personages, wherin it is wryten quod ad egregias “ personas jusjurandum divinum mittitur, and the judge callith not them to “ him, but rather sendeth unto them. What soo ever your auctorite be, “ which I wil not dispute, Ye be Saint Peter successour, a fisher, who whenne

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

" he drawith his net to fast and to harde, thenne he brekith it, and pulling  
 " it softly takith fish good plenty. Remembre howe the net brake in Pope  
 " Leos dayes by the folish handeling of a Cardinal, who pulled and haled,  
 " and soo rent the net, that it is not yet made hoole agayne, but rather  
 " rendith more and more. Princes be great fishes, and must be with policie  
 " handeled, and with evident and manifest right enterteyned, and neyther  
 " canne they, ne wil, abyde wrong, ne the shadowe or visage of wrong." And therfor ye may saye ye wold advise the Pope, as oon that wold the prosperitie of that See with the conservation of the right of your Soveraine Lord and Master, to devise soom other meane waye, and like oon that pretendith to be hed, to bere and support our bourden and travayle when We be fallen, and wherwith We be charged by the occasion of that See. And like as by thamplification of their auctorite geving dispensation in our cace, We be wonded, soo nowe by the modifying therof that We maye be healed, and the remedye to procede thence, according to the determination of the saide Universitie, with the conservation of our rightes and privileges as reason is ; and not to be continually vexed with the excessive preeminence of his auctorite : and with suche good persuasions to induce the Pope to propone sum other overtury, tending to a more meane and indifferent waye for the conservation of our rightes preeminences and privileges, thenne the other that have been heretofore proponed. And forasmoch as the determination biforsaid concerning our not appearance at Rome is made by the Universitie of Orliaunce ; our pleasure is, ye present the same to the Cardinales of Turnon and Grandmont, and shew unto them thefecte of that We wryte unto youe to be sayde on our behaulfe to the Pope, and to desire them to set it forth, and to persuade the Pope to the regarde the same as reason is He shulde ; not doubting but, if they use the showing therof after to the Pope, with an ernest behaviour declaring such regard as they shuld have thereto, not oonly because it is truth, but also bicause it procedeth from the most famous Universitie in Christendom in the lernyng of the lawes, it shal worke good effecte, and move the Pope, if there remayn in Him any lyvish respect, to doo that shalbe for Him and the conservation of that See soe profitable and expedient.

And in cace al these matiers doo not profite or prevayle, thenne our pleasure is, that in cace of findyng that extremite to be shewed by the Pope, ye thenne doo according to suche instructions as We have sent unto Youe by the said Master Boner.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## Post Scripta.

In case the Pope, upon the declaration of the premisses, do not forthwith devise some waye, whiche ye shall well thinke may serve for our satisfaction ; then We woll that as of yourself ye say and propone unto Hym as followeth :

“ Sir, I being oone, who is as desirous of the preservation of the auctorite of the See Apostolique (the ruyn whereof hathe been of a longe season greatly manased), as any thyng can be, shall exhorte and beseche Your Holynes substancialy and duely, not oonly pondering and considering this determinacion of Orleance and the opynyon of so many lerned men and famous clerkes of dyverse regyons, bothe that thExcusatour ought to be admitted, and also the mater to be examined and determyned in partibus, that ys to saye, within the realme of England, and in no other place ; and howe that the mater, so highly touching all the Princes of Cristendome and their prehemynences and priveleges, who within thair realmes have and be bounden to the administration of justice, and woll never or can long suffer tollerate or take in good parte suche an injurye, being a thing sounding so highly to thair prejudices, and is alredy determyned by so famous a Universite and opynyons of so many well lerned men, as in dede if ther were no suche determinacion or opynyons, the thing self is not but a smale mater to graunt to suche a Prince, Who so diverse and many waies hath so greatly and largely deserved to have the favour of that See, and is the man that specially may do most with his frendes and confederates to preserve the same ; and sure Your Holynes may be, what so ever your lerned men may tell You touching the contrary of the said determination, that when it shall come to the poynt, the thing self, amonges Princes, wolbe takyn according to the same determinacion ; and that they woll not be contented to tollerate such a president, being as it were a manifest wrong and injurye to them all and their succession. Wherunto Your Holynes having due respecte, me think it were more than expedient that some indifferent and meane waye may be takyn, bothe howe not oonly the auctorite of the said See in that behalf, but also the prehemynences of the said Princes, may be preserved and kept, to the King my masters and all other Princes satisfaccion, and to Your Holynes and to the See Apostolique also contentacion ; wherin I have of my self devised oone waye, whiche, yf it may stande with Your Holynes pleasure, as I take it, may very well serve for that purpose, and is bothe honorable, and that thing wherwith of reason Your Holynes ought to be contented, and the King my master I

" trust wolbe satisfyed with the same, whiche is this: that seing all like  
 " maters touching divorce of Princes at all seasons heretofore have been  
 " determyned within thair oun realmes and domynyons, and that therwith  
 " the Generall Counsailes, your oun lawe, and all others, do agree that  
 " thExcusatour is to be admitted though he were a stranger, Your Holynes  
 " having no other ground in not remitting the mater to be herde and  
 " determyned within the Realme of England, but oonly the Quenes objeccion  
 " that the place is not indifferent, whiche thing is no lawfull excuse, or yet  
 " to be admitted; forasmoch as the lak of justice or indifference is but oonly  
 " supposed, and not administred, the contrary wherof in caas Your Holynes  
 " by the advise of your lerned men wold labour to defende, it were doubtfull  
 " howe the rest of the worlde wold take it; for though Your Holynes esteme  
 " or thinke the judgement of your lerned men best, yet nevertheles, so many  
 " Universities and excellent great clerkes diffynyng the contrary, the same,  
 " being wayed in egall balance, shall, I feare me, moche surmount the  
 " opynyons of them that You have estimacion in; and so your definicion to  
 " the contrary but smally regarded with the rest of Christendom. And  
 " considering also that it hath ben evermore used that such maters of  
 " divorce (albeit in dede there hath bene some contradiccion) have bene  
 " discussed within the realmes of Princes, as appereth by the stories and  
 " cronicles bothe of England and Fraunce, wayng also as afore the greate  
 " actes of my Soverain Lord and Master done unto the said See, so largely  
 " as me thinketh Ye ought not nowe begynne a newe or strange facion of  
 " proceeding, to irritate not only the same my master, but also all other  
 " Princes, who Ye may well think do and woll pondre and waye that, yf  
 " Ye might wynne this mater of my Soverain Lord, that then they must  
 " rekyn them self obliged hereafter at all tymes to appere in your Courtes  
 " at all your commaundementes and willes; whiche thing [*Ye may be*] well  
 " assured they woll never indure, b[*ut woll ever*] refuse it to the uttermost  
 " of thair pow[ers, it] touching so highly every oone of them, [*that he wold*]  
 " rather dye then to suffer it. And therefore me semeth the best meanes,  
 " that can be excogitate to satisfye all parties, and to preserve your auctorite,  
 " is, that first Your Holynes, admitting the said Excusatour, may well remitt  
 " the mater to be examined and determyned within England, and then  
 " afterwarde, in eace the Quene have due cause of greve, or find a lak of  
 " justice or indifference, that then She shewing the same, to be at her  
 " remedye affore 3 indifferent judges to be appointed and takyn, oone out  
 " of England, an other out of Fraunce, and the thrid from Your Holynes,  
 " and they to have auctoritie, in place indifferent to be appointed, to discusse  
     " the

“ the same. Which semyth a veray honorable and indifferente waye, and the  
 “ thing that I woll indeavour my self, the best to me possible, to move my  
 “ Soverain Lord to be contented and satisfied with. And thus Your Holynes  
 “ shall do justice, contenting all parties, therby preserving the auctorite of the  
 “ said See, and the prehemynence of Princes, and also, so contynuyng the  
 “ favour of my master, without doubt it shalbe the veray thing self, wherby  
 “ that auctorite of the said See somoch desire may be  
 “ maynteyned and preserved, many other commodities  
 “ and furtherances may succede and hapen; as the xperience  
 “ of my said Soverain Lord and Maister  
 “ largely shewed, and is to be by Your Holynes regarded  
 “ accordingly.”

Furthermore as of your self ye may shewe unto His Holynes that ye have herd from a frend of yours in Flanders lately, that there hath been sett up [*certain*] writinges from the See Apostolique, in derogacion bothe of justice and the affeccion lately shewed by His Holynes unto Us, whiche thing ye may say ye can hardly beleve to be true, but that ye rekyn them rather to be counterfeited; for, if it shuld be true, it is a thing to far out of the waye, specially considering that you and other our Ambassadours and Excusatour be there, and have herd nothing of the mater; which wrintinges self We send at this tyme unto you<sup>1</sup>; which copye, ne any thing therin conteynyd, We will in no wyse that ye shall shew to any person, which myght thinke that ye hadde anye knowlage from Us ne any of our Cownsaylle; merveiling greatly, yf the same hath proceded in dede from the Pope: willing you expresly not to shew that ye had it of Us, but by your said frendes in Flaunders as afore.

And thus at this tyme We make an ende, not doubting but that with all diligence ye woll advertise Us directly and plainly of the circumstances of every thing touching the premisses the Pope woll do for Us, and that unto; as ye may well consider th require.

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<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## CCCXLV. WALLOP TO KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASE it Your Highnes to be advertised, that the 12<sup>th</sup> of this instant moneth William Kene my servaunt arrived here, with Your Graces letters to me directed, bering date at your manour of Westminster the 9<sup>th</sup> of the same monethe. At whiche tyme I was at Roen, in following Your Highnes commaundement concernyng thEnglishe pyrattes there; and my said servaunt trusting to have met me by the way, departed from hens thetherward, and failed of me, bycause I retourned not that ways that I went owtward, by reason wheroft I have bene the longer in making answere unto Your Highnes of your said letters.

Your Heighnes shal understande, that according to your pleasir I have declared to the King your good brother the specialties conteyned in the extract. Of whiche specialties (as He said) He was advertised byfore from his Ambasadour resident with Your Grace, and therunto made aunswere unto Your Highnes by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Langes, and his opynion aswel in that as in all other thinges now practising in Italye.

Yet, that notwithstanding, He willed me to wryte unto Your Highnes that what vive communicacion so ever the Pope had with thEmperour in the favour of your great matiere, or any swete wordes that He wol declare therin to your Ambassadours there in comforting You in your said cause, Your Grace shulde geve no credence therunto, for all is but dissimulacion.

As touching thouverture that the Pope made to your Ambasadour, that Your Highnes shulde consent to a general treues for thre or four yeres, and also induce the Frenche King to the same; to that the King made answer, to what pourpos shulde any treues be made where no warr ys?

And as touching a General Counsayl, He is right well contented therwithe, and thinketh the same very necessary and expedyent, so that all christen Princes be called therunto. But as touching to any particuler Counsail He wol in no wise condescende, yet ther hathe bene ouverture made unto Hym that the Pope, thEmperour, Fardinandus, and He, shuld have an entrevieu apon the bordures of Italie nigh unto France, and Your Highnes to have bene left out, as He saithe. To the whiche He made aunswere presisely, that He wolde not consent to any suche entrevieu, onles Your Highnes were also comprised in the same, and if it were so condescended that Your Highnes and He shulde be there to gethers, yet You

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two shulde go after suche a sort, and with such power, that You wolde not care whether the Pope and thEmperour wold have peax, or els coups de baston.

Ferthermour, where Your Highnes willeth me to move the King your good brother to wryte affectuously on your behalf unto the Cardinals of Tournon and Grammont to set forthe your gret cause unto the Popes Holynes; the Gret Maister hath promised me that it shalbe done accordingly. And ferthermour He saythe that in all the Kinges letters to them addressed, they be commaunded so to doo, and to treate in no cause without assent and knowlege of your Ambassadours there. And, where Your Highnes wrote that Ye were enformed the said Cardinals to be somewhat remise and cold in prosecucion of your said cause, and therfor to have them somewhat put in remembrance therof; yet I perceyve by the post scripta, that I shuld nothing shew of the coldnes of the said Cardinals in that byhalf, which I assure Your Grace I have not done. And though they have bene cold in setting forth of your gret causes, yet, as I hire by relacion of som of my frindes, they have bene right hote and diligent in procuring a mariage bytwene the Duke of Orleans and the Popes nece. If that be true I thinke Your Highnes shalbe advertised by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Langes; the King nor none of the Counsail never shewed me any thing therof. The 18<sup>th</sup> day of this moneth at night, at thAdmirals banquet, the Popes Ambassadour was very desirous to speke with the Duke of Orleans, the Gret Maister being present, who byfore had long communicacion with the said Ambassadour.

The saying is here, that Fardinandus and the Vyvald have concluded a trewes for 5 monethes, and that they treate to gethers of a mariage for the said Vyvald, which shuld be a nepce or kynnywoman to thEmperour. And thus the holy Trynitie have Your Highnes in his moste blissed tuicion. At Parys, the 22<sup>th</sup> day of Februarij.

Your humble subject

and most bounden servant,

(Signed) JOHN WALLOP.

*(Superscribed)*

To the Kinges Highnes.

CCCXLVI. HAUKNIS TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLAISITH Youer Hichnes to understand that sin mi last letters<sup>2</sup> to the same, I have spokin with *the Pope*<sup>3</sup> in Youer Hichnes cause, which thing I was so bold to doo, parteli because I, Youer Hichnes Orator, here continuing so longe time, me semid I cowld no lesse doo but to instructe Him in the truthe; parteli bicause I wold have allurid Him to have spokin the same to me, whiche He hath spokin befor to other; which is this, that the divins here in doo vari, sum seieng the Levitical to be moral and of the law of nature; sum to be wonli judicial, and that the lawers make muche better for Youer Hichnes; for as muche as the commune opinion of them is hooli the Levitical to be moral, and that sum of them sei that the Pope can not dispense with oni suche law, sum that He can not nisi ex maxima causa, et ea quidem cognita, and that in Quenis bulle there is nother maxima causa, nor was no causæ cognitio. This his sentence occult, because I did not mislike, went unto Him, bothe to here it of Him mi self, and also to emend it, if I cowld; taking awei from Him that scrupul of the diversite of opinions emong divins, affirming unto Him plainli that not wone of the Phathers, nor yet oni wone author of reputation, ever seid the Levitical not to be moral, and the Deuteronomical not to be ceremonial; wonli Scotus, with his friers, were so bold to dissent from the consent of all the hole Chirche; wherfor it is easi to perceive this opinion to be scelerata et impia. Now seeng, quod I, that the most part of the lawers, as bi his own confession, and the most part of the divins, as He shal find it, ye all, if we speake of veri divins, be of Youer Hichnes parte, seeng that He can be no further nor better instruct in this mater, what thing more can He tari for? whi doith He shutt up the truthe? nor I did not omitte how syncerli and magnificalli Youer Hichnes hath evermore observed jura amicitiae, wherof He hath noble exemplis both towerdes the Emprour and the Frenche King, wherbi He micht wel perceive what Youer Hichnes both wold and cowld doo towerds Him. His answer in substance was, that sine mandato from Yow He cowld doo no thing; I marvelled that having a mandatum from Yow He wol procede, and having so long time passed a mandatum of

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.<sup>2</sup> Probably later than the 24th of December, the latest now extant.<sup>3</sup> In cypher.

God,

God, He wol do no thing, but kepit in the trwth to Him knownen for certen wordli respectes.

The 18<sup>th</sup> dai of this moneth I comunid with a frier, whiche hath writin for Youer Hichnes cause and on youer parte, whiche seieth, considering in the dispensation ther was nother maxima causa, nor causæ cognitio, that the dispensation was nocht; how be it, as he seith, whan the Pope shal so have declarid the first dispensation, He mai geve a new, bi whiche suche mariage now shalbe lawful, for as muche as now here shalbe maxima causa, that is, concordia et pax, so that He mai graunt a nochti thinge; and whan He shal se a nochti end folow, as of nochtines is wont, then He mai transforme it in to good. This I write to Youer Hichnes, because I wot not whither the Pope in conclusion wol resolve Himself according to this friers seieng, considerid that in the remanent of ther verdicte thei agre; for the frier plainli seieth that all this mater lieth in the poer of the Pope, whose poer what it is bi scripture and write authentical, Yow Hichnes cnowith, few I thinke better: but the poer peopul, because thei be ignorant and with owte knoledge, as Youer Hichnes Glasse of Truthe speakith, be fur other wise born in hand.

God and Youer Hichnes hath, I trust, set suche an Archebisshop over youer clergie, as hath bothe habilite and volunte abundantli to doo his dew service to God, and to Youer Hichnes his liege Lorde, and to his great flok also. Wherfor mi dewti towerds God and Youer Hichnes compellith me to rendre most humble and most harti thankis to God and to Youer Hichnes, for the same. The 21<sup>st</sup> of Februari Campegius proponid, in the Consistori, to the Pope and Cardinalles, the vacation and desired Bulles<sup>1</sup> for thElecte, for hitherto thei cowld not agre on the price. The taxe of the Annat, after the rigor, is 10 thousand ducates. Thei have ben sore cumbrid with debating of this mater, whether thei shuld remitte oni thing, or no. There now remaineth no more but to agre, first, with Campegius for his propina, whiche cummith to a bowte a thousand and 5 hundred ducates, wonli for proponing the vacation in Consistori; secund, with the Popis officiars, whiche demaund 3 or 4 thousand ducates pro minutis servitijs; and then bi Goddes grace at the next Consistori, whiche shalbe within this 9 daies, he shal have his pall for a thousand ducates or more. This pall is a pece of white cloth made of the wool of certen lambis, whiche the Pope halowith, and consecrat bi the Pope, and leide upon Saint Petre his sepulcre.

<sup>1</sup> They appear to have been completed on the day before the date of this letter, 9 Cal. Mart. Le Neve Fasti, p. 8.

The Emproure departith from hens the Thursdaie after Ashe Wensdai.<sup>1</sup>

As for the mariage betwene the Duke of Orliance and the Popis nepce, I doubt not but Youer Hichnes cnowith it.

The Emprour, I wot not how, lettith slippe his sentence given for the Duke of Ferrar agein the Pope.

Ower Lord and Savior Jesus Christ have Youer Hichnes in his custodi perpetual. From Bononi, the 22<sup>d</sup> of Februari.

Youer Hichnes most bounden

Chaplain and Orator,

NIC. HAUKINS.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Kinge His Hichnes.

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### CCCXLVII. HAUKINS to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLAISITH Youer Hichnes. These shalbe wonli to certify the same, that the next dai after I had dispatchid mi last letters to Youer Grace, I perceivid that the liege betwene the Princis of Itali and the Pope and the Emperour, for the defense of Itali, and specialli of Genua, hath ben and is muche laborid and solicited; in so muche that it is thocht that it shalbe publisched with in these 2 daies. The Venetians have made response plainli, that thei wol not chaunge the old liege made 3 yeris passid, being content to stond to that. The Duke of Ferrare yet stickith at certen capitula, whiche the Pope wold have him graunte, if he shuld be admittid in to this liege; as, that he shuld not fortresse nother of those 2 cities, whiche, as the Pope seith, belongeth to the Chirche. This thing I thinke concernith not greatli Youer Hichnes; notwithstanding I thinke it enowch, if it concern the Frenche King: and if it concerne nother, yet Youer Hichnes plaisir is to cnow suche newis and affaires as here be, and more convenient it is for Your Hichnes to know it bi youer own servantes, rather then bi other; and if agein other youer Imbassadors here hathe certified Youer Hichnes of the same, so muche the thing is more credibil. Ower Lord Jesus Christ have Youer Hichnes in his custodi. From Bononi, the 23 of Februari 1533.

Bi Youer Hichnes most

bounden Chaplan and Orator,

NIC. HAUKINS.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Kingis Hichnes.

<sup>1</sup> 27th of February.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph.

CCCXLVIII. Instructions de par la MAJESTE DU Roy, baillees a son tresfeal Conseiller le Seigneur de Rochford, Gentilhomme de sa Prive Chambre, envoyee a present vers le Roy Treschrestien.<sup>1</sup>

(Signed) HENRY R.

PREMIEREMENT vous, le Seigneur de Rocheford, a vostre arrivee, apres avoir obtenu audience, faisant noz tresaffectueuses recommendations a nostre trescher et mieulx ayme frere et perpetuel allye le Roy Treschrestien, Luy delivrerez les lettres, que Luy envoyons, escriptes de nostre main<sup>2</sup>, et puis procederez a Luy raconter la tresgrand joye confort et plaisir, que Nous prenons a penser et reduyre jurnellement a nostre memoire la pure syncere et effectuelle benevolence affection et amytie qu'il Nous porte, accroissant de jour en jour par continuelle multiplication des offices benefites et plaisirs; comme en plusieurs facons lavons congneu parfaictement, et dempuys nagueres par le rapport du Seigneur de Langey, ensemble la charge quil avoit entre aultres choses speciallement de Nous requerir de nostre avis, sans le quel nostredict bon frere ne vouloit en affaire quelconque proceder, touchant le mariage qui par le Pape a este mys en termes et propoz entre nostre mieulx ayme cousin et filleul le Duc d'Orleans et sa niepce. A quoy, combien que ayons fait response par ledict Seigneur de Langey a son retour, et oultre ce mande de noz nouvelles estat et succez, toutesfoiz cognoissant que nostredict mieulx ayme frere nest pas moins console en la commemoration de la bonne affection que reciproquement Luy portons, et par continuclz benefites plaisirs et gratuites vouldrions augmenter tousjours de plus en plus, avons estime convenient, pour supplir nostre presence personelle par ung de noz gentilz hommes, qui Luy scaura declarer nostre courage, estat, succez, et occurrences, comme nostredict bon frere a fait vers Nous par ledict Seigneur de Langey, de vous envoyer pardela Le veoir et visiter, Luy raconter de noz bonnes nouvelles et sante; ensemble amplement Luy exposer ce que avons dict audict Seigneur de Langey, tant touchant nostre avis sur ledict mariage mys en termes, que aussy touchant les occurrence et estat de nostre grande cause et matiere.

<sup>1</sup> No date is given to these instructions, but the contents show that they must have been issued late in February or early in March.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

Quant a nostre avis, veu que nostredict bon frere de si entiere amytie Nous en a requis pour lensuyr, Nous Luy avons plainement voulu declarer estre tel, que veritablement (ainsi que scavons que Luy mesmes bien le consydere) en esgard au bas lieu sang et maison, dont est extraicte ladicie niepce du Pape, le tresnoble et tresillustre sang progenie et maison royal de France, nostre trescher et tresame cousin et filleul le Duc d'Orleans ; ledict mariage seroit fort dispar et inequel : parquoy ne sommes aulchunement de avis quil soit conclut, si nestoit que par ce moyen nostredict bon frere eulst quelque grand profit commodite et avantage, qui redundast au bien utilite et honneur, tant de Luy, que de Nous ; et que a ces fins le Pape fist et accordast chose, qui contre vauldroit et recompenseroit le default de si noble lignee et parentage, ce que ne luy seroit possible, au moins tresdifficile, comme il Nous semble. Toutesfoiz si nostredict bon frere cognoist ou peult penser aucune telle condigne valeur et recompense, ce qu'il pourra a lavanture mieulx que Nous ne ferions, Nous en rapportons bien a Luy, que si telle chose Luy vient a congnoissance, et quil Luy plaise, come bien scavons quil le fera, Nous en advertir plainement, Il Nous trouvera tresprestz et promptz, non seulement de Luy en mander nostre avis ouvertement, comme nostre amytie requiert, mais aussy a Nous employer, si cest son profit commodite ou plaisir, a tout ce qui pourra et semblera expedient a avancer et poulser oultre ce que par Luy et Nous sera advise commodieux et opportun. Et de ce soy peult il fier en Nous asseurement.

Et quant a leffect de noz matiers et occurrences, avons et voulons correspondemt, selon ladvis de nostredict bon frere, procede et en temps advenir proceder specialement en nostre grande cause de mariage, comme il pourra congnoistre par lestat de nostredicte cause et les poinetz qui sensuyvent, lesquelz voulons que Luy racontes.

Premier, a nostre derniere entreveue sur la fraternelle et familiale communication que Nous eusmes ensemble de noz affaires venant aux nostres, Luy declarasmes comme a tord et injustement Nous estions affligez dilayez et fort ingrattement maniez et troubles, en nostredicte grande et pesante matiere de mariage, par la particuliere affection de l'Empereur et du Pape. Lesquelz sembloient par leurs longues retardations de nostredicte matiere ne sercher aultre chose, sinon par longue attente et laps de temps Nous frustrer malicieusement du propoz, qui plus Nous induict a poursuyvir et mettre avant ladicie matiere. Cest d'avoir masculine succession et posterite, en la quelle Nous establierons (Dieu voulant) le quiet repos et tranquillite de nostre Royaulme et Dominions. Son fraternel plain et entier avis (et, a bref dire,

le

le meilleur qui pourroit estre) fut tel, et Nous conseilla de ne dilayer ne protracter le temps plus longuement, mais en toute celerite proceder effectuellement a lacompliment et consummation de nostre mariage.

Sur lequel son avis et conseil, que ainsi Il Nous donna, corrobore plus oultre, par tous telz moyens que ung vray frere et amy peult induyre, a mettre et mener son frere et amy en tranquillite et repoz, et laider en sa juste cause ; speciallement, que Il Nous promist Nous assister maintenir et supporter en ce faisant, et a tout ce qui en pourroit advenir : et de sorte que si le Pape vouloit proceder (ainsi que de droict Il ne peult, ne doibt) a prandre congnoissance en nostredicte grande cause, ou quIl ne vuelle admettre ne allouer nostre Excusateur, ou quil vouldroit expedier executer ou fulminer a lencontre de Nous, noz Royaulmes, et subjectz, auleunes citations, inhibitions, suspensions, excommunications, ou aultres quelconques procez, tirans affin dempescher le progres et execution de nostredict mariage, ou aultrement molester, troubler, ou infester Nous, nostredict Royaulme, et subjectz ; Il Nous assistera et maintiendra en tout ce qui pourra estre pour le bien et honneur de Nous, nostredict Royaulme, et subjectz, ensemble a lasseurance du droict et honneur de la succession et posterite, qui dudit mariage (Dieu donnant) pourra ensuyr.

Nous, pour la ferme confidence espoir et fiance, que Nous avons en sa verite et promesse, corrobore de la parfaite et infallible amytie et alliance perpetuelle dentre Nous, avons effectuellement procede a lacomplissement et consummation dudit mariage, fermement du tout Nous confians, que nostredict bon frere ne sera pas moins (ains plustost plus) liberal de fait et de oeuvres, que de parolles, come en pareil cas Nous sommes totalement resoluz, quIl Nous trouvera, telz que asseurement espoirons Il se monstrera vers Nous, sans fiction ne faintise.

Lesquelles choses ainsi (par vous, nostre tresfeal conseiller) amplement exposees, procedant plus oultre remonstrerez a nostredict mieulx ayme frere et perpetuel allye, que puix que ce a este le bon plaisir de nostre benoist Createur, que entre Nous y a si bonne amytie union et alliance perpetuelle passee et estable, tant par instrumentz et traictes, que aussy par solemmes promesses et sermens, faiantz lung a lautre de parolle, ausquelz Nous navons pas moindre confiance et espoir, que a ceulx qui sont escriptz ; speciallement procedans de la bouche de nostre vray frere et amy, que Nous estimons et aymons aussy cherement comme Nous mesmes, et comme nostre propre Personne ; ledict amour sera pardurable a jamais, non seulement entre Noz deux, mais entre noz successeurs, posterite, Royaulmes, dominions, et subjectz.

A raison

A raison de ce Nous avons eu laudace de Luy avoir fait et faire entiere-ment scavoir, come a nostre tresasseure et feal amy, de temps en temps, lestat de nostredicte cause ; et du plus profond de nostre cuer tresaffectueuse-ment lavons prie et desyre de son bon conseil et avis, le prions et trescordiallement desirons, que dung temps en aultre, veu que Nous avons suyy le conseil quIl Nous a donne, il Luy plaise sestudier et applicquer effectuellement, comme ung veritable frere et amy (quIl est) fait pour laultre a prepenser et excogiter, ce qui peult et scauroit estre au bien estableissement et confort de nostredict mariage, preservation, et maintenance du droict de la succession (qui, au plaisir de Dieu, succedera, et comme bien cuidons est desja en bonne apparence de avancement), et a estoupper empescher et destourber tout ce qui a nostredicte cause pourroit estre contraire ou prejudicable en maniere qui soit : comme Il vouldroit que au pareil et sem-bleable cas Nous ferions, et de fait entendons, si loccation si addonne faire pour Luy.

Quoy faisant, et Nous monstrant lung vers laultre telz que Nous sommes, conglutinez allyez et unis ensemble, comme une mesme ame en deux corps, noz successeurs, posterite, pais, et dominions, subjectz, confederez, allyez, et adherentz, concepveront et engendreront a lexemple de Nous une parfaite benevolence amytie et union en leurs cueurs, qui remaindra indissoluble inextinguible et inviolable a jamais par entre tous eux ; et noz ennemys et leurs complices en abbaisseront leurs cornes, et en fin soy rendront et humilieront a toute raison.

Et entant que le Pape, plus que nul aultre, en nostredicte matiere Nous a, contre droit et raison, inquietes, et sans aulchun esgard a noz bonnes merites vers Luy Nous pourroit inquieter et fascher, en ce quIl nayant aucune jurisdiction, ne sur Nous, ne sur aucun aultre Prince, mais forvoyant trop temerairement hors du chemyn et imitation de nostre benoist Redempteur Jhesus, qui en ce monde icy voluit Se potestatibus sublimioribus subdere, contrevenant aussy aux privileges prerogatives honneurs dignites auctorites et preheminences de tous Princes et Roys, Nous a injustement assigne jour a comparoir par devant Luy en nostre propre Personne ou par procureur. A la quelle assignation, veu quil plaist a Dieu par sa souffrance que Nous soyons Roy, et que nentendons faire chose qui soit ou puisse estre prejudicable reprochable a deshonneur ou contumelie de la dignite royal, ne a la violation desdites privileges et prerogatives royaux, avons (comme il Nous est loisible de faire par lauctorite, que Dieu a donne et octroye a tous Princes) tousjours refuse de comparoir en personne ne par procureur ; allegant tousjours suffici-entes

entes raisons et auctorites pour nostre part. Et oultre ce, combien que amyablement non pas par contrainte ne par necessite (supposant par ce moyen de attyrer et incliner le Pape a consyderer nostre bon droict) layons requiz et exhorte, quIl voulst avoir esgard aux dignites prerogatives et preeminences royaux, et admettre nostre Excusateur, toutesfoiz si Nous a Il tousjours inhumainement refusez; ayant intention (ainsi que Nous supposons) de repeller et rebouter nostre Excusateur, soit mainfestement ou occultement, et sans le sceu de noz agentz par dela, et ainsi par soubz main proceder en nostredicte grande matiere.

Laquelle chose, si les Roys et Princes Luy suffroient faire, fust ce manifestement ou occultement, il pretendroit par ce moyen les mettre soubz sa jurisdiction, et les obligier soubz lobeissance de ses courtz, et les submectroit au pouvoir et auctorite, que presumpctueusement (sans pis dire) Il veult usurper sur les Roys et Princes, qui a Nous et eux seroit chose de grand reproche ignominie et dishonneur, et qui ne doibt aulcunement estre tolleree ne soufferte.

Se debveroit ung Prince submettre a larrogance et ambition dune creature mondaine, que Dieu Luy a assubjectee? Se humilieroit ung Roy, et rendroit obedient a celuy, dont Dieu Luy a donne la superiorite? Exaulceroit il celuy, qui contre Dieu et justice le veult deprimer et abbatre? Ce seroit pervertir lordre, que Dieu a ordonne et constitue.

Le cas se peult a donner, que en temps avenir lexemple en seroit aussy prejudiciable au Roy nostredict bon frere, comme a Nous mesmes, et touche les aultres Princes aussy bien quil faict Nous.

Par quoy pour la conservation du droict commun de tous Roys et Princes, aussy bien comme du nostre, et affin de mieulx establir lestat de nostredicte cause et succession, vous exposerez tresaffectionnemt de nostre part a nostre trescher et mieulx ayme frere, quil Nous semble expedient, et Nous fera plaisir bien acceptable, sil Luy plaist despecher en toute diligence convenable ung de ses gentilz hommes, tel quIl estimera plus idoyne, et lenvoyer en poste vers le Pape, pour Luy intimer et notifier les poinctz ensuyvans; ou, sil ne Luy semble bon dy envoyer homme expres, quil Luy plaise mander en diligence a ses Ambassadeurs residens les Pape, quilz luy intiment lesdicts poinctz.<sup>1</sup>

Cest a scavoir, que en cas quil refuse de admettre et allouer nostre Excusateur, et exoine de non comparoir, et quil attempteroit de proceder en nostre dicte matiere, et Nous y feroit injure, dont lexemple seroit prejudiciable

<sup>1</sup> A copy of Francis's letters to his Ambassadeurs at Rome to this effect is in the State Paper Office.

et infractive de noz libertes privileges et preheminences, et consequentement de tous autres Roys et Princes, ne nostredict bon frere, ne Nous ne Luy vouldryons souffrir; ains y resisterions de tout nostre pouvoir, et a lavanture a son grand desavantage.

Mais, en cas qu'Il vueille estre conformable a lentretenement et maintenance de nosdicts privileges auctorites et preemynences royaux dessus touchez, et qu'Il vueille admettre et allouer l'Excusateur et essoyne dessus mentionee, come de droict Il debveroit faire, et que en maniere quelconque directement ne indirectement Il ne sentremesle en ladict cause, au moins qu'il surcesse dycy, a ce que nostredict bon frere soient convenuz a lassemblee que lon espoire entre eux; alors assurement Nous Luy pourchasserons, comme vrays amys, tout honneur et plaisir possible, et serons avecques Luy en amytie et alliance perpetuelle; aultrement, si Il refuse, jamais Nous nentrerons plusavant en amytye ne alliance avecques luy Pape.

Et si nostredict bon frere pensoit, qu'il y peulst avoir quelque contrevaleur et recompense proparle en nostredict cousin filleul et sa neipce, et que le Pape len instantast et pressast, alors vous prieres affectueusement nostredict bon frere, que Il Luy mande et signifie apertement que jamais de Luy naura conclusion ne faveur audict mariage, ne a chose aultre quelconque, que preallablement sans dilay et absolument Il ne admette et approuve nostredict Excusateur et essoyne, comme Il doibt et est tenu de faire, comme il appert clerement par les determinations de diverses Universites, speciallement de l'Universite d'Orleans, qui a determine et conclut que le Pape (en matiere de si grande importance, comme est ceste) ne peult, ne doibt, par le droict ne raison quelconque, contraindre aucun Prince ou Roy de comparoir en droit hors de son royaume, ne en sa propre personne ne par procureur; ains doibt commettre et deleguer la controverse, et la renvoyer au royaume; et que non seulement les subjectz debvroient estre admys et receuz a lexuser et alleger son droict et essoyne, mais aussy quelconque personne estrangier et non subject, sans bailler caution aucune, comme par le vidimus autentique de ladict determination il peult apparoir, lequel Nous vous avons delivre pour lexhiber et monstrer a nostredict bon frere, sil Luy plaist le voier et regarder.

Au surplus, pource que Nous ne faisons pointe de doute que les adversaires de nostredicte juste cause nessayent de practiquer a divertir et destourner nostredict bon frere du bon zele qu'Il porte a nostredicte cause, et essayeront de le retirer au contraire par diverses causes et manieres, soit soubz umbre et couleur de mariage, au sang, ou affinite du Pape et Empereur, ou aultrement: combien que soyons assurees la alliance dentre nostredict bon frere

frere et Nous estre si constante et inviolable, quilz ny front que perdre en paine, toutesfoiz si Nous semble il opportun dadvertir le Roy nostredict bon frere que le cas advient, il sera bon quil leur responde, quil est trop plus que adverty et persuade que nostredicte cause est tresjuste, et encore posito et non concesso quelle fust doubtuse. Veu que Nous sommes si fort conjoinetz liez et uniz en amytie et alliance, si solempnellement promise juree et vouee, avecques nostredict bon frere, et Luy avecques Nous, noz Royaulmes, pais, terres, dominions, et subjectz, sil enfraindoit ou dissolvoit aulcunement ladicte amytie et alliance, cela Luy tourneroit a grand diminution de son honneur, que Luy (qui est Prince de si grande majeste et reverence) veult regarder plusque toutes les aultres choses du monde; et ce faisant, donneroit non seulement fort maulvaise exemple a tous aultres Princes de se fier en Luy, et observer leur pactes conventions et traitez, mais aussy seroit occasion au commun peuple destimer les promesses accordz et amyties de Princes nestre que faintise et dissimulation, qui leur seroit chose fort prejudicable, et se pourroit surce nourrir telle division, quil ne seroit pas bien ne de facilement retourner a la ligue et amytie precedente, et passer ce leur pourra nostre bon frere dire avecques plusieurs aultres bonnes responses et raisons, quIl seaura fort bien excogiter.

Oultre les premisses, il Nous a semble bon dadvertir le Roy nostredict bon frere de quelque contingence touchant les Escossoys, dont voulons que vous, ledict Seigneur de Rocheford, avecques nostre feal et bien ayme conseiller Sieur John Wallop, nostre Ambassadeur par dela, au quel voulons, que touchent Escosse, communiques entierement toutes les presentes instructions, et conjoinctement avecques luy les declares, et exposes au Roy nostredict bon frere, que la ou a la requisition du Seigneur de Beauvoir<sup>1</sup>, son Ambassadeur retournant dEscosse, qui Nous pria de faire abstinenee de guerre invasion et courses sur les Escossoys; Nous promestant, et entreprenant sur luy, que si ainsi le voulions faire, lesdicts Escossoys de leur part ne feroient invasion ne course sur nostre Royaulme et pais. Sur telle promesse, pour monstrer que, comme vray oncle, Nous ne desyrons point linquietation ne trouble de nostre nepveu le Roy dEscosse, ne la destruction de son pais et subjectz, et ne sommes point esmuez a leur faire guerre par malice ne maltalement que leur portons, mais seulement contrainetz et compelles par diverses ingratitudes invasions pillages et roberies, quilz ont fait encontre Nous et noz subjectz, de Nous mettre en defense, et pour nostre honneur revenger les injures ainsi faites, et pour avoir recompense des grand dommages quilz Nous ont faictz; a la petition dudit Seigneur de Beauvoir Nous avons fait faire incontinent

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. IV. pp. 641-648.

inhibition et defense a tous noz subjectz et allies de nentrer ne invader, en maniere qui soit, ledict royaume d'Escosse; ce quilz ont observe. Ce neant moins, le Conte de Murrey, avecques troys aultres Contes d'Escosse, et leurs garnisons dessus les frontieres, jusques au nombre de 6000 et plus, sont venus et proposeement ont invade nostre Royaulme et subjectz, bien deliberes de faire place necte par ou ilz passeroient; toutesfoiz non obstant quilz fussent entres bien celelement en grosse ordre et appareil, si ont ilz par la diligence et vaillance de noz subjectz este si bien repoules, quilz furent contrainctz de leur en retourner sans avoir leur propoz, ne faire dommage grandement notable pour celle foiz dempuys noz subjectz, environ 60 hommes, allans a la rescousse de quelque nombre de bestial, que les Escossoys leurs avoient desrobe et emmenoyent en Escosse, par une grande embusche qui les attendoit expressement, furent surpris, et partie deulx pris prisonniers.

Surquoy prieres nostredict bon frere, que consyderant les invasions et fierte desdicts Escossoys, et leur ingratitudo et injures vers Nous, et que, contre la promesse faicte a son Ambassadeur ledict Sieur de Beauvoir, ilz Nous ont ainsi invades et injures; Il ne Se veulle esmerveiller, si pour nostre honneur Nous ne voulloons souffrir que linjure, que ainsi ilz nont ont faite, et a sondict Ambassadeur, demeure impunye, comme il appartient a leurs demerites; ains se veulle nostredict bon frere deporter de Nous desirer de faire paix induces ne treves avecques lesdicts Escossoys, sinon autant quil se pourra estre avecques lhonneur recompense et avantage de Nous noz subjectz et allies. Ains plustost Nous lesse et souffre comme sommes bien deliberez avecques laide de nostre Createur revenger linjure et dommages, et les traicter comme il ont desservy, affin quilz se reconnoissent, et se rangent a raison, et que le juste tiltre qui Nous avons a Canaby, dont est contention, Nous soit recogneu et delesse paisiblement.

Apres la declaration de loccurrence et estat de nostre mariage, vous, nostredict Conseiller, requerres et desyreres nostredict bon frere, que, veu que Nous sommes du tout deliberez densuyr son conseil et adviz en noz afferes, comme il ensuyt le nostre ez siens, et entant que lestat de nostredicte cause ne scauroit demourer long temps, quil ne soit congneu, et ne pourroit passer Pasques que la matiere par soy mesmes ne souvrist et desclosist, il Luy plaise en toute diligence Nous donner et mander son bon conseil et avis fraternel, en quelle maniere et quant seroit le mieulx de le publier; car Nous ne vouldrions point, en maniere qui soit, que la premiere publication et parole qui en yra au large viensist de par nul aultre, que de par Nous. Et Nous seroit grand desplaisir, que la matiere fust congneue a Rome, ne ailleurs, que premierement et avant la declaration nen fust faite de par Nous a noz

Ambassadeurs,

Ambassadeurs, et de noz Ambassadeurs au Pape et aux Cardinaulx, affin quilz ayent meilleure occasion en Luy declaration de les induyre et persuader de son contenter, et ne attempter chose, qui soit au contraire de Nous, nostre honneur, et cause dessusdictie.

Sur lequel avis du Roy nostredict bon frere, apres que Nous serons resoluz et determinez sur la publication de nostredict mariage, alors quen manderons nostre plaisir a noz Ambassadeurs estans a Rome pour lentremer et declarer au Pape, Nous prions nostredict bon frere, que alors et non point devant, selon ce dont Nous ladvertyron, il Luy plaise den rescripre a ses Ambassadeurs et agentz pardela, affin que si mestoit est il aident aux nostres a induyre et persuader le Pape et les Cardinaulx a soy contenter de ce qui Nous y avons fait, et ny contrevienir en rien, et aussy a gaigner la plus quilz pourront desdicts Cardinaulx a Nous favoriser en nostredict mariage, silz ne peuvent les attirer tous; affin quilz puissent estoupper et defendre nostre part, en cas que le Pape Nous seroit contraire, et empescher ce quil attempteroit ou pourroit attempter contre Nous en temps advenir.<sup>1</sup>

Et

<sup>1</sup> In the same handwriting with these and the preceding instructions is the following minute of a letter from the King of France to the Pope, with apostiles written by Wriothesley:

" Tressainet Pere. Vostre Sainctete piecza bien advertye du grand serupule de conscience ou " quel se trouve le Roy d'Angleterre, mon bon frere et perpetuel allye, " pour *le visage du mariage* ou il est a present; et combien il a par tant " de justes et honestes moyens cherche den descharger sadiete conscience, " ainsi que Je stys seur, il Vous a amplement fait entendre comte a celyu " a qui principallement il a voulu avoir son recours, tant pour le lieu que " tenez, que pour la reverence quil a toujours portee a Vostre Sainctete et " au saint Siege Apostolique. Et sur linstance que de long temps et con-

It is more for our purpose  
to calle it a visage of mariage,  
thenne a mariage, considering we  
repate it not good. How be it,  
if they wil nedes calle it a ma-  
riage, it is not gretly material.

" tinuellement il Vous a faite de vouloir mettre tellement la main a cest affaire, quil eust  
" occasion de sen contenter; Vous scavez ce que pareillement plusieurs foiz Vous en ay escript,

These wordes be not to be  
left oute, lest the Pepe shuld cal  
that equite, which is grounded  
upon his lawe.

" et estre reduiecte  
" et que pluslonguement Il ne peult porter ce fardeau de serupule sus les espaliers: Il a  
" dempuys nagueres de rechef faict remonstrer a Vostre Sainctete, et fait supplier icelle quil Luy

These be wordes  
material.

" plaise ladiete cause faire terminer par les moyens quIl a fait proposer, *lesquelz Je*  
" *trouve si honestes justes et raisonnables, fondez sur si bonne equite et raison, que la*  
" *ou Vous ne les accepteres, il me semble que Luy ferez cognostre evidentement,*  
" *et aussy a tout le monde, que Vous voulez montrer autre envers Luy, que ne merite la*  
" *reverence, quIl a jusques icy portee, non seulement a vostre Personne, mais a voz predecesseurs*  
" *Papes, leur donnant par plusieurs grandz effectz cognostre la devotion quIl a toujours eu au*  
" *saint Siege Apostolic, et veult encore avoir la ou ne Luy donneres occasion au contraire. Et*

Et quant vous, nostredict Ambassadeur, aures conveniente opportunite, qui Nous semble que tant plustost sera tant mieulx, en vostre meilleure maniere vous declareres aux Grand Maistre et Admiral que Nous Nous confions de eulx, quilz vouldront avoir nostredicte cause en singulier recommandation, et que, entent que besoing seroit, Nous les faisons protecteurs dicelle vers nostredict bon frere; et leur delivreres les lettres, que par vous leur envoyons. Et quant aux aultres Conseillers du Roy nostredict bon frere, ausquelz vous serez certains quil communiquera ce qui par Nous Luy déclarerez, voulons que facez a eulx et a chascun deulx noz affectueuses recommandations, et leur pries quilz veullent continuer leur bonne affection vers Nous et noz affairs, et quilz Nous feront plaisir, dont ne serons oublieux.

En conclusion vous declarerez en vostre plus affectueuse maniere au Roy nostredict bon frere, que en nostre grande cause, apres Dieu et la bonne justice dicelle, Nous ne trouvons faveur confort ne support en aulchun aultre Roy grand Prince ne personnage, qui Nous console tant comme les bonnes parolles promesses et singulieres affections et desirs damytie, que le Roy nostredict bon frere, a nostre tressinguliere consolation, Nous a, de sa propre bouche,

“ de ma part cognissant quen tous ses actes, et mesmement en celuy dont est question, Il ne  
“ veult avoir aultre que Dieu et raison devant ses oyeulx, et selon la voulunte et jugement  
“ diceluy Se gouverner; Je ne puix, tressaint Pere, (pour la grande et estroicte fraternite et  
“ amytie qui est entre Nous, et telle quelle est pour durer inviolable a jamais) faire moins que

These be wordes material. “ de tresinstantement Vous prier que Luy vueillez prester loreille a ses demandes,  
“ qui Me semblent justes, et comme telles les Luy accorder. Et combien que Je ne

“ face aulcun doute que Vostre Sainctete requise de telz deux Princes, Vous  
“ portans telle amour et tant syncere et filiale devotion, ne soit pour soy condescendre a noz  
“ requestes; neantmoins la ou icelle Vostre Sainctete divertie par aultres persuasions, lesquelles  
“ toutesfoiz Je ne pourrois bonnement comprendre ne imaginer, auroit delibere de Nous en

These wordes be round and pikante, and, the Popes nature considered, be also material, for with doulee and swete wordes He is nothing moved. “ esconduyre et totallement refuser, lors force seroit de pourvoir audict affaire  
“ par aultres voyes et facons, qui, peult estre, ne Vous seroient guere aggre-  
“ able. Vous priant, Tressaint Pere, que ne vueillez prandre laffaire de  
“ telle sorte que venissies a faire de lencontre de Luy, ou user des rigueurs  
“ qui dailleurs Vous pourroient estre persuadees. Et combien que de ce Je

“ ne face aulcun doute, toutesfoiz pour Luy porter si grande amytie que Je  
“ Luy porte, et telle que Nous pouvons estre estimatez *une mesme chose* de sorte que linjure que  
“ Luy seroit faict Je ne la pourrois prandre sinon comme faite a Moy mesmes; a ceste cause  
“ Vous ay bien voulu prier tresinstantement supplier, et advertir que ne vueillez audict eas venir  
“ si avant quayons occasion de Nous en lamenter; mais comporter les choses qui la dessus se  
“ pourront advenir selon honeste et raison, et comme la devotion, que Luy et Moy portons a  
“ Vostre Sainctete, le requiert et merite.”

Whether Francis used this sketch or not does not appear, but an inclosure in Benet's letter of the 14th of June shows that before the 17th of April Tournon and Grammont had received at Rome a despatch from their Master touching the affair of the King of England, which was sent by an express courier, and was probably the despatch written in consequence of the importunity contained in the text.

declareez

declareez et denuncees ; ceste que en icelle nostredicte cause jamais ne Nous abandonneroyt, quelque chose qui sen ensuyst ; ains de tout son pouvoir lestableiroit supporteroit aideroit et maintiendroit nostre bon droict, et le droict de la posterite et succession, qui sen pourroit ensuyr ; et a tous ceulx qui y vouldroient mettre trouble, empeschement, encombrance, ou y procurer deshonneur, vitupere, ou infraction, il seroit ennemy et adversaire de tout son pouvoir, de quelconque estat quil soit, fust Pape, ou Empereur ; et continueroyt perpetuel fauteur proteciteur et stabiliteur de nostredicte juste cause ; avecques plusieurs aultres consolatives parolles, lesquelles, quant Nous y pensons, Nous y sommes tous confortez soulages et resjouys, recogitant tressouvent la grace affection et esperit fraternel et amyable, dont Il les pronunce, et Nous estudions souventesfoiz de les remembrer et recogiter, et ne desireryons de Luy chose qui soit plusfort quil Luy pleust, ou les escripre qui Luy seroit bien grand paine, ou de sa propre facunde et vive energie, dont Il les Nous a pronunceez les Nous dicter signer et envoyer ; car autant de foiz que les verrions, qui seroit tous les jours, Nous ne pourrions, si non les liscent, imaginer et reduyre a nostre souvenance la bonne grace facunde et geste, dont Il les Nous pronuncooit, et estimer estre comme face a face, parlans avecques Luy.

CCCXLIX. CAMPEGGIO *to* KING HENRY VIII.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, et Domine observandissime.

Post humilimas mei commendationes. Maximas ago Majestati Vestrae gratias, quæ literarum suarum testimonio eximiam voluntatis suæ erga me benignantatem confirmavit : quam semper supra merita et vota mea præstantissimam expertus sum, et agnovi. Itaque vel hac unica ratione nunquam potui ei omnia non debere, atque felicia non exoptare, quandoquidem extra omnem prorsus humanitatem et rationis sensum censendus eram, si ullo unquam tempore aliter animatus esse potuissem. Quæ si Majestas Vestra, pro sapientia et bonitate sua, Sibi persuasa habuerit, jam nihil erit in terris me beatius. Dabo vero interim operam, atque omni studio enitar, ut præclaram hanc Majestatis Vestrae de me opinionem et voluntatem officijs atque obsequijs meis omnibus indies augeam, quod me facile consecuturum spero, modo ne improborum maledicta meis apud eam studijs et benefactis plus valeant, quanquam neque hoc timere jam mihi licet ; posteaquam sapientie sue lumine omnem illam suspicionis nebulam, quam temporum induxerat, disjectam intelligo,

intelligo, qua nisi illud unum nunc effari libet, neque tempora neque homines unquam mihi erepturos quod meæ erga Majestatem Vestram fidei et observantie conscientia perpetuo fruar. Ita Deus Optimus Maximus Majestatem Vestram incolumem et felicissimam nobis custodiat. Bononiæ, sexta Martij, 1533.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Majestatis Vestrae

(*Signatur*) Humill<sup>Stor</sup> L. CAR. CAMPEGI<sup>C</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Angliae et Franciae Regi,  
Fidei Defensori, Domino colendissimo.

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### CCCL. HAUKINS to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLAISETH Youer Hichnes to understand, that youer letters<sup>2</sup>, datid the 15<sup>th</sup> Februari and sent bi Master Bonar, I receivid them the 27<sup>th</sup> of the same. The 28<sup>th</sup> the Emprour departid from hens. Bi Youer Hichnes forscid letters I wel perceive how greatli I am obligat to the same.

I have certified M. Augustin of Youer Hichnes plaisir and goodnes towerds him, for the whiche I geve most humble and harti thankis to the same, and he also likewise, first bi me, and secund intendith to doo the same bi mowthe in his own person; pure need and necessite, as he affirmith, compelling him so to doo.

King Ferdinandus, and certen other bi his motion (as it is thocht), Lordis and gentilmen of Austria and other provincis there abowte in the confinis of Germani and Hungari, have desirid restitution of dammagis to them illatid bi them specialli, whome the Pope sent thither agein the Turk. In this imbassade the Cardinal of Trent<sup>3</sup> was the chieffe, whiche is a veri great man with King Ferdinandus, from whome wonli men think him sent; none of the great Princes of Germani beside forth interponing them self in this behalffe.

Twoe Imbassadors of the Duke of Saxonie have sewid here of long time to the Emprour for thinvestiture of his Electorschip, whiche now be remisid with this answer, that if the Duke wol confirme thelection of the King of Romans, the Emprour wol geve him his investiture. But the Duke, bothe befor the election and affter, made public protestation that he wold not consent ther unto.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. The words printed in Italics are written in cypher.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

Bernard Clesi, or De Closs, Bishop of Trent.

Duke

Duke William of Bavari bath sent also to btein an end of mani and diverse controversies, as wel betwene him and King Ferdinandus, as between him and his brother the Bisshop Pataviensis<sup>1</sup>; to whome men sei thEmprour inclineth, wherwith the Duke is not best content. Of all these maters Youer Hichnes I trust shal have more certen woord shorteli bi won that shal cum owte of that parties to mi Lord Electe.

The mater betwene King Ferdinandus and Vivoda is compromisid, as I remember, in to the King of Poloni and the Duke George of Saxoni; but it is thocht that it wol cum to none effecte, because Vivoda *hathe greate cumforte of Your Hichnes*, as sum sei.

*The Emperour departid from hens evil contentid and satisfied in no thing that He came for, wonli He hathe causid an old liege to be new furnischid, the same dai that He departid, where in be comprehendid all the Princes and Potestates of Itali, the Genuese also having liberte to entre with in 2 monethis, lest He schulde be sene to have doon no thinge.* The copi of the proclamation<sup>1</sup> I have sent to mi Lord of Northfolk, for not molesting Youer Hichnes.

As for Youer Hichnes letters<sup>2</sup> to us youer Imbassadors here, I have taried 6 daies affter the Emperours departing to help foorth the expedition of the same; to the whiche we have made an answer, most humbli beseching Youer Hichnes to take it in good parte, assuring the same that we have intendid and extendid ower wittes to the uttermost here in, and were in as great perplexite and angwische of minde, as I think we have ben els in ower lives; considering Youer Hichnes commandment on the wone side, and the peril like to insew of the execution of the same on the other side: for as for oni other fear or care in this mater, but wonli of God and Youer Hichnes affaires, I dare sei for sum of us we were not greatli cumbred.

The sum of the Popis answer in effect is this, to speake in his own woordis, ad melius informandum, that is, to be better informid or instruct. Now, as for Youer Hichnes cause, He nother askith no further instruction, nor nedith no further instruction, seeing He perceivith and confessith all redi it to be trwe, nor finallie can be no better instruct, as I toched sumwhat in mi last letters. And as for to be further instruct in this, whether this trwth shalbe utterid in Ingland or in Itali, beside those placis of scripture conteinid in mi 2 last letters, me semith Sainte Paule instructith and informith Him veri wel, where He seith “patefit enim ira Dei de cœlo adversus omnem impietatem “ et injusticiam hominum, veritatem in injusticia detinentium,” as this man

<sup>1</sup> Ernest, Bisshop of Passau.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

veritatem

veritatem in injusticia detinet, id est, for certen respectes wordli; and yet now the great grownd and cloke of this delai also, whiche is the Quenis suspicion I ween, (all thocht we had nother council nor other help) is by this wonli raison sufficientli takin awei; id est, that nother Sche nor oni other can lefulli or raisonabli suspect that an hole Realme, that is to sei, a Council Provincial, or Parlament, wold or cowld erre in a manifest trwthe.

As for placis of scripture in mi 3 last letters comprised, if that like Youer Hichnes, or els sum other more to the purpose, if the same doo send them as an instruction, both thei shalbe more regardid, and have authorite; and as now we think it yet no time to speak so rowchli, specialli with owte Your Hichnes expresse commandment so to doo.

I most humbli thank Youer Hichnes both for youer crampringes, and also that it plaisid the same, at mi simple sewt and supplication, not onli to remember Maister Bonar, but also emong so mani great and weichti maters, Youer Hichnes to retein in memori so smal a petition so long time. I have no thing to offer Youer Hichnes in recompense, but wonli mi self and mi feithful and diligent service, wher of the same shalbe assurid. Ower Savior Jesus Christ have Youer Hichnes in his gouernance and conservation. From Bononi, the 6<sup>th</sup> of Martche, 1533.

Bi Youer Hichnes most bounden

Chaplan and Orator,

NIC. HAUKNIS.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kingis Hichnes.

### CCCLII. SIR G. DA CASALE *to King Henry VIII.*

SERENISSIME et Invictissime Domine mi supreme, Salutem et Felicitatem. Nihil sane quod æque animum meum torqueret, accidere mihi in præsentia potuisset, quam ex litteris Majestatis Vestræ ex Doctore Bonar acceptis, cognoscere Majestatem Vestram ijs, quæ falso de me relata fuerunt, fidem habuisse: et, quanvis tam longo tempore meam fidem et diligentiam in suis negotijs experta fuerit, nihilominus me ita stolidum et rationis inopem nunc existimasse, ut crediderit me præter suam sententiam, et longe secus quam in mandatis habuerim, cum Pontifice egisse; quod certe, ut album a nigro, sic a vero distat. Haud enim ita parum diligens, et labilis fluxæque memoriae sum, ut quæ mihi toties a Majestate Vesta repetita et inculcata fuerint, sim oblitus. At qui ego

ego non modo a mandatorum præscripto digressus non fui, sed ad id ipsum, quod in mandatis erat, perficiendum, omnem meam curam, studium, et vigilantiam adhibui; et insuper ex me multa adminicula excogitavi ad id conficiendum negotium, modis omnibus tentans Pontificem ad ea quæ petebam deducere; cuius rei ipse mihi Pontifex testis locupletissimus esse potest. Nec mihi apud Majestatem Vestram obesse debebat, si quid de me, non dicam maligne, sed parum accurate scriptum aut relatum fuit; quemadmodum collegæ mei manifestissime cognoverunt. Sciat autem Majestas Vestra nihil intactum fuisse relictum, quod etiam in posterum in ejusdem negotijs diligenter et accurate fiet. Neque hic omittam Majestatem Vestram humillime orare, velit expediri jubere id, quod mihi liberalissime est elargita. Aliter enim ex angustijs et miserijs, quibus premor, emergere nequeo, ut ex Gurono Majestas Vestra uberius accipiet. Quam optime valere et felicissimam esse cupio. Bononiæ, Die 10 Martij, 1533.

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis

(Signatur) Humill<sup>e</sup> S<sup>r</sup> GREGORI<sup>e</sup> CASSALI<sup>e</sup>.

(Superscribitur)

Serenissimo et Invictissimo Principi, Angliæ  
et Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, Hiberniæ  
Domino, &c. Domino meo Supremo.

CCCLII. GHINUCCI, BENET, HAUKNIS, and BONER to  
KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Highnes to be advertised, that incontinently upon the receipt of Your Graces letters<sup>2</sup> sent of late and delyvered unto us the Bishop of Worcester, William Benet, Gregorie de Cassalijs, and Nicholas Hawkynes, by me, Edmund Boner, which arryved here the 27<sup>th</sup> of the last, very yerly in the mornyng, using all possible diligence and sped, chiefly bycause I understood by the way of the hastie departure of thEmperour from Bononie, afor unknownen unto me, and frayeng therfor that the Pope also woold like wise have departed towardes Rome afor my cummyng, we perused and considered substancially all the contentes of the same, and also harde at lenght all suche thinges as I, the said Edmond Boner, then declared by mouthe, concerningyng Your Highnes great cause and pleasure therein. And, Syre, after

<sup>1</sup> This letter is wholly in Boner's handwriting.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

good and mature deliberation had emonges us all, communicating also (as to us all for diverse respectes was thought moost convenient, and unto Your Highnes purpose not a litle expedient) mony thinges with Cardinale Tournoun (the other Cardinale<sup>1</sup> beyng seke of an ague), forasmuche as the Emperour the day next folowing shuld departe, and that the same at his here beyng, might and undowtedly woold, apon all occasions, have altered the Pope from suche thinges as might ony wise be profitable for Your Highnes cause; especially knowing what answer Your Highnes had made to suche overtures as the Pope afor had made unto Your Grace; it was concluded that as then nothing shulde be furthwithall purposed, but forborne to the departure of thEmperour, and unto suche tyme He shulde be somewhat distant from the Pope, and that then we shuld declare unto the Pope Your Graces answer made unto the overtures in every behalf, and also sett furthe Your Graces desire towching the committing of the matter in to Your Graces Realme. And over this, to intertayne the Pope the better for Your Highnes cause and desire, it was thought very expedient, that thoos jentill letters<sup>2</sup> which Your Highnes sent unto the Pope shuld be delyvered unto Hym, and that we shuld not at the begynning use Hym soo roughely, but that He, entending and doyng pleasure unto Your Grace, might be in hope to fynde kyndenes at your handes; which thing was soo counselled by Cardinale Tornoun, not dowting but by this doyng the Pope woold moor gladly studie to gratifie Your Majestie in your desires. Whereapon the seconde of this present, hering that the Pope, whiche by the space of 2 dayes afor had been seke, was somewhat amended, Cardinale Turnoun and we repayred unto the Pope, and delyvered Your Graces letters unto Hym; which toke theym and red them very gladly, giffing also right great thankes for that singuler humanite and benevolens, Your Majestie had declared to Hym in the same. And after that, He said that we had, as He perceyved by the said letters, other thinges in commission to declare unto Him; whereunto we answered (as was afor by Cardinale Tornoun apointed) that we soo had; the summe and effecte whereof was, that Your Majestie desireth and veryly trusteth, wher that His Holynes is contented to committe the cause, the same wilbe contented to committe the said cause in to your Realme, as a place ordinarie and naturall for that purpose; Your Highnes havyng for the justification of your said desire, very mony and substanciall reasons to be declared to His Holynes, apon his recoverie of his sekenes. His Holynes said that it was not unknownen, what diligence and

<sup>1</sup> Grammont.<sup>2</sup> Not found.

labour He had taken in hering the matters excusatorie, and disputations had thereapon, and that in the same, all that cowde be spoken or desired was, to have the cause committed ad locum indifferentem. And then we said that your Realme was of that sorte, and that by mony substanciall reasons the cause ought to be committed thider, as we said we woold shewe and declare unto His Holynes at his pleasure. His Holynes then beyng not best recovered, and also havyng herd us lenger then was thought to be his ease, desired us as then to be content; and afterwardes, when we woold, He woold gladly here us in that behalf. Whereupon we departed, levyng with His Holynes, Cardinale Tournoun, entending afterwardes to set fortheward effectually something moor, and for that tyme forbearing, by counsell of the said Cardinall. And even in our departure, we did mete within the palace Maio, late Ambassadour to the Emperour, and now hes Vichanceller, commyng, as we thought, to knowe what newes we brought, and what answer we had of the Pope.

The next day folowing, Cardinale Tournoun, sending for us, declared unto us, that upon the oonly utteraunce of Your Highnes request to have the matter committed in to your Realme, the Pope His Holynes was so mooved, that the said Cardinale thought it shuld be moost expedient, that for soo longe tyme as the Pope shuld here abyde, we shuld not ferther procede, nother in declaring Your Highnes answer made unto the overtures, nother yet in declaring and making our reasones for the commission of the cause in to your Realme; lest percase in our soo doyng, we shuld soo irritate and exasperate the Pope, that we shuld not oonly destroye bothe Your Highnes and the Frenche Kinges affaires, but also compelle His Holynes (the Emperour as yet beyng in foribus) hooly agaynst all to addicte Hym self to the same; and over this, an evident perill and feare appered to us in an other thing, whiche we perceyve Your Highnes greatly desireth, which was, that if we shuld have ferther pressed hym, He woold have denyed my Lorde Electes bulles.

This communication notwithstanding, we conferring all the same emonges our selfes, and on the oon parte considering the daungeres forsaide, and on the other Your Graces commandement, in conclusion thought it allwayes necessarie, for many respectes, to fulfill your commandement, but yet soo to temper the same (as the said Cardinale willed) that we might avoyde the said daungeres. Wherupon the next day we repayred eftsones to the Cardinale Tournoun for his ferther advyse, and also to certifie hym, that upon good considerations we intended to goo to the Pope, and declare unto Hym Your Highnes pleasure, after such maner as we thought shuld rather doo good then hurte; wherwith

he shewed hym self very well contented. And hereapon, we the Bishop of Worcester, William Benet, Nicholas Hawkynes, and Edmond Boner (Sir Gregorie de Cassalijs beyng absent, to thentent that by the Popes answer in his absence we might the better knowe the trouthe) repayring unto the Pope, and havyng Your Highnes letters<sup>1</sup> all redy translated in to Latyn, redde the same unto His Holynes; whiche perceyvyng that Your Highnes toke his benevolent mynde after soo good sorte, if other thinges like wise as the same cowde have satisfied, not oonly moche rejoysed, but also toke Your Highnes answer, as with great deliberation and wisedome made, in very good parte; and rehersing in effecte the principall partes of Your Highnes said letters, and muche commanding the same, He said that Sir Gregorie, apon his retourne from Calice, did practise with His Holynes for a commission, contented also to have the same ad locum indifferente et neutrale; and when His Holynes enquired of hym, whether he knewe Your Highnes pleasure therein, and that Your Majestie woold therwith be contented, he said that he knewe what he did speke, and woold that the Pope shuld not dowte therein; whereupon His Holynes, whiche afor had been moche desirous to provide suche a way, as standing with justice, might please Your Highnes, considering with Hym self that this waye was suche as might please Your Majestie, if the said Sir Gregorie made true reporte, was content to take great peanes, and to use verye good and apte meanes, with all diligence, to enduce thEmperour to agree unto the same; trusting verily that this thing, soo proceeding, shuld have been moche to Your Highnes contention, according to Sir Gregories sayeng: but considering that this offerture doth not satisfie Your Highnes, as He said appereth by Your Highnes letters, He said He was sorye, and must therfor nowe procede via ordinaria; adding thereunto, that likewise as Your Highnes doth labour to conserve your jurisdiction and liberties, so in like wise He must endevour Hym self for the conservation of his own, and the See Apostolique; nevertheles He said, that He did and doth beare that good mynde unto Your Highnes, that in all thinges wherein He may doo gratauite to Your Highnes, saving justice and his honour, He wilbe moost glad to mynister the same effectually.

And here we entred in to persuade Hym, that He shulde grant the said commission, alledging that wher His Holynes did saye that He woold procede via ordinaria, and have respecte to the conservation of his jurisdiction, He might soo doo, committing the cause in to your Realme; for therby He

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

shuld

shuld procede via ordinaria, according to the Generall Councilles, and also conserve his jurisdiction, the same beyng doon by his auctoritie, likewise as heretofore His Holynes had doon in the said cause. To the whiche his Holynes answered and said, that as towching the first commission, it was granted nemine contradicente, and said also, that now if the Quene were contented, it wer an other thing ; but seyng that She hath sworne the Realme, and all other places (excepta curia), suspected, He said He cowd not see that with justice He cowd committe the cause in to your Realme. Whereunto we answered and said, that in the granting of a commission, the consent of the adverse parte was not requyred, and said also, that if the Quene soo hath sworne, her othe in that behalf is calumniosum et temerarium ; alledging withall, that the lawe wool not suffre the Quene or any other soo to swere, and that She can not justely suspecte an hooll Realme, that is to saye, a Parlament, or a provinciall Councell, to wooll or can erre in a manifest trouthe. And over this was said, that ther be mony and diverse cases of matrimonie in the Popes own lawe, aswell concernyng other realmes, as also the realme of Englond, wherein the King, beyng parte, the mater was committed in to the realme, for whiche purpose we did alledge diverse canones. And ferthermoor we said that seyng His Holynes hath been heretofor contented, and thinketh it ordinarie, to sende letters remissoriall in to the realme, for to examyn the merites of the cause, and whether the Quene were cognita or not cognita, wherein standeth all the pithe of the matter, it was not to be stikked at, to committe the hooll matter in to the realme ; especially seyng His Holynes afor hath soo committed it, and now contented also to committe it to an indifferent place, whiche we said, in all mennes judgementes indifferent, was the Realme of Your Majestie, considering the moost indifferent proceeding of Your Highnes in all your doynges, when the said cause was ther examyned, and how Your Grace did use and intreate thoos that were with the Quene agaynst Your Highnes ; giffing unto the Bishoppe, now of Durham<sup>1</sup>, that great promotion, and using all other her counsellours without ony rigour or extremitie. And besides all this, we added and recited agayne, the auctorite of the Generall Councilles, with other reasons comprised in your letters, setting furthe the same to the best of our power ; sayeng also emonges other, that it was to be merveyled at, seyng that Your Majestie desireth but justice, and the Emperour and Quene saye that they desire but the same, His Holynes contented also, as He sayeth, to ministre justice, that in this Your Highnes

<sup>1</sup> Tunstall.

cause

cause, beyng with all lerned and indifferent men, and also in the jugement of His Holynes, juste and good, ther be soo many difficulties and dilayes, and not rather the same with all celerite committed in to your Realme, ther to be ended. Here the Pope, not answering to thies our reasones, did staye and saye, that He woold deliberat with his Counsell hereupon ; and then we, considering that we had been very long with Hym, and perceyvyng also that He was fatigate and also mynded not to make, as then, any other answer unto us, tolde His Holynes that we woold agayn, at his better leaser and commodite, comme unto Hym and ferther speke herein, to knowe his pleasure ; desiring effectually, that He woold consider the thinges that we had spoken, and endevour Hym self to doo pleasure unto Your Grace in this your juste petition. The Pope, promising to consider all our allegations, desyred, for his better enformation, to have capita allegatorum omnium ; whiche we promised He shulde have, and soo departed for that tyme.

The same day at after dyner we went and visited Cardinale Grammont, lieng seke in his bed ; and, as we were commynyng with hym, came in Cardinall Tournoun, to whom we at large declared all thoos thinges that we had doon and alledged afor the Pope, and what also the Pope had doon therein. And besides that, we shewed unto theym the letters Your Highnes sent unto us, whiche we had translated in to Latyn for diverse respectes, and chieffly to thentent, that they might therbye perceyve what opinion Your Highnes had in the Frenche Kynge, and what confidence also in their Lordshippes ; whiche thing when they had perceyved, they were wonderesly glad, adding withall that the said letters were such, and soo conceyved, quod lapidem etiam permovere debeant.

But, Sire, what the Pope will doo, other apon thies raisones proponed, or other thinges that we shall from tyme to tyme, as moost avauntage shall serve, alledge, we can not tell. He will giff us as yet noo determinat answer ; excuse in part He hath, by reason He is now in the poynt of his journey towrdes Rome, and thoos, whos counsell chieffly He will folowe herein, are departed to Rome ; soo that we are sure we shall not have answer of Hym, till we comme thider, whiche shalbe as is apoynted Palme Sonday : at whiche tyme, and also afor, if good occasion doo serve, we shall not fayle, God willing, to set furthe the rest to the uttermoost.

And, Syre, as concernyng the traitie exemplified, the annotations de potestate Pape, the pollicitation, the oolde commission, and other thinges, we have diligently considered theym, and shall also to the best put them fortheward.

As towching Your Highnes letters<sup>1</sup> sent unto diverse the Cardinales your frendes, we have delyvered theym in the best manner we cowde, and with as good wordes; and the said Cardinales, beyng very glad with the receipt of the same, have promised to doo all the pleasure they can for Your Highnes in any thing that shall apperteyne unto the same.

And towching the induction of the Generall Counsell, with the supercession of armes and generall treuge for a tyme, the Pope saythe He hath sent Ubaldinus, his Nuncio, to entreate with Your Highnes and the Frenche King herein, by whom Your Highnes shall perceyve ferther his mynde in the same.

As towching the newes here, Your Grace shall understande that the Emperour departed from hense Friday, viz. 28<sup>th</sup> February, entending (as was reported) then to goo to Alexandria, but afterwardes He altered and went to Mylan, wher He is now, entending ther to tary twelve dayes or more, and then to goo towardes Genua, and afterwardes to Spayne.

The Pope departed from hens Monday, viz. 10<sup>th</sup> Martij, entending to goo by Anchona and Loretto Rome, and to be at Rome by Palme Sonday next.

And thus moost humblie we recommande us unto Your Highnes, beseching Almyghty God longe to preserve the same in felicite and good helth. From Bononye, the 11<sup>th</sup> day of March.

Your Highnes moost humble Subjectes,

Servauntes and Chapleyns,

(Signed)      HIE. ERS. WIGORNIEÑ.

W. BENET.

NIC. HAUKNIS.

EDMOND BONER.

(Superscribed)

To the Kinges Highnes.

### CCCLIII. GHINUCCI, &c. TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Highnes to be advertysed. That afor the departure of the Pope from Bononye, Sir Gregorie, whiche by the common lettér that Your Highnes sent<sup>1</sup>, perceyved that the same was discontented with hym, in that he shuld, as by commandement of Your Grace, and presupposing your mynde and pleasure soo to be, offer to the Pope, or consent that Your Highnes cause,

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Wholly in Boner's handwriting.

otherwhere

otherwhere than in your Realme, shuld be examyned and determyned, desired us for his declaration first to goo to Jacobus de Salviatis, and afterward to the Pope: and according to his desire we went to bothe. Jacobus de Salviatis sayd, that what communication was bytwen the Pope and Sir Gregorie alon, he can not tell, but sure he was, and knewe well, what the Pope commanded hym to write to his Nuncio; and that accroding to the same he did.

The Pope, the first tyme that we were with Hym, without Sir Gregorie, sayd, that Sir Gregorie, commyng from Calice from Your Majestie, and practising with Hym for the commission of the cause, what tyme he cam to this that the cause shuld be committed in a place indifferent and neutrall, His Holynes asked hym whether he knewe that Your Majestie woold be therwith contented; he answered that he knewe what he said, and that His Holynes shuld not dowte thereof; by whiche woordes His Holynes said He was enduced to practise with the Emperour, and to procede as He did.

The seconde tyme that we went to the Pope, Sir Gregorie, beyng with us, His Holynes said, that Sir Gregorie, in his retorne from Calice, did labour to have the matter committed in to your Realme, at his first commyng to Hym, and His Holynes said, "stande not apon that, for if ye do, ye shall destroye all:" by whiche premisses Your Highnes may perceyve what answer we had of the Pope and Salviatus in his said declaration; so that it may stande well that Sir Gregorie, labouryng to have the matter committed into your Realme, in conclusion descended to this, to have the matter committed to a place indifferent. And to saye that he did this of malice, we can not saye, but peraventure he did it, thinking therbye better to serve Your Highnes. And thus moost humblie we commend us unto Your Highnes, beseching Almyghty God to preserve the same in felicite monye yeres. From Bononye, the 11<sup>th</sup> of Marche, 1533.

Your Graces most bounden bedemen  
and servauntes,

(Signed)      HIE. EP̄S WIGORNIE᷑.

W. BENET.

EDMOND BONER.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

CCCLIV. BENET TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASYTHE yt Your Hyghnes. Syus the 14 of Januari last past, I have wryten dyvers letters unto the same, *concernyng the entervew betwixt the Pope and the French King, whiche They have concluded to be in May next, and in Nice, and that the Pope hath writhen to the French King, desyring Hym that He would procure with Your Highnes, that the same would send unto the sayde congresse somme honorable personage, and greatly confident unto the same, beyng fully instructe of Your Highnes mynd and plesure, to the entent that somme way myght be taken in the foresayde metyng, to bryng Your Highnes greate cause to an ende.* And because the Cardinalles Turnone and Gramonte, rekyning suerly that mi letter of the 14 of January (wherin I wrote that they had obteyned of the Pope that His Holines would be contented to mete the Frenche King in somme place convenient) was comme to Your Highnes handes, assone as Master Bonar arrived there, marvelythe greatly that Your Highnes dyd wryte nothyng to me, by Master Bonar, concerningyng that resolucion ; whiche, as they sayd, was most cheffly desyred of Your Highnes to be brought to passe, at there departure fromm the same : and lest this foresayd entervew should be letted or difficultated by entreatyng those thyngeis, which Your Highnes send now with Master Boner, they grett y feryd, and for that there councel was, that we should in no wise do or say, at thys tyme, wherby we should exasperate the Pope, and bryng Hym in a desperacion, by the whiche He should breke fromme the foresayde resolucyon, whiche should be as they said a hurte unrecoverable. This was the daunger that they fearyd, of the whiche mencion ys made in owre comen letter, and they would not dysclose hyt to my collegys, butt to me, to whom alonly they have communycate the foresayd practyse ; and for thys respect there was no mencion made to the Pope, at thys tyme, off the commission, pollicitacion, and the epistel decretal, for I know most certaynly that nothyng shuld more yrrytate the Pope, then the rehersal of them, and cheffly the epistel decretal.

And where Your Hyghnes woold that the young man should publysche the vote of hys uncle, whiche is in Your Highnes favor; verly, Syre, he saythe that heretofore yt was thought expedyent, that he should kepe secrete into whoys favor the sayd vote was, to the entent that the Imperialles, trustyng that yt should be in favor of the Quene, would so extolle hyt, and also the autoryte

<sup>1</sup> Wholly in Benet's handwriting. That portion printed in Italics is written in cypher.

*of the old man, that they would holy remitte them unto hit; whiche thyng, consyderyng that yt is in Your Highnes favor, should grettly make to Your Highnes purpose, and in maner utterly putte them to silence. Also the young man sayd, that the Pope, makynge a greate fundament apon the same vote, commaundid him that he should not publysche in whoys favor yt is, but to kepe hit secrete, tyl that tyme that it shall be nenessary to be schewed for the decpcion of the cause. Therfore he sayed, if he should now divulgate abrode that the vote is into Your Highnes favor, he should do bothe agaynst that, which was thought most expedient for Your Highnes cause, and also against the Popes commaundment; which should cause His Holines to have an yl opinion in him, and also geve a gret occacion to the Spainiardis courtisains here to publsche him corrupt in this cause, and so infamed, which should be to his utter undoyng.*

*He hath gevin part of the writingis in Your Highnes gret cause wryten with his owne hande; the rest he sayethe be at Rome, which, at oure retorne therethen he hath promised that we shall have them.*

*He was in fantesy to have sped the bullis for Chester<sup>1</sup>, but he hath changid his mind, and wil be content that, if he might have beneficis to the yerly valor of a thowsand poundis sterlyng, or markis, he wul be contentid that Your Highnes should dispose the Bischoprike at Your Highnes plesure.*

Your Hyghnes shal receive herewith a copi off the liege made now betwyxt the Pope, Emperour, and the other Potentates here off Itali, and yt was thought superfluus to make mention yn hyt off the sendyng a way off thEmperours army owt off Itali, seyng that yt ys provided by expresse capitulacion, that the contrybucion shal not be made but yn tyme off warre; so that, yff thEmperour woold kepe hys army here, beyng no warre, He must do hyt at hys charge, whyche was knownen for a certayne that He woold not do hyt; and He hathe ordined that now, at hys departyng owte off Itali, that the lantzcknettes shal retourne ynto ther countrie, and thre thousand Spayniardes shal go to the realme off Napulles, and ther lye for the defence off that same, and the rest off the Spayniardes shal go with Hym ynto Spayne: and so He beyng goon, Itali shal be clerly delyveryd off thys army, whyche hathe byn yn hyt many yeris, to the great ruine off the same.

And as towchygng the contentes off Your Hyghnes cypher<sup>2</sup>, sent by M<sup>r</sup> Bonar, for as muche as at thys tyme the Pope hathe differred hys answar unto us, tyl hys cumyng to Rome, I have, for that and other good respectes, foreborne to putte the same as now yn execution; nevertheless intendyng,

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Not found,

apon

apon the Popis answar, and knowlege had what thys man may do, to execute Your Hyghnes commaundment acordyngly. And thus most humbly I commend me to Your Hyghnes, besechynge Almyghty God to conserve the same yn felicite and helthe many yeris. From Bononi, the 11 day off Marche, 1533.

Your Hyghnes most humble

Subject, Servant, and Chapleyn,

W. BENET.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynge Hyghnes.

CCCLV. HACKETT *to* NORFOLK.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASSYTH Youre Grace to understand that the 26<sup>th</sup> day of Marche I wrotte my last letters<sup>2</sup> unto youre Grace, and that syns my departyng fro Calles I ressevit no lettris of youre Grace.

This present shalbe to advertys the same, that this day afor dyner I beyng here with the Quene at hyr settynge forward to ryde att honttyng, Hyr Grace askyth me yf I have hard of late any teddynges owt of Inglond. I told Hyr Grace, as hittes trywe, that I had none. She yawe me a locke, as too that She showld mervell there of, and said to me, " Jay des nouvelles qui " ne me semblent point trop bonnes," and told me towchygng the Kynges Hyghnys mareage. To the which I answerd Hyr Grace and saide, " Madame, " je ne me doute point syl est faict, et quand le veult prendre et entendre " de bonne part et au sain chemyn, sans porter faveur parentelle, que ung le " trouvera tout lecite et bien raysonnable, par layde de Dieu, et de bonne " conssience." Hyr Grace sayd to me agayn, " Monsieur l'Embassateur, cest " Dieu qui le scait que Je vouldroie, que le tout allysse bien, mais ne seay " comment l'Empereur et le Roy mon frere entendront laffaire, car il touche a " Eulx tant que a Moy." I answerd and sayd, " Madame, il me semble estre " assuree que l'Empereur et le Roy vostre frere, qui sont deux Prinssys tres " prudens et sayges, quant ilz aront consydere indefferentement tout laffaire, " quillz ne le deveroyent prendre que de bonne part." And here unto Hyr

<sup>1</sup> This is a copy inclosed in a holograph letter of the same date to Crumwell, to whom Hackett applies for directions how to answer the Regent's questions respecting Queen Catharine, and for a remittance of money, his salary having been £200 a year, of which £250 were in arrear.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

Grace made me answer, sayng, " Da quant de le prendre de bonne part " ce la, ne sayge, Monsieur l'Embassateur." And for lak of better instruxion I toght not conuenyent to entter ferdyr with Hyr Grace here in at this tyme, and soo made a neynd of this commecacion.

I askyth Hyr Grace what tedynges She had of thEmperors departyng fro Jennys. Hyr Grace told me that He departyth fro Jennys the 8<sup>th</sup> day of this monyth, and that the same day rode at an ancker with all his arme a 30<sup>th</sup> myle fro Jennys, tareyng for the Ducches of Sawoye<sup>1</sup>, who had hyr galleys reddy at Savone the next day; and then the said Ducches, in thEmperours company, with fayr wynd and weddyr departyth toward Spayn, and as they juge herre, He myght be aryvyth to Barselone the 13<sup>th</sup> other 14<sup>th</sup> day of this monnyth, where as I do understand He intendys to tarre 6 or 7 monyttes to kepe Courttes; which is as mowche to say as a maner of a Parlement, other a congregacion of the lordes and astattes of Spayn.

Hyr Grace told me also, that She had ressewit of late letters from hyr brother the Kyng of Romains, how that the Tourk hath maede a perpetual peace with Hym, and He with the Tourk, gretly rebowndyng to hyr sayd brothers honnor and proffit, in which peace thEmperour and the Pope may be comperendyth with resonable condyssions, yf They wyll.

The Marquis of Arskot, which we namyd here the Ducq of Sora<sup>2</sup>, by thEmperours menys hath yewyn owyr his tytle of the sayd ducche to the Ducq of Orbyn, who lost hit here befor tyme by confysacion; and for recompence there of the sayd Ducq of Orbyn shall pay hym a good som of reddy mone. ThEmperour hath creatyth hym now Ducq of Arskot, and so remaynys Ducq.

ThEmperour also as I onderstand hath send now of late his lettris patenttes to my Lord of Berghes, intytelyng hym to be namyd from hens forward Marquis of Berghes and Erele of Wallain. I repute the honnor and tytle welbestowyd apon hym.

As I onderstand, the Ducq of Arskot abow wrytten commys homeward fro Jennys by France; but whyddyr he hath any charge to the Frenche Kyng or not, I can not say.

Monsieur le Grand Maistre, with Monsieur de Boxu and Norcarme, as hittes said here, they be commyng hyddyward trow Dowtchelond.

<sup>1</sup> Beatrix, daughter of Emmanuel King of Portugal.

<sup>2</sup> John da Ruvere was Duke of Sora in Naples, and in right of his wife became third Duke of Urbino. His son Francis Mary, who was fourth Duke of Urbino, and died in 1538, does not appear to have borne the title of Sora.

As hitte sayd here, thEmperour hath send the Pressedent of Machlyn with M<sup>r</sup> Cornelys Schipperius to sertefy the Prinssis of Douctland, that the Pope is agreyd to celebre and kepe a General Conssell, where of all Cristyn Prinssys shalbe advertyssyth, which Consell oght to begyn within a twelmont of Marche last past; but where hit shalbe kept, as yit I know not.

As I onderstond, thEmperours Embassatour, that is there with the Kynges Hyghnys, is wery of his comyssion; dyssyryng thEmperour to hawe his licens to com home.

The fothe men awenttrs, wher of by my last letters I advertyssyth youre Grace, after that they hawe the space of a monyth beyn ettyng and drynckyng, and brandscattyngh thEmperors solettes in the partyys of Utrecht and frontters of Holland, knowyng that my Lord of Burre was prepartyng to com to bete them from thens, afor that he was reddy to meyte them, they toke ther leve, unpayng ther ostes, and repassyng trow Geldyrlond hole to gyddyr, and so toward the land of Monster and fronters of Clewys; so that now the said Lord of Burre hath lissensyth all his men of armys and fothe men, in maner as to he werre sure the said awenttrs showld not retorne agayn hyddyrward, and is now commyng hym self here to the Court.

As I ham infourmyth, of a secret frend of myn, that when the Quene here hath red the lettris that She ressevit of late owt of Ingland, the teerys came to hyr yne with werry sad contenance; but in deyd this day, when I speake unto Hyr, She showd me not syche contenance, but told me verbaly that She was not well plessyth of syche tedynges as She had owt of Ingland. Wherfore me thynk, onder youre Grace is corexion, yf I shall tarre here, that hyt were noo hourt that I myght hawe som parte of youre good instruxions acordyng to the Kynges mynd and plessuer; and to know the more of youre Grace is mynd I send yow this berrer my nown servont with this lettrys.

My awance monne of this last half yere, fenysshing the last day of May, is nowe with me at the low watter mark, othyrwyse to be onderstondyth, is at a neynd. I trust your Grace wyll se me provydyth of the nywe with som good comffort of my old arerages, which yf I had, I wold bestowyd in plate, to make this Lordes and Ladyis good chere with all, yf I shall tare with them here. I comyt all to the Kyng his own gracious pleasure and good mynd. Fro Brussellys, the 22<sup>th</sup> day of Apryll, anno 1533.

CCCLVI. BONER *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

RIGHT Honourable, and my very singuler especiall good Mayster, I commende me unto you ; and like wise do thanke the same for that singular favor and goodnes it pleased you to declare diverse wayes unto me, as my assured true frende, and your very assured bounden bedisman M<sup>r</sup> Doctour Bagard, your Chaunceler, in his letters at large declared unto me ; for whiche, with other great kyndenes it liked you to shewe at my late beyng ther, I am and soo must of dutie accompte my self, after the Kinges Highnes, moost obliged unto your good Maystership. Pleaseth the same to understande, that like wise as by my letters from Bolayne<sup>2</sup>, the 2<sup>de</sup> day after my departure out of Englond, I advertised your Maystership of suche communication and speche as was there commonly had, soo of late here hathe been not a little communiation towching the same. Nevertheles soo soon as we had the copie, and conferred the same together in moost secret maner, we fonde meny errors and notable defectes in the Popes originall Brieff<sup>3</sup>, whereof the Kinges Highnes is now advertised. And of trouthe the Pope is thereof soo enformed, that He is in maner ashamed, and in great perplexite what He may do therein. And amonges other errors, ther is oon whiche chokethe the Pope, and that is, that the Quenes Grace now, without ony monition at all, was by Hym, ageynst all Goddes forbode, illaqueat with that hys censure ; whiche thing I advertised Mayster Doctour Benet of, at Anchona, to laye in the Popes lappe ; as he ded in dede diverse tymes. And I assure your Mastership, for soo many as I can here speke, beyng ony thing indifferent and percyvyng thies errors, which we have here drawen out, saye, that the Kinges Highnes was greatly offended therbye, and the Pope moche to blame soo to procede and giff occasion unto His Highnes any thing to attempte ; and albeit I dowt not but your Maystership shall see the copie of the said errors, yet for my dutie towardes you mony wayes, I have send the same herewith unto you<sup>4</sup>, and also a letter of gratulacion to the Quenes Highnes<sup>5</sup>, to be delyvered unto Her by your handes ; not dowting but like wise, as of your goodnes without ony my merite, it hathe pleased you to sett me forward, so it may like you withe

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.<sup>2</sup> Not found with the letters mentioned in the note to p. 416.<sup>3</sup> By a joint letter from Carne and Boner to the King on the 5th of May it appears that this Brief monitory was privily granted by the Pope at the suit of the Imperials on the 15th of November 1532.<sup>4</sup> Not found.<sup>5</sup> Anne Boleyn.

Her

Her Grace soo to set furthe my service and good will to Her Grace, as may be acceptable unto the same. And thus humblie desiring your Mastership that moost humblie I may be commended unto the Kinges Highnes, with Her Grace, my Lord of Norfolke, and other the Lordes of the Counsell, I pray Almyghty God to preserve your good Maystership in helthe and felicite, with increase to moche honour; and send me that fortune to have you my contynuall good mayster. Written in hast at Rome, the 4<sup>th</sup> day of Maye, 1533.

Your bounden bedeman and servant,

(*Superscribed*)

EDMOND BONER.

To the Right Honourable, and my very singuler  
good mayster, M<sup>r</sup> Crumwell, oone of the Kinges  
Priveye Counsell.

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### CCCLVII. SIR G. DA CASALE to NORFOLK.

ILLUSTRISSE et Excellentissime Domine, mi colendissime. Accepi ex Gurono Dominationem vestram accepisse justissimas excusationes meas, et ut ab alijs quoque acciperentur laborasse; de quo immortales ei gratias semper habebo. Sed quoniam, ut ab eodem Gurono cognovi, non est fortasse omnibus satisfactum, Dominationem vestram oro obtestorque, non gravetur, si opus esse intelliget id agere, ut unicuique de mea innocentia apertissime constet.<sup>1</sup>

Hic modo nihil prorsus fit. Pontifex hæsitare et obmutuisse videtur, et tantum expectare quid ex Hispania nuncietur, et quid ex Gallia respondeatur ad illud breve, de quo proximis diebus ad Guronum scripsi.

Adhaec Marchio Montisferrati<sup>2</sup>, nulla ad successionem reicta sobole, ex humanis excessit. Hujus fratri filiam quum uxorem habeat Dux Mantuæ,

<sup>1</sup> There remains in the State Paper Office a paper in the handwriting of Dr. Richard Croke, intituled "Articles ayenste Syr Gregory Cassalis and his brethren, whiche shalbe provyd partly with theyr owyne letters, partly with the lettres of divers other men off' good and substancial credence," containing charges of infidelity and treachery in regard to the King's cause against Sir Gregory, Paul, and John da Casale; against the latter of whom Croke made an imputation of the same character in 1530. See p. 244. There is likewise a translation of Sir Gregory's very detailed answer to these charges. Both these documents are without date. The former may possibly be the accusation alluded to in the text. But the latter cannot have been composed till the autumn of 1533, because it refers to facts, particularly the death of Dr. Benet, which did not happen till the 26th of September.

From a letter of John da Casale to Norfolk, dated at Rome the 7th of October 1534, it appears that he left Venice and repaired to Rome as soon as he heard of the death of the Pope.

<sup>2</sup> John George, who succeeded his nephew Boniface VI. in the Marquisate of Montferrat in the year 1530, and died without issue in 1533; when his niece Margaret, the wife of Frederic Duke of Mantua, succeeded to the inheritance.

putabat absque ullo negotio se possessionem illius dominij initurum, quum interim Marchio Salutiarum oppidum, Casale nuncupatum, in dominio Montisferrati occupavit, quod non sine Gallorum impulsu factum videtur, quum Salutiarum fines Gallos pertingant; quod si belli causæ quererentur, hoc sane principium haud leve foret. Cæsaris autem filia, Duci Alexandro Medicis in matrimonium destinata, Neapolim proficiscens, Romam venit, ubi plurimis maximisque honoribus fuit excepta. Et nunc quidem operam dant, ut velit Cæsar permittere, ut Neapolim ire omittat propter æstivi aeris intemperiem, et Florentiam reducatur, quod Cæsarem permissurum, quum puella adhuc immaturæ ætatis sit, verisimile non est. Nec aliud nunc, quod scribam habeo. Optime valeat Dominatio vestra illustrissima. Romæ, die 8 Maij, 1533.

Eccellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ Illustrissimæ  
Humillimus servus,

(*Superscribitur*)

(*Signatur*)

GREGORIUS CASALI<sup>S.</sup>

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Domino Domino,  
Duci Norpholie. Domino meo colendissimo.

### CCCLVIII. BENET TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Highnes. This is to advertise the same, that syns the dispatche of Frauncis the corroure, whiche was the 5<sup>th</sup> day of this present, ther was redde here in the Contradictes a citation agaynst Your Highnes, and in like maner executed agaynst the Bishoppe of Worcester and me, a copie whereof Your Highnes shall receyve herewithall.<sup>2</sup> Whereupon the Bishoppe and I wente unto the Pope, lamenting not a litle that His Holynes shuld suffre any suche processe to be had; consideringe, emonges other, that the congresse shuld be within soo shorte tyme: and His Holynes answered, that towching the said congresse He was not fully resolved in the same, and as towching the citation and processe, He said He cowde not, with his honour and conscience, lett the parte adverse to call for ye same. Nevertheles, after moche communication had herein, His Holynes, taking me assyde, shewed unto me secretly, how that the Emperialles had stonden moost ernestely with Hym for processe agaynst Your Highnes in the contempte; alledging the same to be such as

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this letter is in Boner's handwriting, except the few lines at the end, beginning "Other Your Highness," which are in Benet's.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of this citation accompanies the letter. It is dated on the 12th of May.

towcheth

towcheth His Holynes and the auctorite of this See; making also therbie the cause oonly to towche His Holynes, and that if He woold not sharply procede agaynst Your Highnes in the said contempte, they cowde not conceyve any hope for the obteynyng of justice at his handes, in the princypall cause. Whereunto His Holynes answered, as He shewed me then, that this matter is of such importance, that the like thereof hath not been seen this mony yeres; concernyng the faythe quietnes and tranquillite of all Christendom, and also the auctorite aswell of His Holynes as of this See, towching, with all, the honour of the Emperour, the matter apperteynyng unto his aunte. Wherefor He said, the matter was not to be precipitated, but maturely to be considered, and the issue like to follow thereapon rather to be regarded, then the begynnynge; lest peraventure, the thing beyng rashely and hedely set forthe-ward, ther shuld therbie such fire be kyndeled, whiche nother His Holynes nother yet the Emperour myght afterwardes wel quenche. And ferther He said, that Your Highnes, beyng a great and honourable membre of Christendome, and suche oon as with writing and otherwise, hathe moost excellently defended the faythe, and the auctorite of this See, reformyng suche hereses and errorees, whiche the Luterianes woold in your Realme have set forthe-ward, suche sharpe proceeding was not to be used with the same, lest Your Highnes, irritated therbie, shuld alter your mynde, and desiste from that your laudable doyng. And as towching the censures of excommunication and interdiction, wherein the said Emperialles did not a litle stande, His Holynes answered theym (as He shewed me) that He woold not procede to the execution therein agaynst Your Highnes, unto suche tyme He might evidently perceyve that the Emperour woold prepare suche an armye, wherbye Your Highnes, standing in contempte, might be enforced to obeye and observe the same. For, as He said, it shuld not stande withe his honour to execute suche censures, and the same not to be regarded, but contemned, in that behalfe. Over this, His Holynes said ther was to be considered what great love and frendeshippe was bytwen Your Highnes and the Frenche Kinge, soo that the Emperour cowde not make warre agaynst the oone, but He must make warre agaynst the oother; and to make warre agaynst bothe it appered very hard. And ferthermoor He said, that by suche warre all Christendome shuld be in trouble, and an open way made unto the Turke to invade Christendome, seying that apon His Holynes, the Emperour, Your Highnes, and the Frenche King, the rest of Christendome dothe depende; the streynght whereof, beyng herebie consumed, the Turke may ful easely obteyne the victorie over all. Wherefor His Holynes, considering the great ruyne like to

folowe in that behalfe, throughe out all Christendome, tolde the said Emperialles (as He said) that to procede agaynst Your Highnes, as they woold and desyred, it was very daungerous ; and ferther said, that it was very expedient bothe for Hym, and also the Emperour, rather to let passe this contempte, then, revengyng the same and standing apon honour, to bring all thinges in great jeopardie and daungier ; whiche thinges His Holynes said that He tolde the Emperialles, willing theym that they shuld write the same unto the Emperour, to thentent that He, maturely deliberating thereapon, [*shuld*] take suche sure and good waye, as might be expedient for the quietnes and tranquillite of all Christendome : and His Holynes said that, for his parte, He woolde doo the same, and as far as justice and equite woolde requyre, He woold not fayle therein, withe this respecte alwaye, that quiettnes and tranquillite may be conserved. And after this sorte the Pope (as He said) answered, and put the Emperialles of for that tyme ; whiche part concernyng this answer to the Emperialles, His Holynes the same day at aft[er none] shewed unto the Cardinales Turnon and Gramont (as they shewed me) ; but neyther they, neyther I, cowde get of His Holynes, that processe shuld be stopped in the principall cause (the parte adverse calling apon it), otherwise then this, that nothing of moment shalbe doon in the same, till the congresse be. [*If*] the same succede, and of the certeynte thereof, I can not asserteyne Your Highnes, till answer shall come from the Frenche King unto the brieff whiche the Pope sende unto Hym, as I wrote in my last letters<sup>1</sup> unto Your Highnes ; and what shall otherwise be doon in the contempte, or principall cause, [*as*] I have written afor, I can not certifie Your Highnes, till answer shall come from the Emperour unto the premisses.

Other Your Highnes shal understand off my Lord off Norfolke. And as towching the yowng man, yn my next letters I shall wryte unto Your Hyghnes. He promised me to have byn here long ar thys. And thus most humble I commend me unto Your Hyghnes, besechynge Almyghty God to conserve the same in felicite many yeris. At Rome, the 18<sup>th</sup> day off May, 1533.

Your Hyghnes most humble  
subject servant and chapleyne,  
(Signed) W. BENET.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynges Hyghnes.

<sup>1</sup> This despatch, which was probably dated on the 5th of May, has not been discovered.

CCCLIX. KING HENRY VIII. TO POPE CLEMENT VII.<sup>1</sup>

BALISSIM Pater, post humillimam commendationem et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Reddidit nuper Nobis Reverendus Dominus Ubaldinus, Sanctitatis Vestrae Nuncius, Ipsius ad Nos Breve; quod ubi perlegissemus ac omnia accurate audivissemus, quæ ille de rebus publicis suæ commissa fidei prudenter, distinete, et copiose Nobis exposuit, non potuimus Sanctitati Vestrae in ijs tractandis promovendisque actionibus, quæ commune omnium bonum, publicam tranquillitatem, et Christianæ in primis religionis propagationem et conservationem, concernere videntur, fragrans studium solicitamque mentem non summopere laudare, optimique pastoris pectore dignam existimare: licetque omnia officia libenti promptoque animo (ut semper antea) suo loco et tempore præstituri simus, quæ in Christianæ nostræ fidei augmentum et confirmationem cedere posse viderimus; quum tamen negocium istud gravissimi sit momenti, unaque Nobiscum extet cum Christianissimo Francorum Rege, fratre et perpetuo confederato nostro carissimo, rerum omnium mens, firmissima conjunctio, eademque voluntas; prius cum Eo consilia nostra communicanda esse censuimus, quam de re tam gravi, quæ omnes omnium causas complectitur, quicquam soli statuere velimus. Matura igitur cum eodem carissimo fratre nostro super hac re consultatione habita, per Eum dicto Sanctitatis Vestrae Nuncio quid agi expediat, et que communis nostra sit sententia, copiosius declarabitur; quod nostrum responsum et super hijs mentem Vestrae Sanctitati probatam iri confidimus, nihilque Nos umquam omissuri sumus quod e Christianæ nostræ religionis universalisque quietis incremento futurum perspexerimus. Et felicissime ac diutissime valeat eadem Sanctitas Vestra. Ex Regia nostra Grenwici, die 20 Maij, 1533.

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis

devotissimus atque obsequentissimus Filius,  
Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei  
Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,

HENRICVS.

(*Superscribitur*)

Sanetissimo Clementissimoque Domino  
nstro Papæ.

Copy from the Vatican. This is the last of the series in the reign of Henry VIII.

CCCLX. SIR G. DA CASALE *to* NORFOLK.

ILLUSTRISSE et Excellentissime Domine, mi colendissime. Quoniam heri, postquam ad Dominationem Vestram Illustrissimam breviter scripseram<sup>1</sup>, cum Reverendissimo Cardinale de Monte super Regia causa sum loquutus, non prætermittam his litteris mandare, eum mihi dixisse, accepisse a Pontifice, quemadmodum Cæsariani instant urgentissime, ut procedatur, et Auditor Capisuccus in Concistorio referat super negotio principali, et remissoriales recitet, quæ sunt ex Hispania allatae. Quam ad rem is Cardinalis ita se Pontifici respondisse dicit: Hinc ad proximas ferias mensem unum distare; hoc autem breve nimis spatium esse ad tantam rem conficiendam; quum præsertim de remissorialibus sit agendum, circa quas opus est longiori consideratione: ac illum ipsum Auditorem, qui relatus est, quum se sic brevi temporis spatio circumscriptum viderit, optaturum ab hujusmodi labore liberari: quum præsertim horum dierum judicijs, innumerabiles aliæ causæ sint transigendæ, neque interim huic negotio longe maximi momenti incumbi possit, quod minime occupatos judices desiderat. Adhæc, Cardinales, qui causam sunt cognituri, valetudini jam studere; ac potius, ut solent, per hoc anni tempus, de mutando aere, quam de cognitione hujus causæ cogitare; et se quidem jam deliberasse, ab urbe secedere, neque velle hic, cum salutis discrimine, commorari. Præterea Cardinalis iste mihi exposuit, Pontificem sibi dixisse, non videre Se quo pacto Cæsarianorum postulatis denegare possit: qui saltem volent agere super attentatis, et declarari Regem, ex quo fecit contra breve, incidisse in pœnas brevis; qua in re dicit, Se illi ostendisse, posse Cæsarianis respondere, non esse in hoc negotio nunc ita procedendum contra Serenissimum Regem, quum Niceæ conventum sit habiturus, in quo boni aliquid circa causam istam constituere posset: ideo optimum factu fore, si res integra ad proximum conventum reservetur. In summa, Cardinalis de Monte visus est quasi animum mihi dare, ac propemodum polliceri quod, quamvis Pontifex Domino Benetto

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<sup>1</sup> This letter is not found; but there are in the State Paper Office two from Sir Gregory da Casale of the 18th of May, one to Norfolk, and the other to Crumwell; the former in Latin, expressing his opinion that the Emperor's opposition will prevent the Pope from meeting the King of France at Nice; and the latter in Italian, putting forth his faithful service to Henry, and requesting Crumwell to recommend him to Queen Anne.

aliter dixerit, tamen ante conventum nihil in causa regia fiet, quod momenti sit. Ad Pontificem deinde accessi, quum antea saepius cum Jacobo Salviato egissem, ut aliquid boni Ei suaderet; et mei sermonis illa summa fuit, vellet id præstare, ut præsentibus litteris Serenissimum Regem nostrum certiores facere possemus, ante conventum in sua causa nihil innovatum iri. Hic Ille, sicut solet, respondit, nescire Se, quo pacto possit Cæsarianis obsistere. Ibi ego eadem adduxi, qua a Reverendissimo de Monte acceperam, addens me ex plærisque Auditoribus et Cardinalibus cognovisse, nequaquam posse fieri, ut adeo brevi tempore tot scripta videri possint, et relatio tantæ rei in Concistorio fieri. At Pontifex, volens summam mihi rei facilitatem ostendere, dixit, has remissoriales parvo negotio videri posse, quum paucorum testium dicta contineant: et quum ex parte nostra nemo in judicio aduersetur, Auditori facile futurum referre Reginam probare sese cognitam ab Arcturo non fuisse. Ego vero dixi, quod omnes Rotæ Auditores, et quotquot in orbe sunt jurisperiti, nunquam relationem ejusmodi facere poterunt; ac me quidem tum ex Cardinale Anconitano dum viveret, tum ex totius Italiæ doctissimis viris, pro comperto accepisse, quod, quum notorium sit Catherinam cum Arcturo in eodem lecto dormisse, nunquam fieri poterit, ut non cognita probetur: verum his omissis suadebam nollet quicquam innovare; et quum Niceam profecturus sit, id quod optare ostendit, operam dare in primis debere, ut paratus ad hoc potissimum negotium componendum accedat; propterea omnia integra illuc usque servanda. Quod si nunc omnia Cæsari quæ voluerit concesserit; et, e converso, Serenissimum Regem nostrum pessime tractaverit, de ambobus minimum poterit: Cæsar enim nihil jam a Pontifice circa causam desiderabit, et in his, quæ ad hoc negotium facient, Pontificem vilipendit. Regia autem Majestas, ex odio jam concepto, quum viderit se omnibus injurijs cumulatum, tantum cogitabit, nihil ex Pontificis sententia facere; sed si intacta ista voluerit, tanquam frenos utriusque injectos habiturum. Et quia Pontifex asseverabat, minime sperare, Se quicquam boni super Regia causa facere posse, plurima adduxi, quibus ostendi in hoc quidem maxime decipi: idque feci, ut Illum ad conventum promptiorem redderem.

Vias insuper multas et modos ostendi, quibus Cæsarianos fallere possit, ut si causæ Auditor et Cardinales dilationes invenirent, neque ab Ipso existere viderentur; atque ita res in longum duceretur, adeo ut feriæ adessent, priusquam aliquid esset factum. Post multa impetrare non potui, ut mihi polliceretur, quod nihil fieret; sed dixit, Se rem quam maxime poterit sustentaturum, ut procedatur mature. Et quantum colligere potui, voluit mihi innuere Se operam daturum, ut res ad proximas ferias producatur.

Hæc

Hæc ego omnia Domino Benetto recensui, qui voluit me ad Dominationem Vestram Illustrissimam perscribere. Quam optime valere cupio. Romæ, die 27 Maij, 1533.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis Vestræ Illustrissimæ  
(*Signatur*) S<sup>r</sup> GREGORI<sup>S</sup> CASALI<sup>C</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Domino, Duci  
Norfolkie, Domino meo colendissimo.

### CCCLXI. BENET *to King Henry VIII.*<sup>1</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Highnes. The 19<sup>th</sup> of this present arryved here a courrou from the Frenche Cowrte, with the Frenche Kynge his answer to the Popes Brief, whiche His Holynes the 28<sup>th</sup> of the last had send unto the same, to knowe the particularitees of thoos thinges, whereupon they shuld intreate in the interviewe, acording as I wrote in my last letters<sup>2</sup> unto Your Grace. And in effecte the Frenche Kinge retorneth for answer therin by his letters, that He will intreate with the Pope apon three thinges; the first concernyng the diffence of Christendom agaynst the Turche, the second concernyng the General Councell, and the thirde concernyng the extinction of the Lutherane secte and heresies; appoynting for the said congresse and interviewe the 15<sup>th</sup> of Julie next: and over this, by way of credence, commaunded to Cardinall Turnon to declare unto the Pope (as the said Cardinale tolde me), that He woold not aloney intreate apon defension of Christendome agaynst the Turche, but also, if it were nede, apon offension agaynst the same, soo and after that sorte that Christendome shuld be in suretie; and also woold therebye pull awaye the opinion of the Ytalions, that He entendeth not under colour of defense to invade Ytalie (as they conjectured), but rather the tranquillite and peas of all Christendome: ferther also soo to excogitate apon the Generall Councell, that the same may be had by consent of Christen Princes, especially of Your Highnes and Hym, whiche are too great membres of Christendome, and that therbye may be produced some good fruite and effecte to the welthe of Christendome, lest other wise doing, the same shuld not produce ony suche effecte, and over that shuld prejudicate other Generalle Councilles, moost

<sup>1</sup> In Boner's hand.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

hol somely

holisomely made by the said doyng: besides this, also, that as towching the extinction of the said Lutheriane secte, He woold devyse and treate (if nede were) for the provision of an armye to suppresse the same: and fynally, that He trusted in this congresse ther shuld be some good meane founden, wherby Your Highnes great cause, with conservacion of the honour and auctorite of this See, and the Popes Holynes, and to the noo litle prease and profet of bothe, might be compounded.

The 23<sup>rd</sup> of this moneth, the Pope caused the letters of the Frenche Kynge herein to be red in the Congregacion of the Cardinalles, had that day for that purpose, and caused also the said Cardinale Turnon to shewe his credence there; whiche he did; and as towching Your Highnes cause, said noo moor them is written above, doyng the same by the Popes councell, for certeyn respectes. In that congregation the Cardinales did not shewe their opinions, but toke respecte till the next congregation, whiche was holden the 25<sup>th</sup> of this present, wherin was resolved, that although the causes expressed in the said answer, and to be intreated apon in the said intervewe, were very laudable, yet the said Cardinales said, in their opinions, the said causes were very generall; and therfor they counseled the Pope, that His Holynes shulde write agayne to the Frenche Kinge, to knowe the particular conclusions, that He woold comme unto apon the same; soo that His Holynes shuld be in soche certeynte thereof, that nothing shuld remayne to be doon in the said congresse but the publication thereof. And as towching the tyme apoynted by the Frenche King for the said congresse above expressed, the said Cardinales were utterly agaynst it, and woold not in ony wise agree unto the same; adding that the departing from hense in the begynnnyng of Julie shuld be very daungerous to His Holynes, and to all thoos that shuld goo with hym, especially to Nyce, wher at that tyme is pestiferous aer; and thought, in their opinion, Septembre to be a moor convenient tyme for the said congresse, and that His Holynes might without any jeopardie after the middest of August departe from hense to the said intervewe. The Pope, notwithstanding the opinion of the Cardinales, semed to be resolved to goo, though he had noe oother specification; nevertheless, other for satisfaction of the Cardinales, other elles bycause he woold be clerely certified of the hoole conclusion by the Frenche Kinge apon the causes expressed in his forsayd answar, His Holynes hath determinyd to send unto the Frenche Kinge the Bishoppe of Faventia, the same to entreat ther apon [*the*] said conclusion to be had; and the said Bishoppe shall departe from hense within thes 2 days, in [*post*], for that purpose, as is said. Nevertheless Cardinale Turnon shewed me that the sending

of the said Bishoppe was rather to satisfie the Cardinales beyng in the opinion forsaid, rather than otherwise. But veryly, Syre, it appered to me, that notwithstanding that the Pope made demonstracion to be contented that the congresse shuld be the said 15<sup>th</sup> day of Julie, yet the same was agaynst his mynde, and that for the daunger that might fortune to Hym and thoos that shuld goo with Hym, in departing from hense at that tyme. And, in conclusion, the Cardinales Turnon and Grammont, considering the same, and juging also noo lesse daunger to be to the Frenche Kynge, and to all oother that shall cumme to the said congresse, aswell by reason of the tyme, as also the diversitee of the ayer, moche different from oother, and daungerous at that tyme, do write unto the Frenche King (as Cardinale Turnon tellethe me), counseling Hym to differ the said intervewe, till the begynnyng of Septembre, afor whiche tyme it is thought here, for a certaynte, it shall not be.

The Emperour his answer towching this intervewe is commen, and is in effecte, that if the Pope shall judge the said intervewe to be for the welthe and quietnes of Christendome, He wooll not be seen to dissuade His Holynes from the same, but He desired Hym to remembre what He shewed to His Holynes when He was with the same at Bononye; at what tyme His Holynes offered Hym self, for a commonwelthe, to goo to any place to speke with the Frenche Kynge. But, as towching processe concernyng the contempte, or execution of censures agaynst Your Highnes in the attemptates, I can not as yet perceyve ony answer to be commen therein from thEmperor.

As towching delaye of processe in the principall cause here, I can not obteyne oother then this, that nothing of moment shalbe doon therein; and what this moment is, I can not perfectly perceyve, but that it is that the sentence shall not be gyven befor the congresse.

The Emperialles doo sollicite greatly that Capisucca shuld make relation of the processe and actes doon befor hym, and chieffly of the remissorialles, whiche ar fyve, that were send to diverse partes for the examinacion of wittnes, apon diverse articles; emonges the whiche, oon was, that the parte adverse was not carnally knownen by Prince Arthure. And as towching this relation to be made, I think we shall do nothing, wherby we may stoppe it to procede de facto; nevertheless we shall doo therein, and in all other thinges, the uttermost that we can excogitate possible.

The Cardinale de Monte shewethe hym self to be Your Highnes moost assured frende in this your cause; not disclosing hym self to moche openly, lest he shuld be recused.

Concernyng the yonge man, and the rest of his wrtinges, albeit I have  
written

written diverse tymes unto hym, yet he hathe not sende the same ; whereof I have no litle mervayll.

And this moost humblie I commende me unto Your Highnes, beseching Almyghty God to conserve the same in felecite mony yeres. At Rome, the 28<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1533.

Your Hyghnes most humble  
subject servant and Chapleyn,

(Signed) W. BENET.

(Superscribed)

To the Kyng hys Hyghnes.

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### CCCLXII. HAUKNES TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLAISITH Youer Hichnes. These shalbe to certifie the same, that the 7<sup>th</sup> dei of June thEmprour was redi to depart hens, because, as wone of his servantes reported, the citie had denied to render unto Him fortie thowsand ducates, whiche, at the last Courtes here, bi the decree of His Majestie and of the Parliament, this citie had receivid to pai unto them to whome thEmprour owid the same : for, if His Majeste be indettid, and his creditor demand the same at these Courtes, the same Courtes mai not be dissolvid, until that other it be paied, or mean appointed how it shalbe levied. Wherfor the cite made answer unto His Majeste, that seing the seied charge of paiment was unto them committid bi acte of Parliament, thei saw not, how thei cowld be dischargid of the same, otherwise then bi Parliament. Notwithstanding He taried, because the morow affter the citie did exhibite unto Him certen pagiantes, suche as in London thei make on Sainte John and Sainte Petre his nicht. The 10 dei of this moneth He departid hens intending to kepe his Corpus Christi fest at Mountserrat.

The Duke of Millans Imbassadors be all redi dispatchid with this response, that he schal mari the yonger sister<sup>2</sup>, whome thEmprour schal at his charge conduite to Isbroke, whiche is not fur owte of Itali, and the residew at the Duke his cost. Doree gettith he none ; how be it, thEmprour is so good unto him, that the monei whiche he schuld have paied within a yere, he hath liberte

Holograph. The paragraph printed in Italies is written in cypher.

<sup>2</sup> Christina the second and youngest daughter of Christian II. King of Denmark. A copy of the marriage contract is in the State Paper Office ; it is dated at Barcelona in June 1533, but the day of the month, from an error of the copyist, cannot be clearly ascertained.

to paie it in yeris. And if thelder sister obtein here affter the kingdome of Denmarke<sup>1</sup>, then Sche to pai an hundred thousand ducates for the doree.

*Accordinge as I wrote to Youer Hichnes, here was wone dispatchid the eight and twentith of Mai in to Scotlond werd, and the one and thirtith of the same moneth he returnid hither agein; the occasion I can not cnowe. The Quenis servant departid hens abouthe the tuo and twentith of Mai.*

Corona is sore beseged, so that the 28 of Maij here arrivid a bergantine with leters to demand succurse of thEmprour, for lak of the whiche succurse men sei it is like to be lost ; wher of wol insew further dangier.

The 11<sup>th</sup> dai of June Monsieur le Graunt Esquier of thEmprour departith hens in to Flaunders.

I have writin unto Youer Hichnes 5 times sithen the beginning of the moneth of Maij.<sup>2</sup> I wold be veri glad to cnow, that thei were all cum to youer handes. Ower Lord Jesus have Youer Majeste in His most blissid custodi. From Barselona, the 11<sup>th</sup> of June, 1533.

Youer Hichnes most bounden  
Chaplain and Orator,

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinge His Hichnes.

NIC. HAUKNIS.

### CCCLXIII. BONER TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>3</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Highnes. This is to advertise the same, that albeit (standinge the promisse of the Pope for his and the Frenche Kinges intervewe, declared sondrie tymes by Hym aswell to the Cardinales of Fraunce, as also to Your Highnes Ambassadour here, M<sup>r</sup> Benet) appellations and provocations to the Popes self, with other protestations and petitions, in some mennes opinion were not thought moost necessarie or requisite, yet, for bycause the Emperialles have called for processe, aswell in the principall cause as also in

<sup>1</sup> The throne of Denmark was at this time vacant by the death of King Frederic I., who died on the 13th of April 1533. A general Diet was to assemble at Copenhagen on the 24th of June for the election of a Sovereign, and the allusion in the text renders it probable that some endeavours were making, that Dorothy the eldest daughter of Christian II., who was deposed in 1523 and was still living, should be chosen as the successor of Frederic. The eldest son of Frederic was however eventually elected, and became Christian III.

<sup>2</sup> None of these letters appear to have been preserved.

<sup>3</sup> Holograph.

the attemptates, whiche dothe not a litle byte theym by the stomake, and to thentent that the Pope, mynding the congresse, may have some honest colour to put over the matter as muche as may be, unto the tyme of the said congresse, whiche in woordes it appereth Hym content to doo, ther hath been diverse appelations, provocaciones, and petitions made, sythen our last letters sent to Your Highnes of the 28<sup>th</sup> of the last<sup>1</sup>, doon for the purpose forsaide ; and chieffly, because ther were diverse citations red agaynst Your Highnes in the Contradictes here, aswell for processe in the principall cause, as also for transumpting of an inhibition that passed 2 yeres agoon and moore, with the instrument made apon the execution thereof ; the copies of al which premisses, with the defectes also of the enformation gyven by the Datarie, Your Highnes shall receyve here withall.<sup>1</sup> And, Syre, albeit apon soche promise as the Pope hathe made heretofor unto the said M<sup>r</sup> Benet, and for brevitee alsoo of tyme, I doo veryly beleve that the Pope will not giff ony sentence afor the vacancies here, nor can see any grownd, whereapon, other then, or elles in the begynnyng of the next terme, He can giff ony, oonles it were in favour of Your Highnes ; yet the matters excusatorie beyng rejected, as they are in dede by suche processe as the Pope hathe made, and the parte adverse havyng brought in 5 remissoriales of the depositiones of wittnes examyned in sondrie places, standing also the outwarde great amitie bytwen the Pope and the Emperour, it is to be feared, that if the Pope doo not kepe this intervewe, and forgett withall the great kyndenes that Your Highnes sondrie wise hath shewed to Hym and unto this Sea, entending to doo pleasure to the Emperour, that He will, other at the begynnyng of the next terme, other elles when He shall perceyve that He can not, without displeasure of the Emperour, lenger differ the matter, pretende something to be proved by the said remissorialles, and peradventure, that the parte adverse was not carnally knownen by Prince Arthur, brother unto Your Highnes ; and thereapon (nothing beyng producted by Your Highnes for the contrarye) will pronownce the dispensation valeable. Wherein albeit He shuld doo wronge unto Your Highnes, considering the trouthe in the contrary and the manifest presumption of the lawe, yet his procedinges, after that sorte, woold have some colour and visage of justice. Wherfor in my opinion (remitting yet the same to Your Graces wisidome with your ferther pleasure in the same) it shuld doo well, that if the Pope shuld mynde ony suche thynge, we shuld captata oportunitate per viam facti notorij,

<sup>1</sup> Not found. Sir Gregory da Casale in a letter to Norfolk of the 12th of June states that there had been in the Consistory debates which the Pope had forbidden to be divulged, and recommed the King to promote the meeting at Nice.

tanquam promotores justicie, ac ad informandum animum judicis, cumulate as mony thinges as we can excogitate in the justice of Your Highnes cause, and in that name to purpose theym to the Pope; to thentent that He, oonles He will be led by blinde affection and sensualite, havyng the same, may soo enforme his conscience to giff sentence in favour of Your Highnes, or at the lest not agayn the same; which thing, bycause ther is made soo great fundation apon the intervewe, and that Your Highnes soo constanly hath requyred and loked for the matter to be committed in to your Realme, according to the Generall Councelles and customes, with privileges and preminences of your said Realme, hath been forborn, and not suffred to be set forthewarde after that sorte. Your Highnes pleasure knownen herein or otherwise, I shall, with other here of Your Highnes counsellours and agentes, do the uttermost I can ony wise possiblie. And thus moost humblie I commende my self unto Your Highnes, beseching Almyghty God to preserve the same in prosperous helthe mony yeres. At Rome, the 13<sup>th</sup> of June, 1533.

Your Highnes moost bounden subiecte

and poore servaunt,

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

EDMOND BONER.

#### CCCLXIV. BENET *to* KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASITH it Your Highnes. This is to advertise the same, that the 29<sup>th</sup> day of the last moneth, arryved here a currour from the Frenche Kinges Courte with letters to Cardinale Turnon<sup>2</sup>, unto whom the Frenche King did write very instantly that he shuld desire the Pope, in the said Frenche Kinges name, that His Holynes woold not innovate ony thing agaynst Your Highnes ony wise, till the congresse; adding with all, that if His Holynes, notwithstanding his said desire, woold procede agaynst Your Highnes, He cowld not lesse do (considering the great and indissoluble amitie betwixt Your Highnesses, notorious to all the world), but take and recognise suche proceeding for a great

<sup>1</sup> This letter is wholly in Boner's handwriting. It is a little injured by damp, but the lacuna have been supplied from an original draft, which is extant in Benet's own hand.

<sup>2</sup> A copy is inclosed, dated in May, by which the King acknowledges the receipt of a despatch of the 17<sup>th</sup> of April, containing an ample answer to what He had before written by an express courier to Tournon and Grammont touching the affair of the King of England. Ante, p. 423.

injurie.

injurie. And what tyme the said Cardinale Turnon declared this last parte unto the Pope, His Holynes (as Cardinale Turnon told me) toke the same very displeasauntely ; saying with all, that the Frenche King in his requestes shuld rather regard God and honestie, then the frendship of any man, and that also He shuld not aske ony thing of His Holynes, that shuld be agaynst ether of the same, trusting to obteyne his desire, and especially by thretenynges, for whiche He said (as the said Cardinale tolde me) He woold doo nothing, but rather by reason of the same be provoked to withdrawe Hym self from shewing of gratuite, whiche otherwise His Holynes entended to shewe ; adding, that the love, whiche His Holynes bereth unto Your Highnes and the Frenche King, shall sooner moeve Hym to shewe in your affaires gratuite and kyndenes, then all the mynaces and threteninges the Frenche Kinge can make. And over that, fynally He said that it cowde not weell stande to gether that His Holynes here shuld innovate noothing, and that Your Highnes daylye shuld innovate ther. Nevertheles, in conclusion after longe communication, His Holynes promised to the Cardinales Turnon and Gramont, that nothing of moment shuld be doon afor the said congresse ; the like whereof His Holynes had promised me befor, acording as I wrote to Your Highnes in my last letters.

The day after that the said Cardinales Turnon and Gramont had been with the Pope, I went to His Holynes ; at whiche tyme I fonde Hym soore altered, by reason of advyses that His Holynes had from thens receyved the night befor, especially of my Lord of Canturburie his procedinges ther in Your Highnes cause.<sup>1</sup> And His Holynes said that Your Highnes doynges ther are to soore for Hym to stand still at, and to do nothing here ; and also His Holynes shewed me, what the Frenche King had written to the Cardinales Turnon and Gramont, and what answer He had made unto theym, being in effecte as above. And hereunto His Holynes forthermoore said, that it was a strange thing that Your Highnes shulde demaunde of Hym nothing to be innovate agaynst Your Grace here, and that Your Highnes shuld dayly innovate ther, both in contempte of His Holynes, and also the auctorite of this See, chieffly by the proceeding of my Lord of Canterbury ; whiche to tollerate His Holynes said was to moche agaynst his dutie towardes God and the world. And at that tyme, for al the persuasions that I cowde make to the contrarie, His Holynes shewed Hym self rather enclyned to innovate some thing in Your Highnes cause, then propense to graunt any delaye. And sithen that tyme the Emperialles hath made soor exclamations agaynst the said

<sup>1</sup> The sentence of divorce was passed the 23d of May. See Vol. I. p. 396.

procedinges

procedinges of my Lord of Canterbury, insomuche that upon Friday last passed, the advocate of the parte adverse did come in to the Consistorie, and ther rehersed all that Your Highnes had attemptid of late, and specially towched the said procedinge of my Lord of Canterburie, alledging the same to be not onely in to the prejudice of the parte adverse, but also in to the contempte of this See, aggravating the same to the uttermoost that he cowd excogitate, desiring processe to be made with all celerite, and saying that the delayes, whiche heretofor hathe been made, have been the ruyne, aswell of the cause, as also of the state of the parte adverse. After whiche advocates departing out of the Consistorie, the Pope commynyng thereapon, shewed unto the Cardinales ther how M<sup>r</sup> Karne, Your Highnes Excusator, 2 dayes befor had been with His Holynes, and delyvered unto Hym a supplication, to the whiche He said He woold not answer without their advyses ; and ther was concluded amonges them, that for that day they shuld doo noo thing, but delyver upon the same agaynst the next Consistorie : whiche was upon Monday last. And what was doon then, I can not in ony wise as yet have knowlege, by reason that the Pope commaunded all the Cardinales, upon their obedience, and under payne excommunicationis late sententie, a qua non possunt etiam in articulo mortis absolvi, nisi a Papa, that they shuld not communicate ony thing entreated that day, or that shuld be entreatid hereafter with any person : and the commandement was soo strayte, that Cardinale Turnon durst not shewe to me any thing thereof.

Ten dayes past, the Emperialles made soor labour to have had a brieff of the Pope, towching Your Highnes cause, but to what purpose I cowde not by the space of 2 dayes have the certeynte ; in conclusion, the Pope shewed me, that it was for a brieff, wherein His Holynes did attestate of that brieff whiche He graunted in Januarie 2 yeres passed, wherin is conteyned an inhibicion, the copie whereof I did send unto Your Highnes at Januarie 2 yeres past.<sup>1</sup> And His Holynes shewed me ferthermoor that the said Emperialles [woold] have had a dowble of the same date, but He woold not graunt it otherwise then by the way of an attestation, and of the date of the said attestation, whiche I think was the seconde or third day of this moneth.

And when I lamentid hereat that His Holynes shuld grant any socie thing, He said that He cowde not, by any colour of honestie or reason, denye the same ; and said also that He thought He had shewed a pleasure to Your Highnes, in granting the same under the said date. And albeit I did use all diligence and policie herein, yet for the moor suretie I caused the Cardinale

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

Turnon to attempte and see whether he cowd get a copie thereof, and to knowe the cause why the Emperialles shuld labour for the same; but in effecte he cowde not have ferther knowlege of the Pope, then I had in that behalf; for the said Cardinale told me that the Pope affirmed very constantely unto Hym, that it was noo other but a brieff attestatorie of the forsaid inhibition, laboured for by the said Emperialles, to be executed, as He thought, apon my Lord of Canturburye, and havyng the same they have made labour syns to have the inhibicion, and also the instrument made apon execution of the same, to be transumpted here, as Your Highnes shall moor largely perceyve by the letters of Mr Karne and Boner.<sup>1</sup>

And, Syre, althoughe Cardinale Turnon durste not shewe unto me directly, what was doon in the Consistorie, by reason of the commandement of the Pope to the contrarie, as above is written; yet indirectly he shewed me that nothing was doon in your said cause in the said Consistorie. Nevertheles, not beyng satisfied in my mynde, till I might have the suretie, I desired hym that he woold aske licence of the Pope that he might shew me the thing clerely. And what tyme the said Cardinale desired the same of the Pope, His Holynes woold not giff hym licence soo to doo, but sayed that He woold shewe the same unto me Hym selfe. Wherapon, yesterday at after noon, repayring to His Holynes, and finding the same in a very good moode, He shewed unto me that nothing was doon in the said Consistorie in Your Highnes cause, and that the prohibicion made unto the Cardinales not to disclose thoos thinges, whiche were entreated in the Consistorie, was not made, as I feared, specially to exclude us from knowlege of thoos thinges, that shuld concerne your cause, [but] rather for other consideracions, as it hath been doon often tymes hereafor, [syns] my commyng hither. And the observyng of the same may (as I perceyve by diverse conjectures) helpe, that the Pope may moor facilie bring to passe, that nothing of any importance shalbe doon in Your Highnes cause, till the congresse: and at my beyng with the Pope, His Holynes declared unto me certeyn thinges, by whiche I conjecture and am in good byleve, that untyll the said intervewe nothing of importaunce shalbe doon in Your Highnes said cause.

The Consistorie beyng this day, and the Pope aparte giffing licence to Cardinale Turnon to shewe unto me, aswell what was doon in the Consistorie this day, as also what shuld be doon in the Consistories to comme, towching Your Highnes cause; I perceyved, this day, by declaration of the said Cardinale, that in this Consistorie, Capisuccha made relation of the actes

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

that

that were had and doon concerningyng the matter excusatorie, and the appellations made by M<sup>r</sup> Karne, not towching any thing that concerned the principall cause. And in the Consistories that is to come, the said Capisucca shall referre the remissoriales, whiche are fyve, and in every oon of theym the attestations of 20<sup>ty</sup> wittnes and moo, soo that ther are an hondreth and fyve wittnes examined. And the said remissoriales shall (as I perceyve by the said Cardinale Turnon) occupie the said Capisucca at the lest 6 Consistories, which I thinke shall not passe befor the vacation, whiche shalbe the 8<sup>th</sup> of the next monethe, after whiche day, by reason of the vacances, nothing shalbe doon; and soo, by this meane, as farre as I can perceyve, the Pope will conserve the cause in the state whiche now it is in, and yet excuse Hym selfe to the Emperialles, dayly cryeng for processe, and say that He can doo no moor, and therbie satisfie their exclamations.

And, Syre, aloughhe Cardinale de Monte toke the proceding ther of my Lord of Canturburie very soore, like wise as all the rest of the Cardinales did, yet for to conserve the principall cause in the state that it is in, and to then-tent also that nothing shuld be innovate here agaynst Your Highnes Person, he hath shewed hym self moost propense and reddy, and did defende (as I am enformed secretly) in the Consistorie [Your] Highnes partes very earnestly.<sup>1</sup> Wherfor, if it shalbe Your Highness pleasure to send your hertie thankes unto the said Cardinale de M[onte], Your Highnes shall comforthe hym moche the better, and chieff[ly, yff he shall] understande that Your Highnes hath committed to my Lord of [Norfolke] to be a meane unto the Frenche King (who undowtedly is bounde to the said Cardinale for his longe kyndenes in all his affayres here) to graunt unto the said Cardinale some promotion; whiche had, he shall recognise the same of Your Highnes, aswell as if the same had giffen it unto hym.

And thus moost humblie I commende me unto Your Highnes, beseching Almighty God to continue the same in felicite many yeres. From Rome, the 13<sup>th</sup> day of June, 1533.

#### Post Scripta.

This day, about dyner tyme, arryved here a currour dispatched from Gorone, whiche by reason of a fall that he had in Savoye, lieth very seke in Modona; by whiche currour I receyved Your Highnes letter in cifres<sup>2</sup>, sent by

<sup>1</sup> Benet's draft here adds, "and schewed hym rather your protector then otherwyse, where 'Campegius your protector dyd yt not so ernestly.'" This may have been but a clerical omission by Boner, arising from the recurrence of the word "ernestly."

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

the said Gorone, and acording to Your Highnes commandement therin I shall, soo soon as the said Gorone shall come hither, do every thing acordingly. And as towching the entervewe, I perceyve the Frenche King is contented to differ it till the myddest of August, and that the Pope will not fayle of his part, at that tyme, as he saith. From Rome, the 14<sup>th</sup> day of June, 1533.<sup>1</sup>

Your Hyghnes most humble  
subject servant and chapleyn,

*Superscribed*  
*To the Kinges] Hyghnes.*

(Signed) W. BENET.

CCCLXV. KING HENRY VIII. TO NORFOLK, ROCHFORD, POULETT,  
BROWN, AND BRYAN.<sup>2</sup>

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, We grete you wel; and have receyved your letters dated at Amyens the 6<sup>th</sup> of this present<sup>3</sup>, wherby ye desire knowleage of our mynde and pleasure, howe to demeane use and ordre yourself, if ye shal perceyve the Pope mynded to procede and to execute any thing of moment against Us in our greate cause, whiche ye feare He shalbe sore pressed by thEmperialles to doo, upon knowleage of the sentence given for Us by thArchebisshope of Cantorburye; and whether in suche cace ye shal disuade thentervieu, or set it forwardes; or, the same proceeding, how and aftre what sorte ye shall there use your selfes. For answer wherunto, ye shall undrestande that, forasmoch as having received letters from our Ambassadours at Rome, conteyning aswel the delaye of thentervieu to the moneth of Septembre, as also certain causes declared by our good brother and perpetual allye the Frenche King to the Pope, wherupon to treate in the said entervieu, as by the letters sent unto Us, the copie wherof We sende unto youe herwith,

On the same day Boner wrote a letter to Crumwell, stating that Capisueha was proceeding in the cause, but it was thought that the Pope, wishing to please both parties, conceived that He should satisfy the Imperials by issuing the process, and the King by postponing his determination till the Congress.

<sup>2</sup> From a minute in the Chapter House, Bundle A<sup>6</sup><sub>1</sub>, written by Wriothesley and Derby.

<sup>3</sup> Probably June; there is a letter extant from Norfolk to King Henry VIII. dated from Calais on the last Friday in May (which in 1533 fell on the 30th) announcing his arrival there, and requesting to be furnished with a key to Benet's cyphers, from whom he had received a packet of letters, the greater part of which were in cypher.

ye shal perceyve more at large; and being you soo long absente, without certain frute or effecte succeding, no lesse displeasant to Us, thenne We knowe it certainly to be unto you, contrary to our expectation at your departure hens; forasmuche as the determinyd entrevieu is for soo long a tyme differred, and therby in a lightlywood to be clerly frustrate; and considering therwith howe, on the oon parte, our good brothers Ambassadour here resident sheweth alwayes unto Us the principal cause of the said entrevieu to be grounded on his side for the componyng of our greate cause; and that otherwise, in advertisementes from Rome, noo matiers be proponed, but suche as might tende to the Popes and Emperours glory wealthe and advauntage, without any particular commodite to ensue therby to our said good brother and perpetuall alye: We be therfore moche desirous of the spedy accesse of you to the said Frenche Kinges presence, to thentent ye, openyng the premisses unto Hym, myght on our behalf disuade shortly and brevely the said meting and entrevieu, and by your wise handeling therof ensurche and grope the botom of our said good brothers mynd, and attayn knowlaige of suche mater, yf any ther be, as particularly toucheth our said good brother to be treated and commoned in the said entrevieu.

For which purpose, our pleasure is ye say unto the same, that being nowe advertised of the disappointement of the entrevieu, with the circumstances therof; and understanding also suche causes as be mocioned to be spoken of and entreated in the same; perceiving also the Frenche King chifely moved to do Us pleasure, and to repaire thider to compone principally our said cause, to propone for other causes of thentervieu such maters, as the composition wherof shuld tende to thEmperours and Popes glory, and in maner satisfye thair desires; We be not a litle troubled, and moved in our hert, to see our said good brother and Us, being suche Princes of Christendom, to be so handled with the Pope, somoche to our dishonours, and to the Popes and Emperours avauncement; semyng therbye to be at the Popes commandement, to come or tary, as He or his Cardinalles shall appointe, and to depend upon his pleasure when to mete, that is to say, when He list, or never. For what reason hath it the meting to be nowe disappointed, bicause of the tyme of the yere, the pestilence, and infesse of the place; seing all those consideracions were in the first appointement aswell known as nowe, and yet then not regarded? And yf the Pope woll take suche causes of putting over and delaying his appointment, He may with better colour call (if He list) September to late to make convenient retourne to Rome by see, orells desire his Cardinalles soo to saye, then He nowe doth to breke the agrement

frankely

frankely concluded at Bonony. If our good brother or We were either suters to make request, the obteignyng wherof We did moch set by, or had my particuler maters of avauntage to entreate with Hym, these proceedings might be the better tollerated; but having our good brother no particuler mater of his oun, and being all thother maters proponed for thEmperours and Popes greate commodities and advauntages, and that more glorye ne suertye could hapen to thEmperour then to obteyn theffecte of the three articles moved by the Pope and his Cardinalles; therfore We thinke it is not convenient for such Princes, as our good brother and We be, so litle to regard our honour, as to depend in the sight of the worlde, at commandement, and to attende at pleasure of the Pope to goo or abyde; wherin ye may say We speke the more earnestly, for that We perceive our good brother to tender oonly that He thinketh might be commodious for our parte, and that He thus useth Hym self to the Pope, only for the love He beireth unto Us. Nevertheles ye may say, We, accepting his good mynd, as apperteyneth, can not suffre his honour to be touched so sore, for noo respecte of Us, specially considering the frute of that could be procured with the Pope can not countervaile in his honour the displeasure nowe susteyned for attaynyng therof, neither yet in our hert and opynyon, ne in the mynd and jugement of our nobles and lerned men. Wherfore ye may say, We have thought good to signifie unto Hym by you, that like as We could have been content to have received and takyn at the Popes handes, joyntly with our good brother, pleasure and frendship in our greate cause; so on thother parte can We not esteme the Popes parte so high, as to have our good brother an attendant suter therfore, in such an unseemly and uncertain delaye, as now the Pope and his Cardenalles doth put: desiring Hym therfore in any wise to disappoint for his parte the said entervieu, and if He have alredy graunted therunto, upon some newe good occasion, which He now undowtlye hathe, to departe from the same. For We, ye may say, having the justenes of our cause for Us, with such an entier and whole consent of our nobylite and commons of our Realme and subjectes, and being all maters passed and in such termes as they now bee, do not fynd such lak and want of that the Pope might doo, with Us or against Us, as We wold for the obteynyng therof be contented to have a Frenche King, our so perfite a frende, to be not oonly a mediator, but also a suter therin; and a suter attendant to have audience upon liking, and after the advice of such Cardinalles as repute it among pastyme to play and daly with Kinges and Princes; whos honour ye may say is above althing, and more dere to Us, in the person of our good brother, then is any pece of our cause at the Popes

hand. And therfore, yf ther be none other thing, but our cause and thother causes, wherof We be advertised, which make all to thEmperours and Popes purpose, and utterly against our good brother and Us, our advice, counsaile, speciall desire also, and request is, in any wise to breke of the said entervieu, onles the Pope will make sute unto Hym; and that our said good brother hath suche causes of his oun, as may particularly tend to his oun benefite honour and proffit, wherin He shall do greate and singuler pleasure unto Us; geving to understand to the Pope, that We knowe Our self and Hym bothe, and loke to be esteemed accordingly: which maner of proceeding woll more worke with the Pope for conduing of any purpose, then woll this uncommely attendance on our good brothers partye, moch contrarious in this tyme to our stomake and appetite, for the respect We have to the conservacion of the honour of our said good brother. By whose answer herin (which our pleasure is ye signifie unto Us with all diligence) ye shall easely perceive and understand, not oonly whither He hath any particular maters with the Pope, or not, but also what certain likelihod ther is in observing the day nowe appointed; wherof ye may say to our said good brother We moch doubt, and wold be gladly resolved of the certainty by his refusall, yf He have no particular maters to countervaile the same. Which sentence, our pleasure is, ye often tymes repeate and inculke, not as though We semed to doubt in his sincerite, or to mistrust that He hath not made Us privey of all his affaires, wherof We have no suspicion; but as it were to declare that We esteme not any thing, that might be by the Pope done for Us, as, wherfore such a Prince shuld procure a meting, but shuld rather be desired and sued fore on the Popes parte, Who shuld be more redy to procure the same (all thinges well considered) than our said good brother.

Ye shall also desire our said good brother, that wher as thEmperialles at Romé (to declare thair instant importunit) doo dally crye out of the Popes processe, it may like Hym to write unto the Cardinalles of Turnoun and Grantmont and his agentes ther, to call likewise on our partye for the admission of thExcusator, for conservacion of the rightes of all Princes, so as they may countervaile the clamours of the said Imperialles, and having so manifest justice for thair parte (yf right may have place) vanquish and overcome the same. For ye may say to our said good brother, that it most highly toucheth Hym and all other Princes, in cace that our said Excusatour shuld be rejected and not to be admitted, whiche shuld be the gretest glory unto the Pope to usurpe suche jurisdiccion upon Princes and Kinges, that ever came to the said See, considering that Princes, being publique and free persons, shuld be

by

by that meanes brought in the cace of private persons; whiche shuld be the gretest dishonour that ever might be imagened or compassed towarde the dishonour and libertie of Princes: whiche well considered, We doubt not but our said good brother woll advertise the said Cardinalles and other his agentes ther, that they not only shall contynually crye and exclame upon the Pope to consider the honour and privelage of Princes, but also to cause our said Excusatour to be admitted as is aforsaid. Whiche thing our pleasure is ye handle with suche dexteritie, oftentymes inculcing the same aftre suche sorte in to the hed of our said good brother, as He maye ernestly conceyve in his stomak the daunger displeasure and dishonour, that may not only to Us ensue therby at this tyme, but also to all other Christen Princes in tyme commyng, to the perpetual glorye of the Pope, and the utter vyolation and subvercyon of the auctoryte and preemynence of all Princes. And ye shal further desire our good brother to write unto his agentes with the Pope, to be contynually sounded and blowen in to the Popes eares, that if, contrary to al justice and to the high derogation of the privileages of al Princes, He will not admitt our Excusatour, but, at the contemplation of our adversaries, contrarye to right, rejecte the same, it shal not only occasion and move Us, constrainyd and so nerely prykked by that aperte injurye, from tyme to tyme to devise enacte and establish suche lawes, as wherbye the Popes estimation being decayed and diminished, the obedience in smal processe of tyme maye be clerlye, in this our Realme, withdrawen from that See: wherof, He may write, this extremytie proceding, He not oonlye seeth greate lightlywoodes, but also that thexemple therof shall soo touche Him specially, being also a Kyng, and as oon bodye conjoyned with Us, and al other Princes in like maner, as layeng their hedges together for the conservation of their rightes liberties preemynences and privileages, and remembryng the infinite incommodities, that maye ensue unto Them, if They shuld thus suffre the Pope and his Cardinalles to have Princes, being fre persones, at their beck and commaundement; not only here in England, but in his realme and dominions certainly, and semblably in al other regions: suche ordre and directions shalbe taken therin, as shal at lenght be to the clere alienation of a greate parte of Christendom from that See. Wherof if the Pope Himself wilbe auctour, and with his unjust and crewell dealing compelle Princes to enserche for suche remedyes for their grieffes, He must, this inconvenience ensuyng to Him and his sayd See, therof thanke no man of it, but Himself, Who hath experience of late, what We have been compelled to doo by extremytie, mynstred to Us in our great cause; Who contrary to his religion, wherby He is bounde to be a fautour and maynteynour

of

of peax, and to avoyde al discorde and variaunce, was the begynner of his ounē mischief, in devising, for his ounē pompe and glory, to subverte and turne uppe so downe the hole worlde. Which matier We desire and pray you so to set forth with our good brother, as the same may in suchē effectuous maner write the same to his agentes, as they may by contynuall exclamyng upon Him and often inculcing it unto Him, cause Him, according to justice, to admitt our Excusatour, as appertayneth, and so exclude the adverse parte from their extreme and importune sutes.

And if, notwithstanding the premisses, our good brother shall percace replie, and saye unto youe, that having goon so farre in the conclusion of this entervieu, He cannot upon any occasion with his honour desist or break of from the same, soo as ye shall see Him mynded in any wise to procede therunto; thenne our pleasure is, ye shal not only goo thither in compayne with Him, but also perceyving at the tyme of the meating, that nothing of moment hath been attempted against Us, to procede in every condition according to your former instructions<sup>1</sup>; or elles, if ye shal perceyve and knowe the Pope, at the contemplation of thImperialles, to have, contrary to his promes, attempted and doon sum notable acte against Us, thenne We wooll in no wise ye shal shewe your self there, as sent thither specially by Us to treate with Him in our said cause, but as repairing in the company of our said good brother, only as a testimonye of the perfaite amyte and freendshippe betwene Us, ne that in any wise ye set forth, by your self with the Pope, any practise in our name touching the furtheraunce of our said cause, but suffer all thinges to be wrought and doon therin only by our said good brother; ever pressing Him, as of your self, to doo that maye be possibelye excogytat to the satisfaction of our desire in that behalf.

And if so be that ye shall by thise reasons, and suchē other as ye shal by your wisdom devise and excogitat, diswade our said good brother from the said meating, or elles that He of Himself by other meanes shal refuse the same; thenne our pleasure is, that calling to your remembraunce suchē treaties as be past for mutual ayde betwene Us and our good brother, whiche We doubtē not ye do right wel remembre, ye doo take occasion to entre with our good brother communication therof, and with the same to devise for the certaintye of our ayde at his hande, if eyther the Pope by censures, or thEmperour by other meanes, shuld entende Us any displeasure; and not only to prykke Him in suchē cace to the annoyaunce of our enemyes reseant in his dominions and

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

contreys, with the empechement and stoppe of their passages thoroughe the same, or their ease or landing uppon any his costes, soo as commaundement may be given therin, or nede shuld require, but also with the same by al other meane to devise for bothe our sureties, with the let and staye of such displeasures, as might be attempted by our enemyes against Us.

CCCLXVI. NORFOLK *to* KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASITH it Your Highnes to be advertised that this day arryved here Tadée, and brought me a letter from Mr Bennett, and two from Sir Gregory, which Your Grace shall receive<sup>2</sup> with these. And forasmoch as I do perceive, as well by them as by letters sent from the Frenche Court to Mons<sup>r</sup> de Humiers, being here with me, that thentrevieu is clerely determinyd to take effect, I feare it shall be very diffycyle to diswade the Frenche Kinge therefro. Notwithstanding I and my fellowes shall ensue your highe commaundement conteigned in your letters concernynge the disswadinge of the Kinge your brother from the same; onles we shall here contrary from Your Highnes, before our meatinge with Him at Nostre Dame de Puys in Auvergne, which shall not be before the 2<sup>d</sup> of the next moneth, orelles that we shall perceyve the des shulde not prevale

Under Your Highnes correccyon, I do thynke, [*the continue*] of those letters  
comen nowe from Rome consider[*ed, the*] entrevieu to be more lykely to your  
avaantage then otherwise. Sir, the Quene shall not go with the King, as  
I wrote in my last letters, nor He shall not come to Hir, unto his com-  
mynge to Avnyon.

<sup>1</sup> This letter (of which the last paragraph is holograph) is much mutilated by damp, as likewise is one (entirely holograph) dated from Paris on the 18th of June, in which Norfolk details an interview he has had with the Queen of Navarre, whom he describes as "one of the most wise, frank women and best setter furth of her purpose, that he had spoken with, and as much affectionate unto His Majesty, as and She were his owne suster, and in lyke wise unto the Qwene." She informed Norfolk that he would find Montmorency to have the greatest influence with Francis, and to be imperially and papally disposed; and that he had brought about the marriage between the King of Scots and the Duke of Vendôme's daughter, and was trying to effect one between the Dauphin and the Queen's daughter by the King of Portugal.

<sup>2</sup> There are several letters in the State Paper Office from Sir G. da Casale to Norfolk, and probably those of the 18th and 27th of May, the latter of which is printed in p. 460, are those here alluded to.

And as consernyng Cardinall de Monte, I shall do my best in commendyng hym to the French Kyng, onles I here contrary fro Your Highnes by the next letters; and trust to get som goode letter fro the seid Kyng by hym.

Sir, I beseche God Your Grace be not dyssayved by Ravenna, and that such as have advansed hym to Your Mageste have not so done by covyne, partly for their owne advantage. Fro Briere, the 23 of June, at 8 at nyght.

Your most humble servant,

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

T. NORFOLK.

### CCCLXVII. BONER *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

**R**IIGHT honourable and my very singuler good Mayster, in my very humble maner I recommende me unto you. Soo thanking the same for all your kyndenes, wherby ye have bounde me for ever, beseching you of your goodnes to contynue your goode mynde towardes me, and to have me in your kynde remembrance, especially for that thing, whiche by your good meanes the Kinges Highnes granted unto me for reward at my last beyng, for whiche my servant is a suter unto your Maystership, and to whom, I perceyve by his letters, ye are content to here in my poore pursutes.

Syr, by the contynue of thies wrtinges, herein conteyned, ye shall perceyve, how we have doon, aswell for the justification of the Kinges cause, as also the impugnation of the assertions of the parte adverse. Other I am deceyved in myn oown opinion, or elles an indifferent and good juge woold be greatly moved apon theym; they procede, as I think, sensiblie, and after suche order and sorte, to moeve hym that wooll here and knowe the trouthe. I beseche you, when ye have perused, to delyver theym unto the Kynges Highnes. I assure you, I have taken moche peanes in theym, and invented diverse thinges of newe, as ye shall perceyve in theym.

To write of the state of the Kinges cause otherwise, it shall not be necessarie, seyng that your Maystership shall at lenght knowe all by suche letters, as we do send now to the Kinges Highnes<sup>2</sup>, whiche I woold yet nevertheles have written to you, but for the hastiche dispatche of this beyrer. In breff woordes, the Pope, contra justiciam, et honestatem, et expectationem

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, 2d Series, Vol. IV. No. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

omnium, wher He was stayed, quod non potuit pronunciare in causa principali, rejectis materijs excusatorij, hathc pronounced super attemptatis, pronunciando nulla &c, et Illustrissimum Regem incidisse in censuras &c, suspending yet the same usque ad finem mensis Septembris. God knoweth, we have fewe frendes here, etiam in justicia.

I shall at large, within this 4 dayes, write to your Maystership of all thinges accordingly, and in the meane tyme I commende me humblie to your Maystership; beseching the same I may moost humblie be recommended to the Kinges Highnes, and the Quenes. From Rome, Vigilia Reliquiarum.<sup>1</sup>

Your assured bounden bedeman,

(*Superscribed*)

EDMÓD BONER.

To the right honourable and my very singuler  
and espetiall good mayster, M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Crom-  
well, oon of the Kinges Privey Counsell.

### CCCLXVIII. SIR W. POULET to CRUMWELL.<sup>2</sup>

**R**IIGHT wurshipful, in the most harty wise I recommende me unto you, and as hartely I thanke you for your letter, and good newes conteyned in the same of the Kinges and the Queanes good helth, whereyn I pray God kepe them, and of the good and honorable handling of the Queanes coronacion<sup>3</sup>, and ceremonies of the same; and also of the treux bitwene the Kinges Highnes and the King of Scottes; wiche tidinges werre and be moch to my comfort. I wolde I coude writ as comfortably to you of our doinges.

You shall understand that the King of Fraunce came from Lions to Ryo in Overnoys<sup>4</sup> only to speke with my Lord and us, where we came to Hym Thursday the 10 of this moneth, receyved by the Duke of Vandome, the Duke of Albony, the Countes of Seintpoule and Nevers, with many oder estates, a mile without the town, and that daye dyned with the Duke d'Albony in his lodging; and after dynner werre by the said personages amonges oders brought to the King, by whom we werre receyved in the best and most frendly manour, and as wel harde and aunsered by the King as men might apon the first day; wiche hath as wel folowed, as by the Kinges letters you shal

<sup>1</sup> 12th of July, 1533.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph. From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, 2d Series, Vol. XXXIV. No. 449.

<sup>3</sup> On the 1st of June.

<sup>4</sup> Riom in Auvergne.

perceyve. We kept with the said King from Ryoo to Monferrer<sup>1</sup>, to Clermont, and then departed to Byloie<sup>2</sup> for lak of rowme, and came to Hym Saterday nyght to the Duk of Albonys castell in Overnios called Vuict<sup>3</sup>, and ther taried Sonday and Monday til 8 at clok ; and then the King toke his journey towardes Nostre Dame de Puis<sup>4</sup>, and so to Tullons<sup>5</sup>, and we to Crepior<sup>6</sup> towardes Lyons, and so to procede to Avenyon and to Nece for this entervieu ; apon trust the same shal holde. Albe it efter my opinion, wich is the opinion of many oders, it is to be dred the same wilbe broken of the Popes partie, and an excuse of sekenes or griff, or else for that the yere shalbe past, in cace He mynde to folow thEmperour. And if He be mynded to kepe promesse and so come, it is to be thought that the Kinges Grace and the Frenche King shal have good sped in there causes, and moch quietnes therof shal folow ; or else I think it shal as moch unquiet the Pope, as it shal do oders ; wiche I trust shalbe wel considered of al parties by Godes helpe, so that good successe shall insue for the comfort and quietnes of al partes. My Lord of Norfolk hath and dothe as honorably handel hymself to al intentes, as can be desired ; and al oders (thankes be to God) do there partes verry well, wiche I trust shalbe moch to the Kinges honour and sped of his affaires.

I wolde writ apart to the Kinges Highnes, if I hadd good matter ; wher apon as I have not, desiring you hartely to make my humble recommendations to His Highnes, with myne excuse for non writing as aforesaid, as you shal seme best. And if you wyl any thing that I do, writ me your mynde, and it shalbe done. And you shal understand that the King is honorably receyved into al his townes, and highly presented in this countrey of Overnios. Sir, I hartely thanke you for your favour, and aide done to my broder in myne affaires, wheryn you contynually binde me to be yours in that I may do, wherof you shalbe wel assured, God willing ; Who kepe you. From Crepiour<sup>6</sup> in Overnios, the 15<sup>th</sup> of July, by your own assured,

WILLIAM POULET.

(*Superscribed*)

To his right loving frinde Master Cromwell,  
Chauncelour of the Kinges Eschequier, and  
Tresarour of his Juelles.

<sup>1</sup> Montferrand.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 479.

<sup>2</sup> Billom.

<sup>5</sup> Toulant, in Vivarais.

<sup>3</sup> Vic le Comte.

<sup>6</sup> Courpière.

CCCLXIX. HAUKNIS TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLAISITH Youer Hichnes to understand, that the Emperatrice hath ben veri sore sike, and in point to dy, in so muche that the Emprouer sent for his and other his nere officiers to Barselona, whiche according to his commandment were onwerds all most halffe wei, and there bi an other commandment taried, til thei had word how that the Emperatrice was escapid, and that thei shuld return to Mountson; whiche thing certenli enownen, I, being as fur forwerd as his folke were, returnid also the last dai of June. And as on 13 dei of Juli thEmprour Himselff returnid, and arrivid here at Mountson<sup>2</sup> in post.

Newis we have here off Corone, whereupon I mi selff have sene leters owte of Genua, and more over a post is cummen, certifieng that a kinsman off Andrea Doria hath conduict a galei in to Corona, trimmid and ordered affter suche fascion, that sche alone hath passed thorow the Turkis navi bi nicht, and returnid at none dai, because the Turke his navie wetchid bi nicht, thinking that this galei wold have stolin awei bi nicht, as sche entrid: more over that the Capitain of Corone hath writin fur succurse, whereupon Andrea Doria is departid with his own galeis and galeons, and with the galeis off Hispania and other, to the number off a 40, beside schippis.<sup>3</sup>

Letters also here be owte of Venece that the Venetians have off late lost 2 other galeis, takin bi the Mooris, and also how that the Sophi hath takin a cite of the Turke called Trapezuntium just upon the sea namid Pontus Euxinus, unto the whiche cite joineth a province of the Sophie, other-

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter from Thomas Boyston (who appears to have been an English courier despatched to the Emperor's Court) to some private friends at home, dated from Allmonye, the 18th of July, he describes his journey to have been attended "with grete payne and labor, honger and thurst, and "lackynge off loggyng, and moche troble and let for gettyng off horsys to end my journey hetherward," and proceeds to state that "thEmperor lyethe in the barendest contrey in the world, in "a pore towne in Aragon callyd Munson, and there kepes a Parlement, consarnyng grett maters, "and He ys forssyd to kepe hyt hier, or ellis He colld not assamble hys Parlement to gether. "For the contreys made answar, the oen that they wold not come into the other contrey to "Parlement; and the other contrey wolld nott come into that contrey; and the thyrd wolld nott "come into nother of those twoe plases; and the 4<sup>th</sup> wolld nott come into noen of theym thre. "And soe att lengthe yt was agreyd that they all schold come to Monson, wiche ys a towne, "newter from all those; and there they sytt in Parlement." Chapter House, Miscellaneous Bundle A<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Haukins, in a letter to Crumwell of the 18th, states that Barbarossa went against the Spanish vessels, which followed Andrew Doria to the succour of Coron, and had put them all to flight.

wise namid King of Persia; whiche province bearith name Armeina Major. Wone off Youer Hichnes native subjectes, here in thEmprours Courte demourant, a bowte 4 yeris passid went unto the memorat Sophi, as Imbassador in thEmprours name, to provoke the seid Sophi to make wer upon the Turk on his parties, thEmprour promising Him to make werre like wise on these parties.

Furthermore here hath ben tidinges that the Popis Holines was departid: like communication was here off Youer Hichnes; to the whiche I had no thing to answer, but that I trustid in God it was not so, whiche communication truli was but smalli to mi cumfort. More over thei affirme here, that the Pope and thEmprour schall not meet this yere. The Frenche Embassador is not yett cummen, nor yett oni man here to suppli his rome.

I humbli beseche Youer Hichnes to geve me licence to adde wone thing all, thoch it be off no great importance. Where as we now demoure both all a bowte mountains, that is to sei, great bare stonis, where in the people off this countrei hath beattin owte mani great troffis, as it were fische pondis, and made mani gutters to lead the raine in to the seid troffis, owte off the whiche is fetchid all the water that we drink, and occupi other wise; whan this is gon, as it is likeli to be schorteli, we must prei God to send us more raine. Ower Lord and Savior Jesus Christe have Youer Hichnes in his most blissid conservation. From Almunia, the 16<sup>th</sup> of Juli, 1533.

Bi Youer Hichnes most

bounden Chaplain,

NIC. HAUKNIS.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kingis Hichnes.

### CCCLXX. KING HENRY VIII. *to Boxer.*<sup>1</sup>

TRUSTY and right welbiloved, We grete you wel. Lating youe wit, that perceyving by your letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> of June<sup>2</sup> directed to our right trusty and right entyrely beloved cousin and counsailor the Duke of Norffolk, that upon the arryal of a gentleman of Spayne, servaunt to thEmperour, the Pope is altered and moved against Us, and how the Cardinalles take to hert our proceeding in our great c[ause, pressing] the Pope asmoche as in them lieth to the execucion of somme extreme processe against Us, wherunto in your opinion the Pope is by their instigacion inclyned, mynding, for their satisfaction and such other respectes as He alledgedeth, to procede therin by declaracion

<sup>1</sup> From an original minute, much defaced and mutilated.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

of the censures there, or at the leste to sende      *as in*] your said letters  
 is expressed : forasmuche as in our letters<sup>1</sup>, lately to you and your colleges  
 addressed by the curror Fraunces, whiche We doubt not ye have receyved  
 long or this tyme, We have at greate lenght moost amply and fully declared  
 unto youe asmoche as is possible or canne be devised to be said or wryten in  
 that affaire, the same standing as it doth ; We at this tyme s[*ending you full*] and ample instructions referring youe therunto, shal only desire and praye  
 youe, afre your accustomed wisdom diligence and dexteritie, most effectually  
 to endevour yourself in the execution of that your charge from pointe to poynte,  
 as is in our said letters prescribed unto youe ; and casting utterly awaye and  
 banishing from youe suche feare and tymorousnes, or rather despair, as by  
 your said letters We perceyve ye have conceyved ; reducing to your memoryes  
 in the lieu and stede therof, as a thing contynually lyeng befor your eyes and  
 incessauntely sowned in your eares, the justice of our cause, which cannot at  
 lenght be shadowed, but shal shyne and shewe himself to the confusion of his  
 adversaries ; and that We having, as is said, truthe for Us, with the helpe and  
 assistance of God, auctor of the same, shal at all tymes be hable to defende  
 and mayntayn youe against the malice [*of your*] adversaries : our pleasure  
 is, that, taking herte and stomake unto youe, according to your wisdom and  
 as the justice of the case requireth, ye ceasse not, by al reasons wayes and  
 meanes to youe possible, to persuade the Pope, and continually to exclaim  
 upon Him for the admission of our Excusatour ; whiche pointe We doubt not  
 at lenght indifferently wayed shal stonde Us therin for the justificacion [*of  
 our cause.*]

And where, as ye write in your said letters, ye be secretly enformed of the  
 unkinde and ingrate dealing and proceeding of Cardinal Campegius against  
 Us, who, of good congruence and in maner, as the cace standeth, of dieuty,  
 ought not, of al other, to be our adversarie, aswel for that he hath been of  
 long tyme in visage countenaunce and demonstracion our frende, and hath been  
 promoted and beneficed by [*Us,*] as specially for that he is our Protectour,  
 wherby he indueth as it wer our oun Person, for the defence of Us and our  
 Realme in al matiers to be there treated touching the same ; and contrary  
 wise, of the benevolence and frendship, which in al thinges that may helpe  
 to the advauncement of our causes ye finde in the Cardinal de Monte, and  
 that there canne no man be more ernest in speking and doing for Us, thenne  
 he is : ye shal undrestande that in like maner as remembryng with Ourself  
 the gratuitie and kindnesse in dedes hitherto shewed on our behauulf to the

said Campegius, with his unkinde and unfaithfull demeanour again towards Us, specially in the desire of thoffice of our Protectorship, by the same, as We maye wel of his dedes judge, to have the more auctoritie to annoye and displease [*Us, wh*]ich We be constrainyd to have to harte, as the gravitie and importance of our cause doth enforce Us, and therfor resolved not to mynistre any lenger wepon to our enemye, wherwith he may be the more hable to greve Us, be mynded to discharge him of the said office of Protectorship: like as by these presentes our pleasure and commaundement is, that in our name, according to the custume and maner used in that behaulf, ye utterly, without further respect, discharge him of the said rome and office. So on thother parte perceyving by your letters the frendly demeanour of the said Cardinal de Monte towardses Us, his propence and ernest proceeding in our affayres, for the whiche, according to your request and desire by [*our*] speciaalle letters directed unto him at this tyme, We give unto him our herty thankes; it hath been thought good to Us and our Counsail here, that ye, upon the good proffe of the sayd Cardinall de Monte his forwardnes in our sayd cause, shall, as of yourself, declare unto him how that incontinently ye have discharged the said Campegius, shewing unto the same that ye, for the towardnes and frendship which ye have ever persayved him to be of towardes Us and our cause, that ye will doo your best to optayne for hym the sayd rome of our Protectour; willing yow that upon his atestacyon and assured promesse to adhere unto Us, as he hath commenced and begonne, not only to communicate unto him and make him privie of every pointe of your said charge, aswel concernyng the General Counsailles, and all other reasons and auctorities to youe writen at any tyme, mete to be set forthe for the furtheraunce of our said cause, and provyng of the Ladye Katheryne Dowager to be carnallye known, as of all other suche owrs and youre devises, as ye shal excogitate by your wisedomes for defence of the same; but also on our behaulf assuredly to promes him, that labouring and werking ernestlye to the satisfaction of our just desire in the premyses, that besides the opteynyng of the sayd rome of Protectour, We shal not fayle soo to recompence his kindnes, as he shal have good cause to thinke his labour and travayle therin wel employed.

dishonour incommoditie and subjection shuld theryn redounde, not only to the Pope, but also to our good brother the Frenche King, thEmperour having Spayne on thone syde, Germanye on thother side, Itally at his commaundement, wherby at his arbitre and pleasure He shuld disturbe and annoye eyther of them, specyally the Pope, Who shuld not fayle by the same to entre in perpetual subjection ; and therfor, like as We have writen<sup>1</sup> to our right trusty and right entyrelly beloved cousin and counsaillor the Duke of Norffolk, to put our good brother in remembraunce of this practice, and to desire Him to considre howe prejudicall the same may be unto Him and his successors in tyme commyng, [and also to considre what] extremytie must nedes ensue to the Pope, if thEmperour shuld bring this entreprise to effecte ; albeit his ungentle and injust dealing towardes Us hath not given Us occasion somoche to tendre his wealth and the preservation of thauctoritie of the See in tyme commyng, yet We cannot pretermyt to signifie that unto Hym : whiche, onles provision be nowe made, nowe in the begynning, to staye it, shal to Him and that See for ever percase be soo prejudicall, as shal never herafter be redubbed. And therfor our pleasure is, that treating with the Pope touching our cause, ye open and declare afstre suche sorte this matier unto Him, as He maye not only esteme for the significacion therof, but also devise for the empeschement of the said practise, soo as the same take not effecte.

CCCLXXI. HAUKNES TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASITH Your Hichnes to understand, that the 18<sup>th</sup> of Juli I sent Your Hichnes a letter<sup>3</sup> howe that your servant Thomas Beeston arrivid here the same daie, whiche letter, with other of myne, remainith here still to this daie the 27<sup>th</sup> of the same, because that, as this daie was showid me, in all this while was dispatchid hens never wone post. But nowe to certifie Your Hichnes sumwhat of your busynes: youer letters receivid, I sett mi selfe to conceive and digest the same, and moreover to translate them in to the Italian tonge, thinking that tonge best, not wonli because I trustid me selfe most in the same, but also bicause that I wolde so speake, that bothe I micht speake to Him specialli, and principalli be understand of Him, whome principalli and

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

- Holograph.

<sup>3</sup> This letter is preserved, but contains nothing important.

specialli

specialli I came to persuade ; and also bicause I wold understand His Majestie, whiche in his Frenche tonge is to me sumwhat difficile, bicause of his pronunciation. A bowte thes thingis spent I 5 daies. I beseche Your Hichnes to perdon me, if this time seme long, for both mi witt is but mean, and mi memori slipper, and Princes maters veri greate and weichti, so that nother thei can not, nor wold not, be movid, but soft and faier. The 6 daie sent I for audience ; the 7 dai I had audience at 10 of the clocke ; and notwithstanding that I sent worde in to thEmprour, after mi cumming, that bi cause His Majeste had not dined, and I thocht I shuld be sum what prolix, if his pleasure so were, I wolde be content to tari till His Majeste had dinid, never the lesse He admittid me owte of hand, and gave me audience of a large houer longe. Whan I had don, He provid to make me answer Him selfe bi mouthe, whiche whan He perceivid to be veri hard, seid unto me that there were meani thingis more, then He cowld sodenli reteine and make answer unto ; wherfore He desierid me to take that for no answer, but for wordis spokin at all adventures, and to give it Him in writing. I answerid that I had no suche commaundment. How be it, I considering how muche easier it was to persuade wone, then to persuade meani, and specialli Him in whome the hole consistid, and nothing dowting but, if He redde the same, that, bi Goddis grace, He shuld utterli be persuadid, promisid His Majeste to give it Him in writing. The principal pointis, whiche He touchid at that time in his extemporall answer, as I understode Him (for He spake sumwhat obscureli), were these : that as concerning Your Hichnes amite He wold be gladd there of, so that Your Hichnes wold doo wurkis according. As to that the mater was none of his, He seid she was his aunte and orphana, and that He must see for her and her dochter his cousine. So I returnid home, and that daie and the next spent in writing of it.

The third dai I sent for accesse to His Majeste, whiche I had this daie the 27<sup>th</sup> of Juli, where as I, be his commandment, being admittid in to his closett, where as He was at messe, whiche don I deliverid Him the forseid writings, that is to sei, the justification of the mater, the justification of the processe, with thingis to the same apperteining, adding bothe before and behinde, and intermeddling in manner all the sweete of Your Hichnes letters ; hemming Him in with wone woneli gentil word in the veri ende, wherbi He nicht understand that this, whiche Your Hichnes desired, was not for respect to his poer, but for respecte to amite, and to the tranquillite of bothe your dominions, and to the quiet generalli of Christendome. At the deliveri of this boke, I breveli and in fewe wordis declarid unto Him, bi mouthe, the hole contents of Your Hichnes demaund in the

the same; whiche is, that He wol favor the justice, and bi that meane conserve thanciene amite betwene You 2; desiering His Majeste so to order the same writings, that it turnid me to no displesur. He answerid me, that He desierid it for none other intent, but principalli for respect of your amitie, and furthermore to provide for his aunte, and his cousin.

I have founde an anciene boke at Barzalona, namid to a Bishope of Hispane, with an exposition upon the 18 of Leviticus, whiche wel and indifferentli waied, I thinke sewerli to muche for all Hispane to answer unto. Ower Lord Jesus have Youer Hichnes, and ower Quene also, in his most blissid custodi. From Almonia, the 27<sup>th</sup> of Juli, 1533.

Youer Hichnes most bounden

Chaplain and Orator,

NIC. HAUKNIS.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Kinge His Hichnes.

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## CCCLXXII. VAUGHAN TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

**R**Ight worshipfull Sir. Humble comendacions premysed. The 3<sup>d</sup> daye of this present monethe of August I arryved at Andwerp, where I ymedyatly procured to lerne who shulde be the makers and setters foorth of a booke, prynct in Laten in the towne of Andwerp, aginst the Kynges greate matter; so that, after some polycie by me therin used, at laste I lerned of one George Gee, fled out of Englond for the new lernyng (as they call it), and resydent in Andwerp, some parte of the counsayle and secresyes of Fryer Peto and other his companyons; whiche they wolde not for any treasure shuld be bewrayed. Oon tolde me<sup>2</sup> that a Doucheman in Andwerp, whome I do know veray well, and was Avery your servauntes scholemaister, havyng to name Jodocus, a man properly lerned, and a knower of the counsayle of the sayde Peto, tolde him in great counsayle that the sayde booke shulde fyrste be drawnen and made by the Busshop of Rochester<sup>3</sup>; and so beyng drawnen and made, shulde by the sayde Busshop be afterwarde delivered in Englond to two Spanyardes, beyng seuler and lay men; who receyvyng his first draught either by them selfes or by some other Spanyardes, altered and perfynyshed the same into the fourme that it now is, Peto and one Fryer Elston of Cantor-

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> The words "Oon tolde me" have been substituted in a different handwriting for the words "George Gee sayethe," written by Vaughan.

<sup>3</sup> John Fisher.

bury beyng the only men that have and do take upon them to be conveyers of the same bookes into Englund, and conveyers of all other thinges into and out of Englund. If pryvey serche be made and shortly, peradventure in the howse of the same Busshop shalbe founde his first copie. Maister More hathe sent often tymes, and lately, bookes unto Peto in Andwerp, as his book of the confutacion of Tyndale, and Frythe<sup>1</sup> his opynyon of the sacrament, with dyvers other bookes. I can no further lern of More his practises, but if yow consider this well, yow may perchance espye his crafte. Peto labourethe busylter then a bee in the settynge foorthe of this booke. He never seasis the runnyng to and from the Courte here. The King never had in his Realme traytours like his freers<sup>2</sup>, and so have I alwayes sayde, and yet do. Let His Grace loke well aboutes Hym, for they seke to devoure Hym; they have blynded His Grace.<sup>3</sup>

If the fryers, whiche wer takyn in London bifore my comyng hether, wer brought to the brake, theyr counsayle shulde shortly be bewrayed. I here that ther ar 2 fryers sent from hense lately into Englond; if those myght be com by, yow shulde here more. 80 of theyr bookes be sent into Englond, and here they have determyned to put none abrode, till they maye here howe those be bestowed there. This is an other of theyr counsaylles. One of the same bookes I founde meanes to gett by oon, whoo<sup>4</sup> undoubtidly is a right honest and true subject to the Kyng, and wolde have advertised yow of all this matter, though I had not asked his knowlage.

The Busshop of London<sup>5</sup> hathe had a servaunt lying in Andwerp this 14 or 15 dayse. If yow sende for one Henry Pepwall, a stacioner dwellyng in Powlys Churche yarde, he wyll tell yow his busynes here, for they wer often in company here. Peto hathe every weke a fryer comyng to hym owt of Englond.

The Busshop of Rochester delyvered his copie to the Spanyardes as is aforesayde, and the Spanyardes, unknowyng to the Busshop, sett in all haste wryters to take an other copie, by meane wheroft theyr booke is now

<sup>1</sup> See p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> This word "freers" has been substituted for Vaughan's word "clergy."

<sup>3</sup> At the end of this paragraph have been obliterated the following words, in the handwriting of Vaughan: "and made Hym devoure and putto dethe and trowble many an honest man, while "they them selffes have secretly conspired the distruption of his Royall Person."

<sup>4</sup> The words "oon whoo" have here been substituted for Vaughan's words "the forsayde George "Gee, who" by the same person who made the like alteration in the first paragraph. And at the end of this second paragraph the following sentence written by Vaughan has been obliterated: "Wer it not that the man ferythe to wryt, beyng so muche brought in the hatered of his Prynce. "At my first spekyng withe hym, he brought me a letter, which he had wrytten and durst not "send."

<sup>5</sup> Stokisley.

framed, and intermyngled with Greke and Spanyshe as it is, whiche is also an other of theyr counsaylles.

The tryall of this matter hathe cawsed me to tary in Andwerp these 4 dayse, the rather bycause I harde that there was no great haste requyred to be made, on our behalf, to the Counsayll, whiche was appoynted by the Germans to be helde in Agusta: whiche is proroged till Myghelmas. If I myght have lenger taryed in Andwerp, no parte of theyr counsaylles shulde have scaped me, and there I suppose I shulde have done the Kyng as good servyce as in Germany; where, in myn opynyon, one of us shuld have served to have done the Kynges legacion bothe with the Dukes of Saxon and Bavar, whiche be lynked together in amytie as one, so that what had byn signyfed or declared to thone, shuld have served for bothe. If it wer the Kynges pleasure, that I shulde do my legacion to the Duke of Saxon, and, after an answer had, to returne to Andwerp agayn, I coulde do His Grace hieghe service there. What soever His Grace purpose herein, I shalbe redy to accomplisshis gracios comandement; and lett not His Grace spare me in what soever Payne or trouble, sithe I exteme neyther body ne lyfe in his servyce. If His Grace be mynded to have me tary and reside in Germanye, I must have money, for the 40£, whiche yow delyvered me, wyll not paye for my horses and my charges going and comyng, besides my tarying there; so that except yow provyde for me, I shalbe so sore troubled for money, that it shall lett me in many thinges. I brought out of London 4 horses with me, whiche coste me above 20£ sterling. How can the rest of your money help me. If I had not brought withe me other 40£ of myn owen, I shulde not have byn able to have taryed in Germany one monethe. I praye you lett Hawlt, Master Tukes servaunt, paye my father my stipende.

The Holanders prepayre an armey agenst thEsterlynges, wherunto wolde be had an yee.

<sup>1</sup>The marchaunts of Englonde have but easy sale of theyr clothes, and not so good as I had thought; it is neyther muche to be praysed, ne discomended. The Governour, whose name is Willyam Gresham, hathe made me good chere; I praye you let hym be thanked.

I have muche a do wyth changyng my money. I have changed it into golde gylderns of weight, and do lese a penny in a pece.

<sup>1</sup>I have spoken to George Gee, that he shulde in myne absence advertise

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<sup>1</sup> Against each of these sentences in the margin of the original is written the word "owl." It is probable that Crumwell directed these and the passages obliterated in the early parts of the letter to be omitted in a copy to be made for the King's use. The words in the margin and those interlined resemble Crumwell's hand.

yow from tyme to tyme what he shall lerne in the counsaylles of Peto and hys complices; whome yow maye right well trust and take for an honest and feythfull subject of the Kynges.

<sup>1</sup>I huyred this poste, brynger hereof, to repayre unto yow in hast with my letters, and promysed hym that yow shulde geve hym for hys labour 20<sup>s</sup>. sterlinc. I praye yow lett him be payde. I sende yow one of the bookees herewithe.

Another booke, muche greater then this that I now sende yow, is a pryntyng in Andwerp, agenst the Kinges greate matter, and made by them that made thother, as it is supposed. Wolde God I myght tary here, till I myght lerne theyr counsaylles.

The 4<sup>th</sup> day of August I do departe towardes Coleyne, where I here tell of an ennemy of the Kynges, whiche invadethe, robbethe, and spoylethe asmany of the Kynges servaunts as he maye mete withe. I wyll scape hym aswell as I can.

<sup>1</sup>I praye yowe cherisse my wyfe in myne absence, and helpe my pore brother Wylliam Johanson to some poore lyvynge, that he maye praye for yow. Be yow good to John Whalley, whome I know to love yow, and to be a true man.

Peto and his companyon be muche holpen out of England withe money, but I cannot lerne by whome.

It hathe muche rayned in these parties these 14 or 15 dayse, and still contynuyth; so that Auguste semythe to be November. It dothe muche hurte to theyr grayne.

<sup>1</sup>I praye yow helpe my wyfe in her busynes with the Quene, and that she maye have her fee; or elles she were better to kepe shepe then to labour, for any gaynes she shall have.

Lylgrave is here; what his arrand is I cannot tell. I cannot lerne that Germany is towarde any suche affliccion, as they write: at my comyng thether yow shall know more. And this the Holy Trynyte preserve yow. From Andwerp, the 3<sup>d</sup> daye of August.

The Busshop of Londons servaunt, of whom bifore is made mencion, I have lerned to be one Docwraye, a Notary Publique; whether the Busshoppes servaunt or not, I cannot tell, but it wolde be knownen, what he dothe in these parties. Take hede that fryers do not go out of Englond in laye mennys clothes, and so dysceyve yow.

Your olde Servaunt,

STEPHEN VAUGHAN.

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<sup>1</sup> See note in preceding page.

CCCLXXIII. KING HENRY VIII. *to Norfolk.*<sup>1</sup>

RIGHT trusty and right entierly welbeloved Cousin, We grete you well. Albeit in our former letters<sup>2</sup>, sent by our right trusty and right welbeloved Counsaillour the Lord of Rocheford, We have partely writyn unto you what ye shall say to our good brother the Frenche King concernynge the meting with the Pope; yet, thinking further in that mater, and receiving sundry letters from Rome, stirring and provoking more and more our princely courage to take the Popes injuries in suche sorte as apperteyneth, We have thought good to repeate som parte of our former letters unto you, and more amply to instructe you howe to use your self with our said good brother, for dissuasion of the said meting, and what to do farder yf ye can, or can not, obteyne the same.

And first for dissuasion of the said meting. We see not howe the Frenche King can answer you, yf ye lay unto Hym his promise made unto you sens your arrivall ther, as We have writyn unto you in other letters. Our good brother promysed you (as ye wrote unto Us) that the Pope innovating any thing against Us biffore the meting, He wold not mete with Hym. Wherfore, being suche an innovacion done by the Pope, as is bothe notary and notable, conteynynge manifest iniquytie parcialite and nullite, as ye shall mowe particularly, according to suche informacion as We send you, declare unto Hym; eyther our said good brother must say unto you nowe, that He did not so promyse you, orelles agree that He woll not mete. And yf He denye the promyse made unto you, ye may then lament to Hym your mysfortune to have the mater layde on your shulders, as having writyn unto Us for truthe, that whiche is nowe denied. And yf He remember his promyse, and yet shall call this that is doon noo innovacion, or shall goo aboutes to colour and cloke the doing therof, dymynishing the Popes procedinges, and not estemyng them so grevous to Us, as they be in dede, and so by pretence of amyte to Us take upon Hym to order that mater for our wealthe, and therupon refuse any further dissuasion from the meting; ye may say, “Alas, “ Sir, howe unfortunate a man am I with suche labours travaile and paynes “ to be brought to this dishonour, in this myn age and place, with my master, “ to be called and invited to come hither by Your Majestie to be present at

<sup>1</sup> Minute, written by Thomas Derby, and indorsed “Copy of the K<sup>8</sup> Ma<sup>8</sup> bre to the Duke of Norff: 8<sup>th</sup> day of August.”

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

“ your entervieu with the Pope, and after my commyng hither to understande  
“ suche mater as wherupon neither the King my masters honnour could suffer,  
“ ne my hert indure, to be present where the Pope is ; and yet to see Your  
“ Majesty inclined to mete with Hym, and me inforced to retorne into my  
“ cuntrey, nothing done of commodite or avauntage, but rather occasion  
“ gevyn by this maner of departure, for any wise man to thinke, and the  
“ multitude to bloo a brode, the smale appearance of amyte bitwene the King  
“ my master and You ; Your Majestye to be in appearance so nere frende  
“ to my masters greate enemye. And this hurt, Sir, shall ensue by this  
“ meting, whiche is in myn opynyon” (ye may say) “ almost irreperable ;  
“ for what soever the secrete affection be, the worlde loketh on the outward  
“ demonstracions ; and the fame, glory, reputacion, honnour, and strength of  
“ Princes depende upon exterior apparances and opynyons of the worlde,  
“ whiche many tymes preveyleth and is better then trouthe, or at the lest  
“ standeth in more sted. And, Sir,” (ye may say) “ all the world shall  
“ judge, say, and esteme, that Your Majestye (meting with the Pope having  
“ thus provoked my master, and so injuryed Hym) love the Pope and tendre  
“ his reputacion, and on thother syde love not my master, ne regard Hym in  
“ suche sorte as it was supposed.” And yf the Frenche King shall say,  
that love must be joyned in Princes with polycye, and that He, to obteyn  
somwhat at the Popes hand, must use Hym therafter, and pretending the  
chief cause of the meting to be entended by Hym principally for our benefite,  
shall replye unto you, that whatsoever the Pope hath done, He knoweth waies  
and meanes howe to compasse Hym, adding that, eche of Us having piked  
other, He woll trayn the Pope after a good sorte ; ye shall then desire the  
Frenche King to consider and waye the maters justly as they be, and in  
twoo poyntes specially, that is to say, that first the Pope hathe piked Us  
contrary to justice, contrary to his own lawe, and to the prejudice of all  
Princes ; and that We, in all our doinges, have only regarded the wealthe  
and suretie of our Realme and succession. Secondly, all our doinges have  
ben grounded upon lawe equyte and reason, and with our good brothers  
counsailes and advyses. The Popes injuries, contrary wise, have proceeded  
to do displeasurs to Us bothe, cleane contrary to suche promises as were  
made unto Us bothe. And as touching the injuries done by the Pope in  
refusing to admitt our Excusatour, whiche not oonly toucheth Us, but also  
our good brother and all Princes, as wherin the Pope entendeth to oblige and  
bynde all Kinges to give accompte unto Hym, at Rome, of the order of thair  
lyving, and to compell them, in a cause of matrimony, to make answer by  
them self or thair proctor at his pleasur ; We thinke our good brother  
perceiveth

perceiveth it most evident that this is a wonde inflicted unto Us in the high parte of our majesty thise three yeres passed; and that the Pope, by contynual refusall, hath dailly enlarged the same wonde, doing that in effecte by delaye and refusall, whiche He hathe done openly by sentence at the last, in expresse denyall of our said Excusatour. Wherfore, considering He hath thus used Us, and after the arrivall with Hym of the Cardinalles sent from our good brother, He hath contynued still and persevered in the same, refusing alwaies to admitt our Excusatour, as He did bifore; He did therin renewe the wonde bifore givyn, and of newe and freshly did, by refusall to admitt our Excusator, greatly injuriate, and inforce Us to excogitate some other newe thing to mete with the same, wherby We might be heled and releved of that contynuall disease to care for our cause at Rome, wher suche defence was takyn from Us, as by the lawes of God nature and man is due unto Us. Hereupon depended the wealthe of our Realme; herupon consisted the suretie of our succession, whiche by no other meanes could be so well assured. And therfore consulting with our good brother by you the Lord of Rocheford, howe and in what sorte to disclose to our people our mariage, whiche We had by his advise and counsail contracted and consummate, He sent Us worde that We shuld first unite and knitt in oon accorde all the nobles of our Realme, and so therupon divoulge the same. And, forasmuche as ther was non other waye so fermely to knytt them as by Parliament, and considering that all other knottes being losse and slippery, this knott of acte and statute is by auctorite therof permanent and durable, being counsailled by our good brother to unite and knytt them fast and sure; so as He being counsaillour auctour and chife adviser of that knott, ought nowe to be the better contented that it is a sure knott: wherfore We accompte Our self neither to have done thing of innovacion, ne other mater attempted, then wherof our good brother was auctour unto Us, though not of forme and maner, yet of the substance and mater, whiche We have executed in the best sorte, and as might stand Us in best sted, to the pleasure (as We trust) of God, and as We knowe well to the quiete and contentacion of our hole Realme. And therfore ye shall say to our good brother, that the Pope persisting in the waies He hath entred to procede against Us, ye must nedes dispaire in any meting bitwene the Frenche King and the Pope to produce any suche effecte as to cause Us to mete in concord with the Pope, but that We shalbe ever as farr a sonder as is bitwene ye and naa. For to the Popes enterprise to revoke or put bakk any thing that is done here, either in mariage, statute, sentence, or proclamation, of whiche fourre membres is knytt and conjoyned the suretie of our mater, ne any can be removed from other, lest therby the hole edifice shuld

shuld be dissolved, We have, will, and shall, by all waies and meanes say “ Naa,” and declare our naa in suche sorte as the worlde shall here, and the Pope fele it. Wherin ye may say all our ferme trust perfite hope and assured confidence is, that our good brother woll agree with Us, aswell for that it shuld be partly dishonorable for Hym to see decaye the thing that was of his own foundacion and planting, as also that it shuld be to moche dishonorable for Us, having travailed so farr in this mater and brought it to this poynt, that, all the stormes of the yere passed, it is nowe comme to harvest, trusting to see shortly the frute of our mariage, to the wealthe joye and conforte of all our Realme, and our singuler consolacion, that any thing shuld nowe be done by Us to empaire the same, and to put our issue either in perill of bastardye, or otherwise disturbe that is by the hole agreement of our Realme established for thair and our commoditie wealthe and benefite. And in this determynacion ye knowe Us to be so fixed, and the contrary hereof to be so infaisible, either at our handes or by the consent of our Realme, that ye must nedes dispaire of any order to be takyn by the Frenche Kyng with the Pope; for, and any were by Hym takyn, wherin any of thise foure peces shuld be touched, that is to say, the mariage of the Quene our wife, the revocation of the Bishop of Caunterburies sentence, the statute of our Realme, or our late Proclamation, whiche be as it were oone; and as walles, covering, and fundacion make an howse, so they, knyt to gider, establishe and make oone matier; ye be well assured and be so ascerteyned from Us, that in no wise We woll relent, but woll, as We have bifore writyn, withstande the same. Wherof ye may say ye have thought good to advertise Hym, to thintent He make no farder promyse to the Pope therin on our behalf, then may be performed, and that ye wolde be lothe that any suche occasion shuld chaunce, as We shuld be inforced to do lesse or otherwise, then our good brother shuld promyse on our partye. And thus moche ye may say unto Hym, yf He shuld mete with the Pope, trusting alwaies that remembryng the consideracions bifore rehersed, He woll disappoint it, and use the Pope as He hath deserved, sending Hym worde of the injurye doon unto Us, and doing Hym to understand his foly, and that onles He had first made a mendes, and revoked suche injuries as He had done to his frende, and also to Hym self, He could not fynde in his hert to have farder amyte with Hym. And thus shuld be honerably done of our good brother, taking that for a cause, whiche not only toucheth Us, but also Hym self, and all Princes, to be compelled in a cause of matrimony, whiche above all other causes is priveleged, to answer bifore the Pope at Rome, either by Hym self or by a proctour. For, and if they obteyn in this oone cause, why not in all causes? and yf in this, moche more in all other. And he

he that, appointing to mete with hym, dar be bold so injuriously to declare in his frendes cause howe grete power and auctorite he wold usurpe of them bothe, may with good congruence upon this reasonable grounde be disapointed by our good brother. Wherin ye may say ye trust our good brother woll have regard, and use it as convenient cause and meane to breke of the said meting; being moche more urgent then was that, wherupon He brake of the appointed meting with thEmperour, at suche tyme as our amyte was not somoche with famyliarite encreased, at it hath been syns. Wherfore, yf then our good brother, like a most sure and perfite frende, did disapointe the meting with thEmperour, only to remove (from the sincerite of our intelligence) all cause of suspicion, moche more nowe He shuld have regarde therunto, considering that ther is suche good cause gevyn on the Popes partye, and so manifest notable and intollerable injurye done to Us bothe, that men woll gather and suppose the intelligence bitwen our good brother and the Pope to be veray depe roted, that by suche mater of displeasure can not be shaked, and the respecte of our love veray weke and sklender, that in prosecution of this intended entervieu, is so litle regarded: and then, enterlacing therwith your oun private affection, howe moche ye obhorre this meting, to dissuade the same, yf it possibly may be. Whiche if ye bring to passe, and the Frenche King, remembryng and considering his oun promyse to you, howe We take it, and howe all the worlde woll speke therof, with howe little likelihode He hath to do any good in our matier, shuld agree unto, and so the meting to be disapointed; then our pleasure is ye, taryng still with our good brother, do entre communication with Hym howe and by what waies and meanes We shuld annoye the Pope, to thentent upon advertisement from Us again, and speciall commission to be sent unto you therfore, ther might be some notable thing concluded there, wherby your going thither might appere to the worlde not unfrutefull and in vayne.

And, if percase all thise persuasions can not have place to let the said meting, and the Frenche King shall say that it is expedient for Hym to have into his handes the Duchesse, under pretence of mariage for his son, whiche He can not obteyn but by this meanes; ye shall say that ye remember ye herd Hym say oones, He wold never conclude that mariage, but to do Us good, whiche is nowe infaisible; and nowe in the voyce of the worlde shall do Us bothe more hurte in the dymynucion of the reputacion of our amytie, then it shuld do otherwise profficte. Nevertheles ye may say ye can not lett his precise determinacion, and can but lament and bewayle your oun chaunce to departe home in this sorte; and that yet, of the twoo incon-

venientes, it is to you more tolerable to retourne to Us nothing done by your going thither, then to be present at thentervieu, and to be compelled to loke paciently upon your masters enemye: shewing unto Hym that in cace the meting holdeth, ye and your colleges have obteigned licence, and therwith received commandement to retourne with his good favour, wherof ye shall desire Hym, and have commaundement to signifye unto Hym howe We have gevyn commission to Sir Fraunces Brian and Sir John Wallop to repaire with Hym to the place of thentervieu, ther to be present with Hym at his good pleasure; having nevertheles charge, never to present them self to the Pope, ne to be in a place of any assembling, wher they might appere to do the Pope, on our partye, any honour: with the observacion wherof ye shall desire our good brother to be contented.

And at the veray poynt of taking your leave of our good brother, yf He woll nedes goo to the meting, ye may say, “Sir, if that succede not that “were best, the next is then to be thought upon; and if Your Majestye “woll nedes mete with the Pope, then could ther nothing acceptable be done “to the King my master, onles the Pope, at your intercession, wold pronounce “ther, and give sentence that the matrimony bitwen my master and the “Lady Katerin was and is nougnt; wherin the Pope shuld do sumwhat not “to be refused. And necessary it were, that some suche thing He did, for “the conservacion of the opynyon of amyte bitwen You and my master; “and in this oonly poynt He can do pleasure.” Yeven &<sup>ca</sup>.

#### CCCLXXIV. HAUKNIS *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

WORSCHIPFULL Sir. After mi most harti commendations. Ye schall understand that in the Kingis affaires here I have doon as fur as mi power witt and simple lerning and discretion wold extend: what fructe is cummen therof you schall understand bi that I have writin unto the Kingis Hichnes<sup>2</sup>, and also bi the bringar hereof, whiche bi that he hathe seen and hard, can instruct you well favoridly in mani thingis. Thes men here be immovable, so that well it mai be said on them, “tibijs cecinimus, et non saltastis; lugubria cecinimus, et non plorastis.” I have doon what I cowld, the remanant I commit to God, whiche will defende his lawes and the kepers of the same.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> This has not been preserved.

Towerd Master Augustin I beseche you continewe your accostomid goodnes, and to here what the bringar hereof shal show you as concerning the same. Ower Lord Jesus conserve you. From Almunia, the 21<sup>st</sup> of August, 1533.

Youer own assurid,

(Superscribed)

NIC. HAUKNIS.

To the richt wurschipful Master Crumwel,  
of the Kinge his Privei Counsel.

### CCCLXXV. VAUGHAN and MONT to KING HENRY VIII.

NOTUM facio Majestati Vestrae, Serenissime Rex, nos die vicesimo secundo hujus mensis pervenisse Nornbergam, quo quidem citius pervenire potuissimus, si non itinerum difficultas nos impeditset atque remorata fuisset; per Germaniam enim nulla dies intra hosce quadraginta sine pluvia et intempore effluxit. Quo cum pervenissemus, Staiberum convenimus, quem adventus nostri certiorem fecimus ab Antwerpia, alias diutius ejus congressu carituri, nam primores Civitatis Nornbergensis propter metum pestis, que vehementer in ea urbe grassatur, alio commigrarunt; quo cum rationem inivi, quomodo litteras commodius ad Majestatem Vestram mittam, quam litteris<sup>1</sup> Domino Crumwello exposui. A Nornberga citius recedere coacti sumus magno nostro incommodo; nam ab ijs viris, a quibus conditionem et statum Germanicarum rerum discere debebamus, metu pestis aberant. Quare nobis visum est ut ego Augustam me conferrem, ubi jam eorum Principum Oratores agunt, qui in Liga Suevica sunt. Litteras vero inscriptas ad Lantgravium Hassiae, tum ad Ducem Lunenburgensem, Stephano Vaughan dedi, tum quod hic propius ad eos accederet, tum quia communis et eadem utrorumque legatio esset, Electoremque Saxonie omnia confederatis sibi Principibus et vicinis plenissime expositurum nulla dubitatio foret. Evidem nihil prius duxi quam discere et pervestigare super Germanie statu et conditione, quod in comitijs Augustae me commodius adsecuturum spes est. In Principum vero, ad quos mittimur,

<sup>1</sup> There is a letter of this date from Vaughan alone to Crumwell, containing the substance nearly of this despatch, and a renewal of his importunity for money. Vaughan also desires, that if the King sends him any instructions, or wills him to say any thing to the Princes, the letter may be written in Latin. The despatch in the text, though signed by both Vaughan and Mont, was evidently written exclusively by the latter, probably without being aware that the former would also sign it; and this supposition accounts for the use of the singular number in the greater portion of it, and the mention of Vaughan in the third person in the early part.

aulis, unam nos solam cautionem audituros speramus ; unde veritas non audita utraque parte elici nequeat. Lutherani, quantum interrogando assequi potui, in duas sectas divisi sunt. Nam partim in sacramento altaris corpus Domini adesse dicunt, partim vero denegant. Afferentes hij potissimum sunt, Elector Saxonie, Ernestus Dux Lunenburgensis, Lantgravius Hassie, Marchio Brandenburgensis, Princeps ab Anholt, Senatus Nurnburgensis, Senatus Reutlingensis. Francfordia vero nuper Zuingiane opinioni, que potissimum apud Helvetios viget, accessit. Bavariae Duces suam rem mihi videntur agere, nam a clero quicquid subducere et subtrahere possunt, sibi vendicant. Dux Juliacensis quoque novam reformationem in suo ducatu fecit, a quo Pontificem Romanum omnino ablegat ; beneficiorum collationem sibi uni reservans ; alia quoque multa statuit de reformando clero. Dux Georgius Misnie superioribus diebus sexaginta cives non ultimi ordinis e Lipsia proscriptis, quod sacramentum sub utraque specie percepissent, quorum causam Lutherus libro jam edito agit. In universum omnes Principes, qui in antiqua religione perstant, proscriptionibus et exilijs Lutheranorum heresim puniunt, cædibus et sanguine abstinent. Episcoporum in Germania parva existimatio habetur, nam omnes fere hoc tempore alieni esse dicuntur a præsenti pecunia, que omnium rerum nervus est. De ruptura Ligæ Suevicæ needum certi aliquid pronunciari potest, modo enim horum Principum et Civitatum Oratores Auguste super hac re tractant, que si dissoluta fuerit, multorum opinio est Ducem Wirtenbergensem in suum ducatum restitutum iri. Nam eam pecuniæ summam, quam Ferdinandus numerare promisit liga hac confederatis, nondum quicquam exolvit. Ferdinandi quoque potentiam omnibus invisam audio. De rebellione vero illa, quam aliquot Bohemiæ nobiles contra Ferdinandum instituisse dicuntur, fama longe major re ipsa est ; nam aliqui dicunt solum quindecim, aliqui triginta Nobiles in Ferdinandi subditos prædas excursionesque egisse, et hoc eo nomine, quod illis debitam pecuniâ jam olim Ferdinandus, cum coronaretur in Bohemie Regem, exolvere promiserit, qua pollicitatione horum Nobilium assensum sibi redemit, quod prestare jam penitus recusat. Aliqui causam esse dicunt quod hij Nobiles magnos sumptus fecerint in expeditione illa superiori anno contra Turcam, et hoc Ferdinandi jussu, qui modo nihil quicquam rependere vult. Forte fieri potest quod hæ due causse junctæ eos in arma provocarint. In aula Ferdinandi omnes expostulant super tarda et mala solutione, tum pecunie summam parcitatem ibi esse dicunt, tametsi omnia fere oppignerata sint. Cesar apud Germanos pietatis et clementiæ nomine bene audit, Ferdinandus vero contrarijs affectibus diversum meretur. De redditu vero Cæsaris in Germaniam varia hominum opinio est, major vero pars eum redditum non credit, quod non tanti suam autoritatem apud Germanos fieri inde quanti velit. Superiori  
mense

mense triginta tormenta bellica satis magna in Hispaniam advehi fecit, quod ii Principes, qui telonea in Rheno amne habent, difficulter admisere. Alia quoque tormenta Auguste fieri curat, similiter in Hispaniam devehenda. Responsum, quod Evangelici Principes Oratoribus Summi Pontificis et Cesareæ Majestatis super Generali Concilio indicendo dederunt, una cum illorum relatione ad Principes, Majestati Vestre transmittimus. Germanie statum non usque adeo tumultuantem video, nam quod ad Lutheranam doctrinam attinet jam tempore et assuetudine familiarior est, minusque admirationis habet. Ipsi quoque Lutherani, tametsi in sacramento dissentiant, in alijs tamen convenient. Principes quoque diverse opinionis una cum Episcopis oblatos puniunt, latentes non exquirunt; quod et Trajanus Imperator de Christianis fieri consuluit. De Ferdinando aut Ferdinandi coronatione in populo minimum auditur.

Die vicesima septima Augusti Nornberga discessimus, alter ad Bavarie, alter ad Saxonie, Duces. Deus Optimus Maximus Vestram Majestatem salvam et integrum conservet, pro qua Deum continuis precibus studiosissime deprecabimur. Ex Nurnberga, vicesima septima Augusti, anno 1533.

Vestre Majestatis humillimi Servitores,

(*Signatur*) STEPHÙS VAUGHAN.

CHRISTOPHORUS MONT.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Kyng His Hieghnes.

### CCCLXXVI. VAUGHAN TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASITHE it Your Majestie to be advertised how the 4<sup>th</sup> daye after the departure of Christopher your servaunt and me from Norinberg, he takyng his journey towardes Augusta, where the Princes Deputes to this day still remayne in Counsaile, and from thense to Bavare, and I towardes the Duke of Saxons Courte, like as our instruccions lerned us to do, wherof emonges other thinges we largely advertised Your Hieghnes by our letters dated in Norinberg the 26<sup>2</sup> daye of August last past, whiche we delyvered there to your trustie servaunt Laurence Staber, to be conveyed to Your Majeste with all convenient spede, I arryved at a towne of Saxon called Wymar, where the Duke

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. There is a contemporary holograph letter from Vaughan to Crumwell to the same effect.

<sup>2</sup> This must refer to the preceding letter of the 27th.

muche usethe to abyde, and holde his Courte, perchaunce bycause aswell the pure ayre of the contrey as the pleasant feldes and other amenyties and pleasures moyth hym so to do; where I abode the Dukes comyng 5 dayse, bifore his retourne out of a place, where he had byn a huntyng. The 6<sup>th</sup> daye after, the Duke beyng infourmyd of myne arryvayle, sent his Chancellour to myne inne, desyryng to knowe the cause of my comyng thereto; to whome I answered that I was a seruaunt of Your Majestes, and from Yow sent unto the Duke his master with letters of credence in a certeyn legacion, and prayed hym to desyre the Duke his master tappoyn the tyme and howre when I shulde speke withe hym. Within one howre after the sayd Chancellour brought me answer that the Duke prayed me to come unto hym bifore dynner, and to bryng withe me tharticles of my legacion in wrytyng, and that by wrytyng I shulde be answered agayne; and that I shulde not nede to declare my legacion in Latten, Frenche, or any other tonge, excepte I coulde declare it in thAlmayn tonge, sithe the Duke neyther understande Latten, Frenche, or any other tonge, except thAlmayn only. Sythe I coulde bryng them to none other poynte, I graunted to bryng with me tharticles of my legacion in wrytyng, which I wrott oute in few wordes in Latten; and, accompanied with the sayde Chancellour, went the same daye bifore dynner to the Duke, who withe muche gentilnes receyved and welcomed me, and in hys enterteynyng of me shewed muche honour and reverence unto the Majeste of Your Highnes. At our first metyng, the Chancellour in his presence declared to me in Latten, that his maister the Duke was very glad of my comyng, and that I was right hartely welcome, with thanks geven unto Your Hieghnes that it wolde please Your Grace to send any your seruautes unto hym, with many other thinges in suche semblable metynges accustomed. Which done, he gave me the hiegher sete at a table, and bare hedded harde the salutacions and gretynges, whiche I declared unto hym in your gracious name, in the Frenche tonge, and Latten also, to prove whiche be beste understande. But he nothing understande, sed tantum annuit capite. Then delyvered I hym your gracious letters with tharticles of my legacion, whiche he veray humbly receyved, and therwithe departed from me till he had redd, considered, and counsailled upon the effectes therof; praying me to tary dynner, and after dynner I shulde have answer. In the meane season I dyned there, and had bothe solempne fare and servyce. Shortly after dynner was done, he sent his Chauncellour unto me, to tell me that myne answer was devysed. "If so it be," sayde I, "then lett me have it in wrytyng;" wherunto he graunted, and therwith I toke my leave, and departed to myne inne agayn. Aboutes 7 of the clocke

clocke at nyght the same daye he brought me his answer in wrytyng, as he promysed; whiche I do sende Your Grace herwith inclosed<sup>1</sup>, wrytten with the hande of his Chancellour, wherby Your Grace may apperceyve the untowardnes of the Prynce, and his unkynde refusal of your so gracious offer; whiche when I had redd and understanded, and muche merveylyng therat, dissimuled the matter as I thought beste, and wolde no further procede in any communycacion with hym, but sayde that I marveylled that the Kynges legacion was so sklenderly extemed, and wolde therewith depare towardes Your Grace; and therupon purposed, although I had other 2 letters of Your Graces, thone to the Landgrave van Hesse, and thother to the Duke of Lunenburg, inasmuche as the Prynce of the more estymacion and power had refused to have intelligence with Your Grace, not to delyver any of the same to the sayde Prynces beyng inferiours to thother, till I knew farther of your gracious pleasure. And thus purposyng onely with myself, and often thinkyng what wer beste to be done, I concluded to delyver no mo letters, ne to procede

<sup>1</sup> “Dux Saxonie et Elector Romani Imperij accepit ea, que Potentissimi ac Serenissimi Regis Anglorum, &c Familiaris et Orator Stephanus Vauhanus gratie sue post Regie Dignitatis salutationem, exposuerit, cui responsa sunt hoc modo data.

“ Cum summa et scopus orationis in eo heserit, ut Domino Regi visum fuerit in aula Principis Electoris prefatum Stephanum aliquandiu versari, ut certa utrorumque status et rerum cognitio haberetur, et qui mentem Electoris Regi rursusque animum Regie Majestatis Ejus Celsitudini significare posset; que omnia Princeps meus sibi non solum precipuo honori tribui, sed etiam ex bono et propenso animo Regie Dignitatis procedere putat; pro qua benignitate et officio Regi gratias non immodicas refert: atqui Princeps Elector dicit se imparem ut Regie Celsitudinis vel aliorum Regum oratores ea lege in aula sua degerent; vereturque ne ob id apud Cesaream Majestatem, unicum ejus Dominum, et alias male audiret, possetque sinistre tale institutum interpretari; maxime cum in Germania hucusque apud Electores Imperij non fuerit consuetum, ut in eorum aulis hujusmodi Oratores tali munere legationis continue fungerentur: et si non alie cause adsunt, qua propter predictus Nuntius hic predicto pacto permanere vellet, quam ab eo sunt prolate; non est dubium quin fama inde exoriretur, et tamen nihil comodi hoc negotium esset allaturum: Unde Dux meus precatur amanter, ut detrectationem, vel potius deliberationem illam, Rex Serenissimus non velit egre ferre, sed potius ex causis pregnantibus boni consulere, &c.

“ Cupit etiam Princeps Regem de conditione et statu suo certiorem fieri, ut omnia Dei adjutorio probe et feliciter succedant; desideratque nihil magis quam ut conatus Regie Majestatis prospere etiam a Deo Optimo Maximo in salutem eternam dirigantur. Et si culmini regali pro viribus gratificari potest, erit quam paratissimus, et sui ob amorem quem semper ad Domum Saxonie gessit amantissimus. Quod autem hucusque post obitum patris Johannis Ducis Saxonie et Electoris pie memorie, et lapsa tempora, quibus ad Angliam Oratores a se et alijs complicibus Principibus Germanie missi sunt, nihil singulare est scriptum, nulla de re est obmissum, quam quod Dominus Elector nihil dignum scriptum habuit.

“ Hec responsa, jussus a Principe meo tibi dari, ut pro fide tua Illustrissimo Regi explicares. Actum quinta die mensis Septembris, anno Domini, 1533.”

any farther in my legacion, but to departe from the Dukes Courte towards Wittenberg, whiche is 20 leges beyonde Wymar, where I intende to tary two or 3 dayse to lerne all the newes possible, and from thense to departe towardes Cullen, whiche is 70 Douche myles homewardes, and there to abyde, tyll I maye here from Your Grace, what Your Highnes will that I shall do; for undoubtidly they wyll have none intelligence withe Your Grace by meane of any oratour or messynger, ne yet, asfarre as I can perceyve, by any other meane. For I apperceyved that the Duke muche desyred to have me depeched from hym, whiche right well appered by his hastie answer.

I am not a letle sorye that, this beyng the first tyme that Your Grace shoulde vouchesafe to prefarr so unworthy a person as I am, to do your legacion, that in the doyng therof I have had no better fortune, ne the same to have taken no better effect. But be Your Grace right assured, that althoughe there is a muche more insufficience in me, then in many other honourable worshipfull and well lerned men of your Realme, to do Your Grace servyce in so weightie and seryous matters, as happenethe many tymes bytwene Your Majeste and other Prynces, yet is there habundance of feythe, truthe, desyre, and diligence roted in my poore body and harte towardes Your Grace, to be compared with the best; whiche I most humble beseche Your Grace taccepce and take in suche parte, as of your accustomed benygnyte Your Grace takethe suche of like feithe, truthe, desyre, and dyligence towrdes Your Magestie.

Newes I have lerned none hetherto, that be worthe the wrytyng. At Wyttenberg I shall lerne what I maye, and so returne to Cullen, and there abyde your gracious answer; whiche I most humbly beseche Your Grace may be with some sped, for I am at great charge, and have letle money.

The Duke of Saxon dare not have any intelligence with Your Grace for feare of thEmperour, wherunto Your Grace may trust. And thus I most humbly pray unto God sende Youe Grace, withe muche glorye and honour, long lyfe and perfect felycitie. From Wymar, the 6 daye of September, anno 1533.

The most humble Servaunt of Your Royall Majeste,

STEPHEN VAUGHAN.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynges Majestie.

CCCLXXVII. HACKETT *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

PLESSITH your Mastership to understand, that the 16<sup>th</sup> day of Augost I wrote unto yow my last letters<sup>2</sup>; and this shalbe to advertis the same, that this day I ham advertissyth of sertaynte that the Holanders hath apoyentyth 12 grete shippis and 6 smal, well armyth mannyd and wittaild, to make ware upon the Lubeckers of Estland. And, as My Lord of Hoghestrat hath wryttyn to the Quene Regent here, all the sayd shippis were in full aredenys to sayl owt ward toward the sees the 28<sup>th</sup> day of the last monyth. And one gentylman namyth Machkre is almyral and captayn generall of the sayd arme, who, as I onderstond, besyddes his maroners hath upon a 600 hardy and ontrysty men of wer; and what with this peple, and with the Lubeckers that be as ontristy as theise, I dowt me that it shall not be too suyre for merchandmen to meyte with them in the sees.

Now of late the Imbassatours of Denmark Norweghe and Holst, as in the name of the Consell and Kyngdome of Denmark, be arywyd to this Courte with the nomber of 32<sup>th</sup> personnes or there abowt, and, as I onderstond, with suffisient and full poer to afferme and conclud a stydfast peace and alliance with thEmperor and all his londdes, in the best forme diffensivo et offensyvo. And as I onderstond the Quene and hyr Consell here be determinyd to conclud and agre with them, at this tyme, withe syche condyssyons, that who som ever shalbe ther electyth Kyng, which election is prolongyt yet for a 12 month to com, that he shall swere and ratify this present peace.

The Ducq of Myllan is Imbassatours be comyng hyddyr to feche the 2<sup>o</sup> doghter of Denmark, to marre with the sayd Ducq<sup>3</sup>, and thEmperour sendes Monsieur de Prate fro Spayne hyddyr to company the sayd lady to Myllan; so that hyt may apere unto the Quene and hyr Consell here suffisiently, that the sayd Ducq dois assure the sayd lady of all sych contractes and promesses, as he hath promessyth thEmperour to do.

Hittes a towe dayys agone that in maner of communecacion Monsicur de S<sup>c</sup> Py dyd ask me what that me toght of the sentence that the Pope declaryd now of late. I told hym that I knewe not what sentence that he menyth; who told me the effect of the matier. To the which I made hym answer, that yf it be so in deyd, and that hit were lecit for me to tell what that me toght

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.<sup>2</sup> Not found.<sup>3</sup> See p. 465.

ther of, I wold say as my conssience juggis me, that the Pope dyd not there in like a holly, nethyr like a godly prelate, but sonyr like a man of right litle conssience and far fro charite, Who knewe as mowche of this byssenys a 2, 3, 4 yere agone, as He doys at this tyme, and in all this mene tyme hath deferryd and refussyd thexspedyssion of justice, kepyng this sentence in store to bryng Cristyn Prinssis in dyssenssion, yf He may; and, withoutt that thEmperour hath bene cawsser of the prolongacion of the sayd sentence, that His Majeste hath as grete and as lawfull a cawse to be dyssplessyd with the sayd Pope, quallite for quallite, as the Kyng my maister hath. The sayd Sainpy answerd to me and sayd, that the Pope had done better to hawe yewyn his sentence in tyme, then now to remowe a dyspleassure that was all moste foryotten. And here with we made a neynd of this comunecacion.

Of late here I hawe seyn a letter from Italy, dattyth at Rome the 8<sup>th</sup> day of Augost, makynge menssion that, where the Poppe by his lettres dyd advertis thEmperour of the Frenche Kynges metyng and his to gydder, and partie of the cawse; thEmperour, makynge answer to the sayd lettres, dyd wryte unto Hym agayne that at his departyng from Itally that He toght not that His Hollynes was myndyth to make syche nyewe alliance. Where unto the sayd Pope made a replike answer, that His Magiste ought to be conttent that He had yewyn Hym for his bastard doghter his nepew<sup>1</sup>, the best joyel that He had, and that He ought not to be dyssplessyth that He yewe his nyese to the Ducq of Orleance, the Kyng of France is legytym sone; in whych doyng his trust is to asure his allianssis on bothe syddes, and that by this menys and manner He trustes to bryng abowth that His Majeste the Frenche Kyng and Hee shall becom and remayn in good fast and suyre alliance togyddyr, and so ensuuuyng that they tre shalbe able to refourme and set good orthyr in the rest of all Cristyndome. But whyddyr His Onhappennys, I mene His Hollynes, is intencion is sett for the welfare and utilite of Cristyndome, othyr for his own insynsserite and syngler pourpoce, I remyt that to God, and to them that knowys more of the world then I do.

The commyng of the Imbassatours of Denmark to this Courte and a litle seikenys tha the Quene is wexit withall, as a manner of fevers, cawssis owr retardance in this town; and yit hittes not fully knownen, whyddyr we shall here hence to Artoes or not, nethyr when we shall departe here hence, becausse of Hyr Grace is sekenys.

The folowyng of this Courte from place to place, and the wessitacion and

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 406.

daely resort that I hawe of lordes and gentylmen to my table, yewys my dyettes as mowche ado as they can do, and som what more; but yf hyt were the Kynges pleasure that I myght kepe me self in one place, lyke as thEmperours Imbasatour dois there at London, I myght well sawe me self with my dyettes; prayng your good Masterschip to wryte me His Highnys is pleasure how I may best ordyr me self in this behalfe. Wryttyn at Gant, the 6<sup>th</sup> day of September, 1533.

Humbly and enteyrly your own,  
JOHN HACKETT.

The Imbasatours of Denmark, that be here, hawe shouen autentyckly to som of this Conssell the innormyte of the actes and tyrany, that Kyng Cristyan hath ussith during his rengnacion; and in syche maner, as I onderstand that for any assistance that thEmperour othyr this Low Contres shall do Hym, that He is like to remayn pressoner duryng his life, as He is now<sup>1</sup>, without the world change.

And becausse I wold be suyre that this lettre may com unto your Masterschip his own handdes, I send yow this berrer my serwant with hit, whom hawyng your Mastership is answer shall retorne hiddyrward, other shall do what ye shall comand hym to do.

The moste pastyme that the Quene Regent here taakes is at honntyng and hauckyng, and withoutt She be werry seke, ther passis no 3 dais to gyddyr, but that She ryddys to hir pastyme. She ryssis in the mornynges comeynly at fywe of the clok, and tacles hyr chamber at nyght tyme abowt nyne of clok; and yit for all hyr good royle, she is often tymys seke.

*(Superscribed)*

To the ryght honnorable Sir Thomas Cromwell  
Knyght, one of the Kynges Prive Conssell,  
and Master of the Joyell Hows.

<sup>1</sup> Christian II., King of Denmark, was deposed in the year 1523, and continued to reside in Flanders several years after. In 1531 he attempted to recover the kingdom of Denmark, but was taken prisoner, and confined by Frederick I. in the castle of Sunderburg. He never regained his throne, but so late as 1546 he made a solemn renunciation of all right and claim to the Crowns of Denmark and Norway. He lived till the 19th of January 1559.

CCCLXXVIII. VANNES TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MAGNIFICE Domine, et Domine mi observande, &c. Que de Pontificis adventu hic feruntur, tum ex Dominorum Oratorum literis, tum ex hijs que ad DuceM Norfolkie scribo, ea tua Dominatio copiose intelliget; illud adhuc in ambiguo est, quo in loco Ejus Sanctitas et Christianissimus sint converturi. Marsilia, et si ceteris locis commodior, ideo tamen Pontifici non probatur, quod procul abest, et quod sint fortasse, qui persuaserint Pontifici non licere Ejus Sanctitati sine Maurorum aut pyratarum periculo illuc accedere, ob insulas de Yeres, que sunt in medio mari, ex adverso non procul a Marsilia; ubi pyratarum classis posset ad intercipiendum Pontificem in insidijs latitare. Id et si non facile credatur, illi tamen, quibus non probatur iste conventus, non desinunt hoc genus suspicionum in animum Pontificis suggerere.

De Andrea Doria varia nova hic habentur, sed incerto authore; sunt qui dicant cum Turcis conseruisse manum, et amissis circiter ducentis bellatoribus, se recepisse in quendam locum munitiorem, ut secundo flante vento, committat se velis; alij asserunt facto impetu opem tulisse Corona: sed nemo quicquam ex hijs affirmat, solum ex tabellarij cujusdam ore excidisse dicuntur; secundo quoque die hac transeunt tabellarij ad Cesarem ex Italia, et in Italiam a Cesare.

Magnus Magister Marsiliam profectus est, ut Pontificis Neptem illic excipiat, prevenientem quam mox subsequetur Ejus Sanctitas.

Superiori die, dum Pontificis Nuncium, qui nuper istinc redijt, alloquerer, qui cum Episcopo Carpetensi, Jacobo Sadoleto, magne authoritatis apud Pontificem, petij quid nam putaret Pontificem facturum elapso tempore ad censuras prescripto, et quod indolebam futurum ut neglectis censuris discant Principes suis rebus aliunde consulere, quibus vel ad tempus potuisset Pontifex parcere, potius quam sine ullo adversariorum fructu illas effulminare; dixit se credere mitius a Pontifice actum iri, breviaque monitoria rursus scripta iri, sed, nisi Regia Majestas subeat judicij processum, non videre quid sibi queat a Pontifice polliceri. Interim ego dixi, hac in re esse opus Dei providentia.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph

Si quid novi acciderit, illud perscribam; et bene valeas. Avinioni, die 8º Septembris, 1533.

S<sup>TR</sup> PETRUS VANNES.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino, Thome Cromewello,  
Regie Majestatis Consiliario, et Domino  
meo observando,  
Londini.

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CCCLXXIX. VAUGHAN *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

RIGHT worshipfull Sir, after myn humble commendacions. So it is that as I wrott and advertised youe from Wymar, I am comen to Cullen, and thought it the most expedyentest place to tary in, sythen the pestilence so greatly increasithe at Nurinberg, till I myght know the Kynges pleasure. As I certifed the Kynges Hieghnes, the Duke of Saxon wolde not in any wyse condissend to my resydyng in his Courte, ne yet to have any intellygence withe the Kyng by waye of any agent; and, as I manyfestly apperceyved, had therunto no maner of desyre, will, ne courage; for after he had ones knownen my legacion, he thristed to have me gon from hym, whiche I right well apperceyved, rather by evydent tokens, whiche declared unto me the same, then by any request that he made unto me, wherby he wolde me so to do. The cause, why this so passethe shall I shew yow, gathered onely upon my conjecture. First, I consider the man (of Princes in Germany, and withe other two, to saye, the Landgrave van Hesse and the Duke of Lunenburghe) to be the chief and principall defender and maynteyner of the Lutheran sect; who, consideryng the same withe no small difficultie to be defended, aswell agiest thEmperour and the Busshopps of Germany, his nygh and shrewd neighbours, as agiest the most opynyon of all Christian men, fearithe to rayse any other new matter wherby they shulde take a larger, and peradventure a better, occasyon to revenge the same. Now, sithe it is so, that the Kyng Hys Hieghnes is newly maryed, (the Lady Dowagier repudyat) a matter thretenyng thEmperour, under whose obeydence the sayde Duke withe thoþher 2 princes ar, and that the Kynges Hieghnes sekethe to have intelligence with them, as they conjecture, to have them confederat with Hym, ye, and that agenst thEmperour, if He wolde any thing pretende agenst the Kyng; here is thonclly

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

thing,

thing, whiche I undoubtydly thinke ferithe the Duke, and makinthe hym not so hardy to receyve the Kynges agent, specially to be resydent; as the Duke hym self confessithe by his answer made unto my legacion, whiche I sent unto His Hieghnes with a letter of the same Dukes.

I apperceyving my resydence in the Dukes Courte not to be admyted, ne any consent gevyn to any intelligence, thought it not mete, ne to stande with the Kynges honour, that I shuld crave thone or other of hym; ne yet, although I had 2 letters for like purpose, dyrected to the Landgrave and Duke of Lunenburg, whiche His Grace by hys comyssyon wolde shulde be delyvered unto them, wolde, ne thought it expedyent to delyver the same, sythen the chief Prynce and he to whome thother two ar so lynked, that what thone dothe thother affyrmeth, had refused the Kynges desyre. And herein I doubte not but I have done well; and upon this occasyon am I departed from them and am comen to Cullen, where I intende to tary till I know farther of the Kynges pleasure. And if the Kinges Hieghnes determyn or purpose any other thing to have this legacion any further executed, trust youe me, and by the faithe I owe unto my Prince, it shall not stande with his honour. Never thing more grudged my stomake all the waye bytwene Englond and the Dukes Courte, then the remembrance of my legacion; as I sumwhat wrot yow from Nurinberg. If I had thought that I shulde not have displeased my Prynce, I wolde have returned ageyn into Englond from Nurinberg, without doyng the Kynges legacion. For in this matter the Kynges Hieghnes hathe byn greatly disceyved by Staber, who I dare well saye certifyed His Grace many lyes, to thyntent he wolde have his stipende.

As to the Lutheran secte, I never thinke it by any power to be overthrowen. The Prynces of Germany, that faver and defende it, be these; the Duke of Saxon, the Landgrave, the Duke of Lunenburg, the Marquys of Francone, the Duke George of Pomary, Duke Henry of Mekylburg, the Duke of Holstane, the Countie of Anhalt, the Countie of Hownstayn, the Duke Phillip of Branswicke, the Duke of Bavar but not he that is Electour, the Busshop of Basyle, all thymperiall cities of Germany, all the cities of Suyerland, all Danske, all Denmarke, all the cities standyng upon the see, ye, and that more is, a great parte of the people in the Busshoppes townes, and other that for fere dare not be knownen, who will breke out when the tyme shall come.

Ferdynando, upon an yerely tribute, levythe the regyment of Hungary to hym that contended with hym for the same.

A gentil-

A gentilman in the Duke George of Saxons land, lately, and not 6 dayse byfore I passed within 3 myles by, burnt 2 riche abbeys there; the sayde Duke beyng of the Catholike sorte.

I here of a number of Gelders which be lately reared, and thopynyon of the people here is, that they shall go into Englond. All men there speke evyll of Englond, and thretyn it with theyr folissh maner.

Of the Lege Sweve I here nothing, ne cannot. Christopher shall better certifie yow then I. The lacke of the language is to me so troublous, that I can lerne no thing; and muche paynfull, bycause I cannot understande it. Germany is peisable a now, and for any thing that I can either here or see is likely so to be. At my comyng home, whiche I wolde fayne know when shulde be, the rather bycause I remayn here at great charge, I shall shew more. I praye yow with all possible haste lett me have answer. Yf I knew I shulde go whome, I wolde sende away my horsses, or elles sell them. Till I know the Kynges pleasure, I dare not do thone ne other. And thus the Holy Trynytie preserve yow. The hasty departure of the messenger is cause of this rudenes, whiche I praye yow pardon. From Cullen, the 25 daye of September.

Your olde Servaunt,

STEPHEN VAUGHAN.

Let your letters be sent to Harman Ryng the yonger, dwellyng besides Saynt Antonys in Cullen, and he shall delyver them to me.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right wourshipfull Maister Crumwell,  
London.

### CCCLXXX. GIINUCCI TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MAGNIFICE Domine, uti frater honorande. Scripsi per binas meas literas Magnificentie vestre, quod ex quo Regia Majestas dignata erat ad succurrendum inopie mee annum subsidium mille et quadringentorum scutorum mihi deputare, visum fuerat mihi, ne Magnificentia vestra, cui cura mihi ministrandum hujusmodi subsidium ab ipsa Regia Majestate data erat, dubia esset, cui pre-

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

me ipsum subsidium dare posset, animum meum sibi circa hoc declarare. Scripsi enim Magnificentie vestre quod, si sibi placeret, posset quando ei commodum esset consignare hujusmodi subsidium Domino Francisco Gabriel mercatori Lucensi; quod si faceret, fuisset ac si mihi ipsi consignaret. Habita autem presenti occasione scribendi volui premissa repetere, et id quidem facio, quia scio multitudinem negotiorum a Magnificentia vestra non abesse, et propterea non posse de omnibus recordari, cum alias noluisse erga illam importunitate uti. Et si forsitan importunus sum, Magnificentia vestra mihi ignoscat, quia fides quam erga illam habeo, et desiderium quo sibi inserviendi teneor, causant talem importunitatem, et me Magnificentie vestre semper commendo, que bene valeat. Ex Urbe, die 13 Octobris, 1533.

Excellentissime Magnificentie vestre

(*Superscribitur*)

Deditissimus, HIE. Audit<sup>r</sup> Cam<sup>a.1</sup>

Magnifico Domino, Thome Cromvel, Serenissimi  
Regis Anglie Secretario, et Consiliario, uti  
fratri honorando,  
Londini.

### CCCLXXXI. BONER TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASETH it Your Highnes to be advertised, that the 27<sup>th</sup> of the last, whiche was the next day after the depeche of Thomas, late servaunt to M<sup>r</sup> Doctour Benett, the Castellane of Susa, with other officers of the Duke of Savoye, came unto my compaginon M<sup>r</sup> Carne and me, to have seen vewed and made inventarie of all suche thinges as were in coffres, clothe sakkes, males, or otherwise, with all thinges elles about the said M<sup>r</sup> Benett the tyme of his dethe; like wise as the said Castellan was the self same night that M<sup>r</sup> Benett dyed. We answered unto hym that the said M<sup>r</sup> Benett, beyng Your Highnes Ambas-

<sup>a.</sup> Ghinucci, after being deprived of the See of Worcester by Statute 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 27. (which did not take effect till August 1534), resumed the signature of "Auditor Cameræ." This circumstance and his complaints of poverty create a suspicion that this letter was not written till after his deprivation, and ought therefore to bear the date of 1534 instead of 1533; but the text is clearly in conformity with the original. He followed it up with another letter to Crumwell, dated 10th November 1534, repeating his request for the remittance of his subsidy through Gabriel.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph. There is another letter to the King of the same date, stating what he has done with Benet's goods, and referring for particulars to the personal narrative of Carne. The reason of Boner's writing two letters to the King on the same day does not appear.

sadour, and a person privileged, had diverse thinges ther of importance, and also secretenes apperteynyng to Your Grace, whiche was not mete to be loked apon, and one that havyng made his testament with executores in Englund, and the goodes savely remaynyng in custodie, aswell with us as of his steward, it was not necessarie ony inventarie to be made, especially seyng that noo man ther ought of right or cowd make title therunto. It was replied that the Duke of Savoye had that privilege apon all strangeres deyng within his domynion, and that they woold not oonly see all the goodes and substance, but also open the bodie of the said M<sup>r</sup> Benet. Wherunto we said, that to see suche goodes and substance, wherein Your Highnes had the chieff interest, and afterwardes the executores, we said they shuld not, till we knewe Your Graces pleasure; and to open his bodie we said it was agaynst the lawe, expressly alledging therfor a constitucion of Boniface; soo at that tyme we had moche adoon, and yet nevertheles in conclusion we rid us from theym for that tyme. Apon the morowe ther was a jentilman specially sent from the Duke, and unto us (as he said); but letter he brought noon, and in the begynnyng he shewed very jentily of the Dukes behalfe, how sory he was for the deth of Your Highnes said Ambassadour, and that all suche honour, might be doon, other to the same, or to us Your Highnes Agent, shuld in moost effec-tuall maner be shewed. Afterwardes the said jentilman, as havyng made ende of his proheme, proponed unto us that, forasmuche as the said M<sup>r</sup> Benett died intestate, the Dukes pleasure was an inventarie shuld be taken, as is above, and willed us for that purpose to be present. We answered that, Your Highnes havyng suche interest, and your pleasure not knownen, we cowd not nor woold agree unto the same; and said also, that the Duke, well enformed of the trouthe, woold not that requyre. Wherapon the said jentilman requyred us to have the kayes of thoos chamberes, wher the said stuff and substance was. We said the kayes remayned with the steward of the said M<sup>r</sup> Benett, whiche, beyng very soore seke, and charged with all the said goodes, we thought nother cowld nor woold delyver the same; and if he did, it shuld be utterly agaynst our consentes. Hereapon the said jentilman sayd unto us, that if we wold nother consent to the making of suche inventarie, ne yet delyver the kayes for that purpose, he woold breke apon the durres, and make it hym self. We said, that if he did it by commission, we woold not complayne apon hym, but declare the same aswell to Your Highnes, as also unto the said Duke, for remedie, whiche we dowted not to have. If he did it besides commission, we said we woold not fayle but laye it to his charge; adding alwayes that to do suche an acte, and soo prejudicall to Your Highnes, we woold not giff

ony wise our consentes. Hereapon the said jentilman, rashely proceeding, went to my chamber, bycause percase he thought I somewhat withstode his desire, and ther brake open my chambre dowre, and toke inventarie of all that I had; and havyng knowlege hereof by my servaunt, I repayred unto hym, and said that he did not well, seyng in the said chamber was no stuff at all of the said M<sup>r</sup> Benettes; and added herewithall, that if ony thing were taken out of the said chambre, I woold laye it to his charge. The said jentilman, beyng soo fer forth, and ashamed to leve his interprise, proceeded to other chambers, breking the durres, and lokyng apon the cofres, but not openyng theym, and afterwardes sealed the durres wher the stuff was, and also my chambre durre. Wherapon in all hast we send our letters, and a speciaill messenger, fully instructe, to the Duke, and surely the Duke and also all his Counsell were soore discontented with the said jentilmen. Nevertheles, taryeng for the retourne of the said jentilman to make his answer, I was kept out of my chamber and bed by the space of 2 nyghtes, compelled to take for that tyme pore lodging. In conclusion, sending agayn to the Duke our letters, the Counsell, perceyving that the said jentilman was like to be undown, if the matter were eftestones complayned to the Duke, desired the messenger, whiche we send, to be content, and they woold send an other jentilman to release all that was doon by the first, and ferther to doo as we shuld desire. And thereapon came a right honest sad jentilman, and declaring the great benevolence of the Duke towardsdes Your Highnes and all your subjectes, and not a litle lamenting the misordre of the first commissionar, to whom he said he might gif office but not discretion, he said, that loke what we woold have doon therein, it shuld be doon. And upon this he released the sequestracion, as Your Grace may perceyve by the writing sent herewithall.<sup>1</sup> Veryly, Syre, and the respecte of Your Grace had not been, and we your servauntes and subjectes ernestly to have spoken in the premisses, the uncle of M<sup>r</sup> Benettes had been like to have had full litle of the goodes, and if he had, it shuld have cost hym moor then they wer worth. Havyng taken order for the premisses, and also for all other thinges ther accordingly, after that we had taryed 21 dayes at Susa, we departed thens; and the steward, then beyng seke, desired me to take peanes for the save conveying of the stuff in to Englund, whiche I did.

Within 3 postes of Lyones, Thomas the currour mette with us, and shewing that Your Highnes had sent us letters<sup>1</sup>, we, lighting of our horses,

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

and

and goyng in to a closse by the hie waye, red the same; and percyvyng Your Highnes pleasure declared in the same, did make that diligence we well cowd to comme to Lyons. And apon our arryvall ther I receyved an other letter<sup>1</sup> whiche Your Highnes longe afor (as appered by the date, beyng the 9<sup>th</sup> day of Auguste) had sent unto me; and veryly havyng respecte unto bothe the said your gracious letters, I did aswell sett in order all the stuff, delyvering the same unto M<sup>r</sup> Carne<sup>2</sup>, as also with celerite take my journey towrdes Avynion, and so to the Frenche Cowrt; as moor at large my said companyon can, and will I trust, declare unto Your Highnes. Apon my arryvall ther, I shall not fayle, God willing, to all the uttermost of my power, to studie and doo all thinges that may be for the avauncement of Your Graces cause, and ferther assiste with my poore counsell Your Highnes Ambassadore, as is Your Graces commandement, in the very best maner I can. Of good will, trouthe, and diligence, Your Highnes shalbe sure. And thus moost humblie I commende me unto Your moost gracious Highnes, beseching Almighty God longe to conserve the same in prosperous helthe, mony yeres. At Lyons, this Thursday mornyng, 16 of Octobre, taking bote to Avynion.

Your Highnes moost bounden and  
humble subjecte servaunt and poor chapleyn,

EDMOND BONER.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kinges Highnes.

### CCCLXXXII. GHINUCCI TO KING HENRY VIII.

SERENISSIME Princeps, Felicitatem. Tribus aut quatuor proxime decursis diebus ex civitate ista Marsilie, ad quam paucis ante diebus, una cum Curia Pontificis applicui, ad Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram, Eam salutandi, ac servitutem meam, quam Sibi perpetuo dicavi, offerendi gratia, scripsi.<sup>1</sup> Abeunteque hodie cursore isto, debiti mei esse existimavi denuo Majestatem Vestram Regiam salutare, Eamque rogare ut, si qua in re me Sibi inservire

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Carne, on the 19th of October, wrote to Crumwell from La Palisse, stating that he was in possession of all Benet's effects, to be delivered to M<sup>r</sup> John Benet his uncle and executor, and was proceeding homewards as fast as he could.

posse putat, servitute mea hujusmodi uti non dignetur, et me Majestati Vestrae, quam Deus ad vota extollat et secundet, humillime commendo. Ex Marsilia, die 19 Octobris, 1533.

Excellentissimæ Vestrae Serenissimæ Majestatis

(*Signatur*)      Humillima Creatura,

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissime Regie Majestati.

HIE. Ep̄s Wigornieñ.

CCCLXXXIII. VAUGHAN TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

**R**Ight worshipfull Sir, humble commendacions premised. Withe some difficultie I departed from Cullen, and cam to Andwerp, where I abode and taryed answer from the Kynges Highnes, or from yow, by the space of 23 dayse, and by the waye goyng was layed wayt for in 3 places. If I had ben taken, God knowithe what shulde have happened me. The Duke of Gulighe berithe some grudge, as I here saye, towardes the Kyng; and havyng many towardes hym, whiche be men of contencion, and more gladly goyng to do evyll then good, knowyng their maisters mynde towardes the Kynges Hieghnes, most gladly covet to mete withe any of the Kynges servauntes, and to them to do what villanye they can. I thanke God I escaped them, and am here. The Duke of Gulighe knowithe my legacion done to the Duke of Saxon; and no marveyl, for Saxon hathe to wyfe Gulighes doughter.<sup>2</sup>

Syr, I excidyngly thyrst to know how the Kynges Hieghnes takethe my labours, and how He is pleased withe me; untill whiche knowyng I cannot be mery. I undoubtidly thought it neyther necessarye, ne mete for the Kynges honour, sithe I had suche answer of Saxon as I had, to do the Kynges legacion to any of thother 2 prynces, to saye, the Langrave of Hesse and the Duke of Lunenburg; althoughe I yet spared not to saye, as me thought necessarye to be sayde, that like legacion I had to do to eche of the sayde Prynces; wherof I knew well Saxon wolde certefie them bothe, for they be all one: and that sythe my legacion from my maister, Who of so lovyng mynde made them, for theyr proffet, so kynde and thankfull a proffer, was so unkyndly rejected, I wolde no farther procede in my legacion to thother 2 Prynces, till I harde answer from the Kynges Majestie; thinkyng with myself, though I have so sklender an answer, and so lightly geven withoute a more sober deliberacion

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I. p. 599. note 3.

therin

therin taken, yet shall my legacion sticke in theyr stomaches, and peradventure geve them an occasion (to the Kynges more honour) to seke upon the Kyng; whiche I doubt not but either they have done, or will do. For, when I had the answer, I made light therof, as though the Kyng sought theyr amities, not for his necessitie, but muche more to do them good and pleasure. Whiche thinges, with many other on my behalf consydered, I purposed in no wyse to have my Prynnes honour towched, ne to shew that for any nede the Kynges Hieghnes sought them, but rather so to compasse my matter, as though it shulde be apparaunt unto them that the Kynges Hieghnes onely sent me unto them to do them good. For undoubtidly, if I had gone to the Langrave and Lunenburge, after my legacion done and answer had of Saxon, it shulde have represented some nede that the Kyng shulde have had to have intelligence withe them; and of like answer shulde I have byn suer of eyther of the sayde Prynnes. For Saxon, hering that I had gone unto them, wolde have advertised them what my legacion had byn, and hys answer theruppon; whiche he wolde have laboured to have byn allowed in theyr behalf, and that theyr answer shulde have byn made like unto hys, lest he shuld have seemed more inconsoultly to have geven the same, then they, and therby to have purchased some displeasure or unkyndnes on the Kynges behalf. Saxon, as I thought he wold do, the same mornynge that I departed from Wymar (a towne wherin he moche holdeth his courte), he sente a poste to the Langrave, with letters; who I know well went withe my legacion, and his answer. And heruppon I suspect surely that the Langrave will either wryte or sende to the Kyng. Which, as it hath happened, wer better, then I had done my legacion unto hym.

Thus largely wolde I have wrytten byfore, but I neyther had suer messenger, ne the waye sewer; therfore I purposed to have kept this, till my comyng whome, and spech by mowthe.

Of the state of the Germans I here nothing but well. The Lutherans be of more puyssance and nomber, then wylbe overthrownen.

Sythe my comyng to Andwerp, I communed with the merchauntes adventurers Chapleyn, who tolde that he was desyred at his late beyng in London by one in Bonyces howse, which shuld be a marchaunt with a blake berde, to bere over withe hym 10£ in money to Fryer Peto, whiche as he sayethe he refused to do. Peto is an ipocrite knave, as the more parte of his brethern be, a wolff, a tyger cladd in a shepes skyn; it is a perilous knave, a reyser of sedycion, an evyll reporter of the Kynges Hieghnes, a prophesyar of myschief, a felow that I wold wysshe to be in the Kynges handes, and to be  
shamefully

shamefully punysshed. Wolde God I could gett hym by any polycie. I wyll worke what I can. I here shamefull thinges of hym, worthy of great punysshe-  
ment, whiche I wyll not write. I am enfourmed credibly and by an honest  
man, that a boke, whiche Peto and his complices have made ageynst the  
Kynges mariage, thother parte that I wrott yow at my fyrste comyng hether  
from London, whiche they intended to put foorth, they brought unto Tyndall  
in Andwerp, and desyred hym to correct it; whiche he refused to do, saing  
that he wolde no farther medle in his Prynnes mater, ne wolde move his  
people agenst Hym, sithe it was done. Be yow sewer that Peto shall do  
nothing in these parties, ne pretende to do anything, that I wyll not fynde  
meanes to cause the Kynges Hieghnes to know. I have layde a bayte for  
hym. He is not able to were the clokys and kukullys that be sent hym owt  
of Englond, they be so many.

And thus agayn fare yow well, withe moche worshipes, healthe, and  
felycitie. From Andwerp, the 21 daye of October.

If I have not shortly your answer, yow kyll me.

Your olde feithfull servaunt,

(*Superscribed*)  
To the right worshipfull Master  
Thomas Crumwell.

V. S.

#### CCCLXXXIV. VANNES to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SACRATISSIME atque Invictissime Domine Rex, et Domine mi Supreme, post  
humillimam perpetuamque Commendationem. De graviori Serenissime Majes-  
tatis Vestre negotio, Domini Oratores, qui in illud accuratissime invigilant,  
certiora ac veriora quam ego possim ex ore Christianissimi Regis scribunt.<sup>2</sup>  
Ex hijs tamen, qui hec a Pontifice audierunt, intelligo Regem vehementissime  
instare, ut Vestre Majestatis expectationi satisfiat Pontifex, in ea re maxime  
sollicitus est, et cuperet, agitque modis omnibus ut id fiat per viam judicij.

De publicis illorum actionibus secretissime omnia tractant: intellexi tamen  
Pontificem strenue partes suas interponere, ut conventiones Cameracenses,  
quibus interfuerunt illæ Dominæ, ut puta, de Ducatu Burgundie, a Cesare  
multa in parte relaxentur, vel mitius corrigantur; quibus audio Cesarem omnino  
velle stare, et eo nomine presertim, quod postea fuerint ratehabite; Regem

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

vero Christianissimum nullo pacto hijs adstringi nec debere, nec velle, asserit, utpote que fuerint preter jus et equum extorte a captivo; assidue tamen hinc inde mittuntur tabellarij; nescitur quis harum rerum futurus sit exitus.

Pontifex (ut audio) in assiduo opere est, ut res Genuensium cum Christianissimo componat, quo illis, ut olim, sub certis conditionibus, liberum sit in Gallia commercium, et negotiatio; multumque ad id, ut audio, movetur Pontifex, tum Andree Dorie respectu, quem maximi facit, tum ut hoc beneficio Pontifex et Christianissimus illos sibi devinciant in omnem eventum: idem etiam fieri intendo cum Duce Mediolani ob violatum jus gentium.

Heri advenit neptis Pontificis, honorificenti satis deducta comitatu; et, ut publice fertur, cras aut perendie, contrahetur matrimonium, cuius conditiones secretissime habentur; verum tamen, judicio omnium, si semel consumetur matrimonium, necesse est, ut propter imparilitatem amplissime sint conditions.

Expectatur Hispanus quidam, qui mittitur a Cesare.

Omnino putatur, paulo post festum Omnitum Sanctorum, Pontificem Romam velle redire. Humillime oscular sacramissimas manus Majestatis Vestre. Ex Marsilia, die 24 Octobris, 1533.

Excellentissimæ Sacratissimæ Majestatis Vestræ

Humills ac perpetuus Svus

(*Superscribitur*)

PETRUS VANNES.

Sacratissime atque Invictissime Regie Majestati.

### CCCLXXXV. VANNES to CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MAGNIFICE Domine Cromwelle, Domine mi observandissime. Indies apertius agnosco et fateor, quot nominibus maxima queque tibi debo, quod tanto studio et effectu mea que omnia suscepis, commendata augeas, et exornes, nec ullum gratiarum genus reperio, quo tot tuis de me bene meritis parem ullam gratiam habeam; fidem tamen et observantiam meam, dum vixero, in Regiam Majestatem prestabo, et tui juris semper ero. Ex multorum literis audio, quam ex animo bene mihi velis, et quantopere cupias indicium aliquod non obscurum tui in me bene affecti animi exhibere, tantam humanitatem, licet nunquam sim promeritus, toto tamen pectore amplector, et caram habeo,

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

nullumque

nullumque potes majus aut acceptius in me exhibere, quam Serenissime Regie Majestatis gratiam et benigitatem mihi conservare. Nova si que fuerint alicujus momenti, fieri potest, ut post hoc confectum matrimonium, alicunde prodeant in vulgus.

Pontifex, ut audio, plurimum conatur, ut conditiones inter Cesarem et Christianissimum moderetur, in commodum tamen Christianissimi, sed id ab Eo difficillime factumiri puto.

De Regie Majestatis negotio copiose et certe scribi arbitror a Dominis Oratoribus<sup>1</sup>; ego tamen, quoad ex eorum sermone conjicio, cum quibus aliquando agit Pontifex de hijs rebus, arbitror Ejus Sanctitatem conari, ut suis rationibus Christianissimus acquiescat. Et cum videam rem hic remitti ad aliorum discussionem, vereor Pontificem nihil facturum, nisi per viam judicij; quum tamen fieri queat ut intuitu Christianissimi Regis modum omnem querat Regie expectationi satisfaciendi; hoc dico, quod video inter Regem et Pontificem conjunctissime et amicissime hic agi.

Video quid de negotio Abatis de Hidde<sup>2</sup> scribas, jamque adhibita dexteritate percontatus sum, quid in simili casu fieri queat, ut ad eum modum, quem conjicio, illius expectationi satisfiat, sed frustra in ea re laborabitur, quum necesse illi sit Episcopatum primo in titulum, mox Abatiam in commendam obtinere; nunquamque videatur Pontifex, id per Consistorium, ut moris est, in concedendis Episcopatibus concessurum, nisi per Regiam Majestatem commendetur: ex quodam preterea officiali, per cuius manus multa in parte tractantur expeditiones, antequam de ea re scriberes, intellexi illum Episcopatum a Rege in hunc Abatem fuisse collatum; non deero tamen modis omnibus conari, quid juxta desiderium vestrum fieri queat.

De negocio Domini Bedyll difficillime agetur, quum non ab consueto ordine, sed a Pontificis gratia pendeat; plura tamen, ut illi morem geram, conabor, quam in propria causa agerem. Et bene valeas; Massilie, die 34<sup>3</sup> Octobris, 1533.

Bonus S<sup>or</sup> PETRUS VANNES.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino meo, Domino Thomæ  
Cromvelo, Regie Majestatis Consiliario,  
Domino observando.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> John Salcot, who was consecrated Bishop of Bangor the 19th of April 1534. His predecessor died in June 1533.

<sup>3</sup> Written "xxxiiij" in the original, but evidently a clerical error for "xxvij."

CCCLXXXVI. CARNE to CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASYTH yt your Maystershyp. After my moste humble commendations, accordyng to my moste bounden dutye to the same. Sir, wher of late I was (as hyt fortuned) with M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Benet at hys departyng (God rest hys sowle), and therfor doo stand in dowt whether I dare, or may at my arryvall thether attempte, accordyng to my dutye, to visit the Kynges Hyghnes, Hys Hyghnes pleasur theryn not knowyn: for notwithstandingyng that the sayd M<sup>r</sup> Benet discessed oonly of an ague, as the Phisitions, beyng with hym befor hys deth, and also by the syght of hys bodye after, judged; yet, for the more surtye, I moste interly desyre your Maystershyp to be soo good mayster to me, as to know Hys Hyghnes pleasure theryn, yf you thynke hyt expedient; or elles that I may know your Maystershyp ys pleasur in the same by thys brynger, whome I have ordeyned to meyt me at Dover, oonly to certfyfe me heryn from your Maystershyp. For seyng that I have byne now 4 yers continually owt of the Realme in His Hyghnes service, I wold be moste soryste, that I cowd not visite and see Hys Hyghnes; and of the other I wold be loth to attempt or presume to doo that thyng, wherby Hys Grace or hys most noble Councell shuld be any thyng displeased. And surly, yf I knew or suspected any perell yn my commyng, I wold not, for any good in the world, presume or attempt to cum to Hys Hyghnes presens; but I truse ther ys none. Nevertheless my espetiall truse and desyre ys, that your Maystershyp wyll send me a word or 2 tochygng the premisses, by thys berer, so that he may meyte me, as ys above wryten; and in thys doyng your Maystershyp shall bynd me for ever. And thys moste humbly I commend me to the same, besechyng Allmyghtye God to conserve you in long lyff with encrease of honor. From Parise, the 28<sup>th</sup> of Octobre, 1533.

Your most bownden Bedesman,

(Superscribed)

To the Ryght Honorable and hys singler  
good Mayster, Thomas Cromwell, of the  
Kynges Majestys Privye Councell.

EDWARD KARNE.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

CCCLXXXVII. VANNES *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MAGNIFICE Domine, et Domine mi plurimum observande, post debitam Commendationem. Quum tuam in me benevolentiam et amicum studium compertissimum habeam, illud prohaemiandi genus jam missum faciam, quod officiosi homines in agendis gratijs plus nimio solent inculcare; hoc tamen non reticebo, me illum eundem esse, de quo ea omnia tibi polliceri queas, que bonus servitor et amicus prestare possit.

Littere, quas 25 die Octobris<sup>2</sup> abs te datas accepi, eo nomine omnium gratissime et acceptissime mihi sunt, quod Serenissimi Domini Regis prosperam valetudinem nunciant, et ejus in me, indignissimum servulum, benignitatem testantur, quam utinam vel multa mei sanguinis parte promerer Valeam. Scripsi ad illustrissimum Dominum meum, Dominum Ducem Nortfolk, et id summatim, ne longioribus literis illius Excellentie fastidio essem, de novi hujus initi matrimonij progressu. Hoc tamen accipe, commune hic omnium esse judicium, non nisi gravissimis subjectis causis, ijsdemque secretissimis, in hujus matrimonij vincula potuisse conveniri; et hec omnia a Pontifice cum Rege, amotis arbitris, fuisse tractata, in illorumque pectoribus esse recondita; quod vero Pontificis consilia Regi probentur, id testatur in ineundo matrimonio facilis assensus Sue Majestatis, regnique sui tam devote ac publice prestita obedientia, et continuata mutue conjunctionis demonstratio. De publicis autem illis matrimonij ac dotis conventionibus, ut puto, de ducentum millibus aureorum, centum scilicet in pecunia numerata, alia vero centena in jocalibus et assignationibus; de titulo porro paterni status, et Urbini Ducatus, quem alter sui juris sibi vendicat; equidem non admodum laboratur, quum pro forma in vulgus data multi opinentur.

A Cesare ad hunc congressum nemo ex Hispania missus est; et quamvis consultus Cesar duxerit non deberi a Christiano pastore, et a Rege Christianissimo, nisi optima queque expectari, videtur tamen sollicitus esse, quis tandem futurus sit istius congressus eventus. Multi de Parma et Placentia loquuntur, alij de Ducatu Urbini ac Mediolani tacite immurmurantur; alij vero de Comitatu Hastensi nescio quid loquuntur; interim diligenter conficiuntur triremes, nec verosimile est Regem velle tanto sumptu tot triremes frustra enutrire, nisi quid animo moliatur. Habet multos ductores et Italos,

quos pluris facit quam hactenus consuevit; id forsan proficiscitur ab regia illa innata benignitate, vel quod posthac, si ita occasio tulerit, illorum opera uti velit: sed harum rerum fundamenta, que nos hic sub nube habemus, arbitror a Rege Christianissimo Regie Majestati cebrius et certius participari.

Regina graviter egrotat, et ex ea occasione dicitur Regem hic diutius substitisse, quam rerum omnium penuria, et hujus opidi patiatur angustia. Ego adhuc non video triremes esse omni sui parte instructas; complures etiam asserunt Pontificis discessum pendere ab illius cursoris reditu, qui 24<sup>o</sup> die Octobris in Angliam destinatus fuit, quod nonnulla attulerit, que responsum exigant.

De negocio Bedyll, non nisi re confecta scribam, quum ea, que tuis litteris mihi commendas, majori cure habeam, quam mea propria. Me tenuesque res meas tibi commendabo. Massilie, die 4<sup>o</sup> Novembris, 1533.

Bonus S<sup>or</sup> PETRUS VANNES.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifice Domino Thome Cromvello, Regie Majestatis Consilario, Domino meo observando.

### CCCLXXXVIII. VANNES to CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MAGNIFICE et observande Domine. Superfluum esse puto de Pontificis discessu, de summa animorum conjunctione, de bene donatis Cardinalibus, quicquam ad te scribere, quod sciam aliorum litteris<sup>2</sup> hec abunde significari; solum agam tibi ingentes gratias, quas coram aliquibus a me habitas iri confido, de tuo in me studio, et quod, tuo testimonio, benevolum Regis in me animum agnosco, id quod summi beneficij loco, multa in parte tibi acceptum refero.

Negocium Domini Bedyll multo difficilius impetravi, quam nunc velim difficultatis causas enarrare, idque sub plumbō, sed non ad tam longum tempus ut ille expectasset; sed accidit, ut per preconem jussis omnibus triremes ascendere, ille Scriptor Apostolicus, qui negocium expectatum habebat, ignorans ubi me reperiret, cum sua supellectile complicavit, adeo quod non nisi postquam Romam ventum fuerit haberī possit; unde statim ad nos mittetur: hoc tibi compertum esse velim, me magis ea in re laborasse, quam in propria

Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> There is no trace of such.

fecisse causa ; in qua mea causa nihil effeci, et parum amice sum tractatus, sed non aliter quam mihi proposuissem. Rogo me commendes Domino Lygh, et Regiam benignitatem non obscurio exhibitam testimonio, illi meo nomine gratuleris. Bene vale. Massilie, 12 Novembris, 1533.

Bonus S<sup>r</sup> PETRUS VANNES.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino, Thome Cromwell, Regio  
Consilario, &c. Domino meo observando.

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### CCCLXXXIX. KING HENRY VIII. *to WALLOP.*<sup>1</sup>

TRUSTY and right welbiloved, We grete youe well ; lating youe witt, that wheras We have nowe perfite advertisement and knowleage of the Popes endured herte, and moost obstinate and ungodlie entente purpose and disposition towardes Us and our Reaulme ; Who, neither regarding his hiegh offence and displeasour doon towardes God and his lawes, or the justice of our cause, or our manifolde and excellent benefittes doon heretofore unto Him, nor yett the intercession of our good brother the Frenche King, persisteth still in his malice, proceeding against Us, and executing his power and autoritic to our annoyaunce and displeasour, with all extremitie to Him possible ; We have thought it, on thodreside, to be moche expedient and necessarye for Us to devise practise and set forth, for our parte, all the meanes We canne, wherby We may more facily occurre resiste and mete with all the Popes saied malicioouse purposes, and as may redounde and conduce to the moost sure defence of our honour, and the salvegarde of our succession Reaulme and subgiettes. And forasmoch as in conferring hereof with the Lordes of our Counsaill, and oother the nobles and subjectes of our Realme, it is considered as a thing moche necessarie in this pointe, not only to experiment with our olde auncient freendes and confederates, to knowe and to be assured, howe they woll concurre with Us, and what aide and socours We shall receave of

<sup>1</sup> From a contemporary Minute in the Chapter House, Tract. Theolog. Vol. III. leaf 66. There is no date to this document ; but the subjects alluded to are particularly mentioned in the Minutes of Council, 2d of December 1533, printed in the First Volume of State Papers ; as to the 14th, 15th, and 16th Articles of which it was ordered, "that letters shalbe, with all spedie, " devised and sent unto M<sup>r</sup> Wallopp, to advertise the French King therof, before any of them " shalbe put in execution ;" p. 415. A day or two therefore after the date of that minute will probably be the date of this document.

them

them in this case, but also by all good meanes to acquire and geete oother newe frendes, and so to conjoyne Ourself in amitie with them, as maye be to thincreasen and advauncement of our strength and power and the more confusion of our adversaries ; We be mynded, by the deliberate advise of our said Counsaill, to sende nowe incontinently som of our trusty servautes not onely unto the Princes of Germanye, that is to saye, the King of Poole, King John of Hungarye, the Duc of Saxe, the Dukes of Bavier, Duc Frederike, the Lantgrave Van Hesse, the Bishop of Magunce, the Bishop of Trivers, the Bishop of Coleyn, and other the Potentates of Germanye, but also unto the citees of Nuremburgh, Ausburgh, Lubeke, Danske, Hamsburgh, Bruneswike, and all other the Steedes of the Haunse Tutonyke, for the purposes aforesaied. Albeit We, considering the parfitenes of that frendship, whiche is alredy contracted and established betwen Us and our good Brother, and mynding therfore, like as We have alwaies hitherto doon, frankely and frendely to communicate unto Him, and to make Hym participant of all our procedinges, of what sorte or importaunce so ever they be ; We have thought good first to advertise youe of the premisses, to thintent that youe, immedately upon the sight herof, repairing to our saied goode Brother, maye utter and declare the same unto Him ; which We require youe to do, in the best fashion and maner youe canne devise, according to suche effecte and purporte as herafter ensueth, that is to saye :

Being nowe the nobles and other the subjectes of this our Reaulme clerly frustrate of any goode to be hadde at the Popis hand, and considering further howe the Pope myndeth no thing lesse then to redubbe those manifest and intollerable wronges and injuries, whiche He hath doon, aswell to our singuler prejudice, and the notable derogation of the imperial dignitie and power, whiche We have here within our Realme, as also to the violation of our lawes privileges and preeminence of our Corone ; but studieth rather more and more, by accumulating of newe injuries, to disturbe and subverte the reste and peax of our Reaulme ; ye, and somoch as in Him is, utterly to distroye the same ; the saied noble men with our sayd subjectes, being hooly and entierly dedicated to the mayntenaunce of our honour, and the justice of our cause, and consequently to the wealth tranquilltie and quyetnes of thair own personnes and of thair succession, have nowe of late com unto Us, moost humbly and instantly requiring Us, not onely that We shulde no lenger suffre or endure these malicioouse attemptates doon by the Pope against Us and them, but shulde provide due remedie for the same, and for som recompense of his saide injustice and iniquitie shewed unto Us, so to use the administration of our hiegh autoritie within this our Realme, as the

same maye redounde to the utter abolition of the Popes autoritie, to be used or to take any place within the same ; like as We maye do by thordre of Goddes lawes ; but also that We shulde nowe incontinently send our Agentes unto the Princes and Seignories and States above saied, to practise with them not oonly for thair advysis and assistens to concurre with Us in the defence of our moost just and lawful cause, and the revenging of so hiegh displeasour and injurie doon unto Us by the Pope, but also to require them, for the unyversall weale of all Christendome, tassist Us in the callyng and congregatyng of a Generall Counsaile, wher at We doubt not but the justnes of our cause, and also the malyce of the Pope, shall appere to all the worlde. And forasmoch, as We, considering then the greate waight and importaunce of thair saiede requestes and counsail, approved moche the same, and thought it necessarie to be folowed on our partie, the matiers standing in suche termes, and disjoints with the Pope, as they nowe doo ; youe shall saye unto our good brother, that, as concerning our own Reaulme, We have alredy taken suche ordre with our nobles and subgiettes, as We shall schortely be hable to geve unto the Pope such a buffett, as He never had heretofore. And as concerning thalluring of the saide Princes unto our devocion in that partie, although We considre it to be right expedient to set forth the same with all diligence, yet We entende nothing to doo therin without making of our goode brother first privie therunto. And for this cause and consideracions onely, youe maye saye, that We have at this tyme addressed thiese our letters unto youe ; comauarding you expressly to signifie and declare our saide purpose and entent unto our goode brother, and to require Him, on our bihalf, of his goode addresse and best advise, to be ministred unto Us in that pointe according to that singulier trust and confidence We have in his frendeship ; Who, We doubte not, knowing so well our mynde, and being so persuaded in the justice of our matier, and specially being so alied knitte and joyned with Us in frendship, as He is, woll so regarde the same, as youe shall not nede to use any long oration to exhorte or move Him in that partie. And of his answer therein We require youe tadvertise Us with all diligence, for according therunto We entende to attempre our procedinges. And where as We have lately had advertisementes, how that our sayde good brother shulde, by the labour of dyvers affectionat papistes, be myndyd to practyse and setforth some thing with his clergie ther in the advauncement of the Pope and his desyres ; whiche We cannot beleve He wyll doo, consydering the greate amytie bytwene Hym and Us, that He will doo any thing to the benefite and honour of Hym, Who hathe somuche not only mynstred unto Us thextremytie of his malice, but also so litle regarded our saide goode brothers travaylle in our gret cause.

CCCXC. HACKETT *to King Henry VIII.*<sup>1</sup>

PLEASSYTH Your Highnys to understand, that synnys my last letters unto Your Grace I have fro tyme to tyme advertyssyd Master Cromwell of all the occorentes of this partyys, as fer as I had knowlage therof; who, as I ham suyre, fayllyd not to advertis Your Hyghnys of all that hym toght meytt for Your Grace to know.

And this shalbe onely to advertis Yowr Majeste, that syns Master Waughan is departyng from Andwerp, there came a messenger to this Courte from a rebell soget of Your Highnys, and as I ham infourmyth ys a gentyll man owt of Waelles<sup>2</sup>, who as I understand dyd write here to the Quene Regent for a sawf conduyt for his person and intretenance, and that he would do thEmperour and Hyr Grace grete serwyce agens Your Hyghnys; and as I ham infourmyth the Regent cawssyd the Conssell to make answer to hys petyssion. And so Mons<sup>r</sup> de Palermo<sup>3</sup>, Cheif Precedent of the sayd Conssell, made hym answer verbally, that thEmperor may not, by the treates of peace, kepe no rebell of Your Hyghnys in this Low Contres, nethyr that Your Hyghnys in like wyse may kepe any of thEmperors rebellis within your Reaulme of Ingland and juredictions of the same. And to be assuryd of the trouth and certayne here of, I went at a convenient tyme to my Lord of Palermo, and showyd hym that I was advertissyd that of late there came syche a messenger to the Regent, with like letters as herebefore is menssond, requyryng hym that I myght know, whate answere that he had from the Regent. The sayd Lord of Palermo sayd to me, in deyd ther came syche a messenger here, to whom the Quene nevir spake wourde, nethyr would spek to hym, but remytyth his matier to the Conssell, and I made hym his answer; tellyng me wourd by wourd like as here before is menssond. I sayd that I was infourmyth that he comffortyth the rebell to com to this contre; He sayd ondowthyth that hit was no so, and that by his wyll that this contres shall not be the fyrst that shall infrange or breke the treattes of peace, that ys betwyx Your Hyghnys and this contres. I told his Lordship that so doyng that they shall do as well for them selfs as for ther neghbors. And in this manner we fenyshyt this artycle.

More owyr, and fallyng to ferder communication to gyddyr, I told hym that of late I had spocken with the Regent here, dyssyryng Hyr

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> James Griffith. See Vol. IV. pp. 647, 652.

<sup>3</sup> John de Carondelet, Archbishop of Palermo.

Grace to consyddyr the grete devoer and aquytale Your Hyghnys hathe done to purge and clere your moste noble conssiens, acordyng to the lawes of God and man, touchyng your grete cawse; and the gret indevoer and il conssyens that the Pope, which ought to be namyth Holy Father, hath ussyth, foure or fyve yere to gyddyr, with delayng and reffussyng your justyce; and what grete comodyte, what grete welfare and prospere utillite, that Your Hyghnys and your subgets hath done them here, and may do daely, with hanttyng and frequenttyng lowyng and amyably the tone the tothyr; and what dyscomodyte, what grate damage and dysutillite should it be for all this Low Contres, yf the contrary should chawns, which God forbyd it should, and also that Hyr Grace should consyddyr that all shiche delay and refuse of justyce, that the sayd Pope mallyssously hath done, was, nethyr is, to no nothyr intent, nethyr fyn, but yf He myght or may to kepe the Cristyn Prinsses in dysunyon and dyscord to gyddyr. Where fore, and markyng ewediently that the sayd Popp is menyng nothyr intent is not godly, nethyr good, that me thynkyth that Hyr Grace should do right well to proibe and dyffend that none of his malisius brewys, nothyr pappers, consernyng this mattier that we spek of, should be permittyth nethyr suffyrt to be publisshyt, netthyr atachyd in no partyys of this Low Contres. And her unto Hyr Grace made me this answer folowynge: “ Monsieur l’Embassatuer, ne vous douttes “ poyent, que l’Emperuer nest assureement adverty, que le Roy vostre mestre “ dyssyroit lexspedission de justyce du Pape a son awantage, et suyvant sa “ volunte, et non selon la raysson.” “ Madame,” sayd I, “ atant pouroge dyre “ ascuere, que le Pape a donne sa senttence selon sa volunte, et non selon “ la raysson.” She sayd, “ Quoy, Monsieur le Imbassatuer, vouldrye vous “ dyre que le Pape a done movesse sentence?” I sayd, “ Madame, je lesse “ la desspute de ce a ceux qui sont plus sagges que moy, mes je osseroy “ byen dyre, que me semble que sa sentence tardive na este james donne a “ bone intension, ny a bone fyn, ce nest pour son propre utillite pour aufere “ son proffyt des aultres, donct les sagges prinsses devroyent prendre garde “ et de y pourveoys.” She sayd, “ Mons<sup>r</sup> l’Embassatuer, soyes byen assure “ que l’Empereur, le Roy de Hongrye, la Royne de France, le Roy de Portogal, “ et Moy, Nous entendons byen le droyt de me tantte, et de raysson Nous “ somes tenus la assister, et de obeir les brewes du Pape, qui vyenent en “ faveur de elle au pais de pardesa; et pour vous dyre la verite, Monsieur “ l’Embassatuer, le Roy vostre mestre ne ce devroyt dyscontenter de l’Emperuer, “ ny de Moy, pour assister le bon droyt de nostre tantte atant que la justyce “ puet suffryr.” Assuryng Your Hyghnys that they be here so ostynatly abussyd by the malissius Popp is investigation, that they thynk verrelly to be grondyth

grondyth upon raysson. And thynkyng to me that my Lord of Palermo aforsayd showld somewhat ripplyn pondyr and consyddyr the ryght substance and effect of my forsayd comuncation with the Quene Regent, he beyng cheyfe of thEmprors Prewe Consell, and as he that oght substancially to take good heyd for the comene welfare of this Low Contrees, as fer as his charge may drawe, I sayd unto hym, that he, with the adwyse of ther Consell, oght to advertys the Regent to forber the settynge forward of the forsayd Popp is onhappy brewys. To the which propossission the sayd Lord answerd me that it was not the Quene, neyther hyr Consell, that inventyth the same, and that the sayd Quene and hyr Consell, by thEmprours comandment, be chargyth to obey and consent that the sayd Pope is brewys be publissyth and fyxiid in this partyys, by ordyr of justyce and not ferder, withoutt any infrangyng of peace betwyx land and land. And as touchyng this artycle, they remytyth here all to the Popp is charge, and not to them selfs.

And as consernyng the frequetation and negossiacions of Your Highnys is subgettes to this partyys, I ham asertaynyth as well of the Quene Regent, as of hyr Consell, that they may com and frequent hyddyr, and trow all this Low Contres, as they hawe done to this tyme, with owt any dowth of stoppyng and lettyng to the contrary, in all this forsayd Contres. Asertaynyng Your Highnys that, as the world goes now here, they dred more that Your Highnys wyll breche with them, then your sayd subgettes oght to dred that they showld breche with Your Hyghnys; and yf ther were any othyr aparens to the contrary, I would advertis Your Hyghnys of the same. And becausse I dar not trowbyll Your Hyghnys with long wrytting of smal importance, I do wryte the suerplus of that, that me thynk conwenyent at this tyme, to M<sup>r</sup> Cromwell<sup>1</sup>, to whom I hawe dyssyryd and prayd to remembyr Your Hyghnys of myn old arerages; but herein I fynd the old proverbe trewe, which is, that we may prey to the Sayntes who wyll, and belieue that God Hym self is the best wourkman. The Holly Trenyte prossper Your moste noble Magiste with long lyf, good helte, mowche joye and felicite. Fro Brussellis, the 15<sup>th</sup> of Dyssember.

My Lord of Burre<sup>2</sup>, my Lord of Bewyrs<sup>2</sup>, and my Lord of Palermo, with othyr lordes of this Court, dynyth this day with me, makynge werry good chere, after this contre fasson; where at after dynner, serwyng to pourpoce of owr comuncation, the sayd Lord of Bure sayd to me with werry good stomake, that he knewe thEmperours mynd as well as he dyd his own, and that his trust is, as long as he shall lyve, that this Low Contres shall not

<sup>1</sup> His contemporary letter to Crumwell contains nothing of importance.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I. p. 159. note 3.

be the fyrst that shall begyn breche of any war with Your Hyghnys, neythyr with your Reaulme ; tellyng to me, as to a frend, that yt wer not thEmperour is proffyt nethyr comodyte to begyn suche a folly, as myght rebownd to the dyxtrusion of his sayd Low Contres, wher of he knewe the inconvenyens that myght follow, as well as any othyr of all this conttres ; byddyng me to kepe this close to me self. Where for my hart cowd not for byd my hand but to advertis Your Highnys of this artycle. Ut supra, 15 Dysseember, 1533.

Moste humble subget and servont unto Your Majeste,

JOHN HACKETT 

CCCXCI. HACKETT *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASSYTH Your Masterschip to understand, that the 15 day of this present monnyth by the Merchantes Awenttres post I dyd wryte and send my last letters unto yow, with letters also of myn to the Kynges Hyghnys, which I trust Your Masterschip by this tyme hath ressevit them. And this shalbe onely to advertis the same, that the Quene Regent here is not well at esse of hyr helt, nethyr hath not bene well of hyr dysspissission of bodely helt this towe monnyttes by past. And, to declare your Masterschip of hyr seykenys, as I ham infourmyth there of, the medyssynys, othyr wyse namyth the fessisienys, amonges them selfs hawe dywers openyons; the tone says that She is brussyd withinforthe; the tothyr says hittes the mothyr; the theyrd sayys that She laddys the watter; the fowurt says that hittes hart qwakyng: but all to gyddyr agreis that hyr passon procedis fro the hart and the mother, and that She is trawaillid there withall, and is trawalyd in syche manner, and with syche payn, that She fallis in a sownd often, soo that som tymys She wixis so worry feble, that me dowthe here that She shall not contenu long in this world, with owt that God, with good medyssynys, help Hyr well. Yit, as sone as She is somewhat a mendyth, Hyr Grace showis as good conttenance, as toe hyr secknys were at a neynd, and restes not as sone as She thynke Hyr self somewhat amendyth, but allways ryddys forthe to honttyng or hauckyng; whiche we exsteme here for a strange seckenys, with grete dowth of hyr long lyfe. And to advertis Your Masterschip in deyd, yf perchauns that She showlde dyssess, this Low Conttre showlde leyse mowche

Holograph.

for

for lake of a cheyf gowernour, or gowernant, of thEmperours next blowd; but now here they make imagynassions here apon, that yf thEmperour may recovyr the Lady Mary his nyece<sup>1</sup>, othyr his tant Lady Artour, owt of Inglond, that any of bothe shalbe meyt to have obedyence and governance of this Low Conttres, yf the Quene Regent showld fayle. And how beyth that hyttes sayd here, that the sayd towे ladyys be not as well cheressyd, as ther blowd and merythys desserwys, and that I susteyn the contrary to be trywe, I wold for my parte and to a good intent that bothe myght be so well cheresyd there at home, as they be wourdy to be cheressyd, and that none of bothe shoule hawe comodyte to depart owt of the Reaulme with owt the Kying owr grete master is lewe and lissence. To the whiche bothe artycles I thynk to be suyre that the Kynges Hyghnys doyth and wyll so prowdyth in all good manner.

And as consernyng the fixacions of the Pope is unhappy brewys or papers, in this partyys, the Quene Regent, nethyr hyr Consell, be not to be inducit in manner but to obbey the mallyssious incitatyonis of Hym, that is unwourdy Pope and defferent juge withoutt conssyens. But as touchyng the effeect of his sayd fixacions, hyttes not mowche to be pondyrt afor God, for He procedys with mallice and inyquyte agence the lawe of God and all benyngnyte. And yf your Masterschip should dowth that by vertu of any syche brewis that the Kynges subgettes myght be atacchid or domagyd in this partyys, your Masterschip may be suyre that I hawe pourgyth that artycle with the Quene and hyr Consell here, and in syche manner that owr treates of pece remaynys styll in ther full vigowr, ask the Pope nether all his brewis no lewe.

The Bysshop of Brix<sup>2</sup> and I we dynyth togyddyr yesterday with My Lord of Palermo, and this day with the Chanseler of Brabant. I fynd hym of a lowyng natuer and kynd, lowyng the comene welt, with peace and unyon amonges Cristyn Princis, as fer as in hym is. Who told me with amyable manner, that yf the Cristyn Princis agre not well togydder, that he dowthyth gretly that by the tone part or by the tothyr hole Cristyndom myght be orsurpith with the Lutheryan secht, and ther il examples. I sayd to hym that the Pope is the principale cawsser that the Cristyn Princis hawe any defferens to gyddyr. He sayd, not dysspityng the Pope is faculte, hyt were

<sup>1</sup> The Princess Mary was the Emperor's cousin, not niece.

<sup>2</sup> This Bishop is mentioned in Hackett's letter of the 15th as having arrived at the Court four days past for the purpose of keeping company with the Queen, and is stated not yet to have attended the Council but when he was sent for. He was George (surname of Austria), natural son of the Emperor Maximilian, and therefore uncle of the half blood to the Queen Regent. He at this time held the secular see of Brixen in the Tyrol, was in 1544 translated to Liege, and died in 1555.

better that 20<sup>ty</sup> Poppis showld suffyr for ther myshussyng, than that hole Cristyndome showld suffyr for ther saeckes ; and in this manner we left of this pourpoce.

The taxacion of the preistes of this Low Conttres is done, and monttes as I understand apon a 400000 florins, the tone halfe to be payd with in tre monnyttes, and the tothyr half with in tre monnyttes there after ; and, as I thynk suyrly, this taxation may be as undowthyt at the tyme and termys payd, but not with the good wyll and mynndes of them that shall suffyr the paymenttes. Fro Brussellis, the 23<sup>th</sup> day of Dyssemester, 1533.

Humble and enteyrly your own,

JOHN HACKETT S.

Yf He that is namyth Pope and thEmperour, with ther dyngnytes, cowd well conssyddyr what pleasure and thispleasure that the Kynges Hyghnys may do Them bothe, yf His Highnys would usse dextremyte, the Pope myght lewyr wyshe to wype his ars, by lissens, with hys brevys, then to send them in this partyys or els where, and thEmperour lewyr to se them bornth, then publishit in his conttres, for all ther grete bragges.

(*Superscribed*)

To the ryght honnorable Sir Thomas Cromwell  
Knyght, one of the Kynges Prive Consell,  
and Master of his Joyellhous.

### CCCXCII. KING HENRY VIII. to HAUKNIS.<sup>1</sup>

TRUSTY and welbeloved &c. And perceiving by your letters to Us addressed of the      day of this monethe your discrete proceeding and substancial behaviour in suche thinges as were committed to your charge ther, to our good contention and pleasure, for the whiche, and also for your good advertisement We give unto you our right herty thankes ; ye shall understande that as touching the brute in that thEmperours Courte anempst the mysentretye of the Lady Katerin, Princes Dowager, and our doughter the Lady Mary, surely (considering and taking the caec as it standeth, that every man without respecte of any erthely thing is bounden to regarde the lawes of God and

<sup>1</sup> From a Minute in the handwriting of Thomas Derby. Chapter House, Miscellaneous Bundle A<sup>9</sup> 1.

to feare and drede Hym, specially in so grete mater, wherupon dependeth not only the salvacion of the parties specially, but also the wealth of our Realme and consequently of all Christendom, the justenes of the cause, and our due and deliberate proceeding in the same, by so long tyme and most true verite, as may well appere to al the worlde (whiche We doubt not but ye can well declare and shewe); it is not a litle to our mervaile that, touching the fact, either thEmperour or any of his wise Counsail lerned, or other discrete person, wold in any thing thinke of Us touching our proceding therin, but that whiche is godly, honourable, and reasonable, agreing bothe to the lawes of God and our most bounden ductie towardes the same.

And as to that, whiche is spokyn ther, that the said Lady Katerin shuld not be honerably and well entreated, as to suche a personage apperteineth; to that, bothe unto the said Emperour and his Counsail, and to any other that woll so afferme, ye may truely allege that suche reaport and brute is feyned and untrue. For the truthe is, that in all thinges belonging to the said Lady Katerin, both in the honerable establishing of her house with her officers and servauntes, and all other thinges, it is don in every point to the best that can be divised, and as moch as conveniently may be for the astate and honour of suche a Princes; and the lyke of our daughter the Lady Mary.<sup>1</sup> Whiche thing ye may boldely and assurydly afferme at any tyme, eyther to the said Emperour, or to the other abovesaid, as occasion shalbe gevyn, and as oportunitie shall require. And in cace at any tyme ye shall perceive that the said Emperour Hym self (speking of the premisses) dothe geve any credence to the said untrue brute; ye may then (declaring unto Hym the trouthe) say, that considering the grete frendeship amyte love and kindenes, whiche heretofore hath ben bitwen Hym and Us, We can not but mervaile that upon suche a fame, brought up untruely against Us, it shuld in any maner of wise be takyn or be beleved, of Hym specially, that the same is of any truth or effecte, and that first, and affore any maner credence had ben geven therunto, We wold have thought He wold have advertised Us of the same, and so have known our answer and declaration of the veray trouthe; wherby all suche fayned supposelles and evill opynyons might have ben rased and obolished from those myndes that might give light credence; as in like and semblable wise, for the entire love amyte and frendeship, that is and hath been bitwen

<sup>1</sup> According to the Minutes of the Council, printed in the First Volume of State Papers, p. 414, which are dated on the 2d of December [1533], it appears that Commissioners were then nominated to regulate the households of the Princess Dowager and Lady Mary; and the Commissioners on the 19th of the same month report their proceedings, *ibid.* pp. 415-418. The date of this paper may probably, therefore, be placed subsequent to that report.

the said Emperour and Us, We wold have used Our selfes towardes Hym, afore We wold have gevyn credence or ben contented to have herd any like maters, that shuld have so nere touched Hym; as ye may exhorte Hym not to geve eare to any suche light brutes without perfict knowlaige of the truthe, as it is thoffice of a frende to do to an other.

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CCCXCIII. HACKETT *to CRUMWELL.*<sup>1</sup>

1533. Regni 25.

THE 11<sup>th</sup> day of this present monyth I wrote my last letters unto your Masterschip<sup>2</sup>: and this shalbe to advertis the same, that now of late the lityll boke<sup>3</sup>, that the Kynges Conssell hath sett owt for a remostracion unto Hys Hyghnes is soglettes, of the good grownd and fondacion of God and man is lawes that His Grace has, to the confyrmacion of his good cawse, and also what il grond fondacion and incinsserite that the Byshop of Rome hath to susteyn the contrary; which boke as I understand som of this Courte hath cawssyth to be translatyd owt of Inglysh in the Frenche tong, to the intent that they myght the better understand hit, and som of them have bene with me all reddy, tellyng me that they merwellid that the Kynges Hyghnys wold permyth to wryte syche injurys of the Pope as is menssond in the sayd boke. I askyth them what be the wourdes that they take for injury. They sayd that we call the Pope Byshop of Rome, bastard, and symonakre. I sayd, as touchyng to call Hym Byshop of Rome, that He ought not to call Hym self othyr wysse, ussyng Hym self like a Catolik good Cristyn prelat; and doyng the contrary, that the Byshop is name is to hye a tytle for Hym, or for any othyr prelate that excersyssys not the office and premynens of a good byshop; and as touchyng whyddyr He be bastard or symonakre, or bothe, that I reffer to his own college of Cardenals at Rome, who knowys his quallites and degres better then they or I can. And herewith one of them sayd unto me with a smylllyng lawchynge, " Il fault que le servituer chante aussy que le maistre veult." I sayd, " Le servituer, que ce entend byen de la musyque, de myeux puety " chanter sa part." And herewith we made a neynd of this pourpoce.

Holograph.

- Not found.

This appears to be the document published by Strype in the first volume of his *Ecccl. Mem.* book I. ch. xx. from the original minute in the Museum, Cleopatra, E. VI. fol. 120. It was circulated in Flanders and other courts in pursuance of the 11th article of the minutes of Council, quoted in the note to the preceding page.

I hame

I hame infourmyth of sertaynte that Master Gherart Mullart, one of the hye Consell of Machlyng, and a gentyll man namyth Tournowr, which here afor tyme was captayn of Don Fernando is archers, be thetermenyth to departe within this tre days here hence, as Comyssioners for thEmperour and this Low Conttres, to the Dyet of Hambourgh<sup>1</sup>; which Diet begynnys the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the monnyth of Fevrer next commyng. At the which Diet, as I understand, ther shalbe a congregacion or assemble of the deputtes of all the cheif townys of Estland and potestattes sercum woissyns, as Denmark, Sweden, Holst, Sassy, and dywers othyrs; and thEmperour in Spayn, beyng advertissyth of the sayd Dyet, hathe now of late send hyddyr tre or fowre nywe artycles, for amplyer instruxion to them that be his Imbassatours or Comyssioners toward the sayd Dyet; and, as I suppose the sayd artycles contenys more to plesse then to dysplese, to wyn frenddes, yf He may with his honnor. I would for my parte that som suffyent Comyssoner in owr grete master is behalf were there at the sayd Diet, so that his honnorable Consell so thynk good.

Yesterday the Quene Regent ressevit letters from the Governour of Frysland, howe the Erle of Owyremd hath of late had vyctory agens the Ducq of Geldyrs men, which came to invade his conttres in this last frost; of which tedynges they be notyng sory in this Court. How beyt they thar not show that thei showld be glad ther of.

The sayd Quene Regent, touchyng the dysspossession of hyr bodily helt, is not mowche better nethyr wours then She was at my last lettres wrytting unto your Masterschip, except that hyr old sekenys can not departe from Hyr, and that the fessissyens do set som dowth in hyr long lewyng: othrywyse to be undyrstandyth, that yf good regyme, diet, and medyssyns can not owyrecom hyr sekenys or tre monyttes at a neynd, that they dowth that the sekenys shall owyrecom Hyr. But this they dar not spredyth abrode. But thei be confforthyt that hyr yong age of 28<sup>th</sup> yere may well suer dommyne hyr axedent.

I send unto your Masterschip, herewith inclossyd<sup>2</sup>, the copie of syche

<sup>1</sup> On the next day Hackett writes again to Crumwell that "abow the towe personages that were  
" deputtyth Imbassadors from thEmperour to the sayd Diet as by my last letters unto your Mastership  
" schip is menssond, the sayd Emperour hath ordonyth that his oncle, the Byshop of Brix, who by  
" vertu of his dyngnyte is a Prince of the Empery, shalbe now his oppir Imbassador to the sayd  
" Dyet: in manner that where afor tyme hit was sayd that the fyrist Imbassador were apoyntyd  
" onely with 8<sup>th</sup> or 10 hors, they shalbe now, as I understand, a 30<sup>th</sup> or 40 hors, which I suppose  
" is done for som grete consyderacion."

In this letter Hackett reports the death of Haukins, the English Ambassador with the Emperor, at Barbastro in the early part of the month.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

frigele tedynges as of late be com here to this Court; and yf I had any oþyr tedynges wourdy wrytting, I would advertys yow of the same. And thus I pray the Holy Trenyte to send yow good louk and grace, where ewyr ye be.  
Fro Brussellis, the 27<sup>th</sup> day of Jenuer, 1533.

Humble and inteyrly your own,

JOHN HACKETT S.

#### CCCXCIV. MONT TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SERENISSIME Rex. Recepit binas litteras<sup>2</sup> a Majestate Vestra sexta decima preteriti mensis Januarij, quarum alteras præscripta salutatione et commendatione pertuli ad Bavariæ Principes, quibus eæ fuerunt gratissimæ, tum quod erant humanissimæ et gratiosissimæ, tum quod jam diu nihil a Majestate Vestra audiverant; dixeruntque se nunquam antehac adeo clementes a Majestate Vestra accepisse litteras. Alteras vero ad Principem Hessorum scriptas nondum pertuli, quia is ad initium Februarij clam ad Regem Galliæ profectus est; quam primum autem super adventu ejus (quod brevi futurum est) certior factus fuero, omni celeritate et diligentia ad eum accedam, ut easdem litteras simul cum mandatis Majestatis Vestre perferam.

De Liga Suevica, Majestatem Vestram certiore facio quod dissoluta est, magno dolore Cæsar is et Ferdinandi, sexta Februarij, qui omnibus modis et promissis et donis eam continuare laboraverunt, sed frustra; nam et Principes et Civitates Ligæ se ultra confoederare cum Cæsare et Rege Ferdinando noluerunt contra Ducatum Virtenber[*gensem et hæredem*] Christophorum.

Cum juniori Duce Virtenbergensi nihil plane accordatum est super petitione Ducatus Virtenbergensis, et illorum castrorum ei a Liga permissorum; nam Rex illi in Ducatu omnino nihil permittere vult, sed alia quedam in longinquis partibus sita illi obtrudere voluit, ut Comitatum Gorhensem, cuius maximam partem Veneti occuparunt, reliquum Salamanca a Rege comparavit. Item Comitatus Cillæ, cuius majorem partem Turca possidet, reliquum oppigneratum est in annos decem aut supra. Item quindecim alia oppidula obtulerunt in intimis regnis Ferdinandi sita, ut ex his unum aliquod eligeret ubi habitaret; et si electi oppiduli census non perficerent, summam aureorum quinque milium hoc Regem ex suo suppleturum. Tandem eo deventum est, ut decem milia aureorum promitterentur quotannis; Dux vero

<sup>1</sup> Holograph; injured by damp.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

Christophorus contra peteret decem milia quotannis, et septuaginta quinque milia pro fructibus praeteriti temporis, et se interim stare velle cum sua postulatione, et in hanc summam civitatem Augustam fide jubere voluit. Imperator vero et Ferdinandus dictam summam pendere voluerunt, si Christophorus omnino juri suo super Ducatu Virtenbergensi renuncciare voluisse: quod hic noluit, adeoque re infecta discessum est.

Commissarij Imperatoris et Regis rogarunt a Ducibus Bavariae, ut patiantur juniorem Ducem Virtenbergensem apud eos in eorum aula agere usque ad Pentecosten; in quod ij consenserunt; modo hoc nomine Imperatori gratum facere possint, et ante biduum hue in aulam Principum venit. Commissarij vero promiserunt se ei datus usque ad festum Pentecostes pro ejus sustentatione aureorum quatuor milia.

Rogarunt quoque dicti Commissarij ut ad aliam dietam confederati redire velint circa festum Pentecostes Augustam. Super qua re Oratores Principum responderunt se ad dominos suos relatuos; sed nihil de hac re futurum expectatur.

Dominica prima quadragesime<sup>1</sup> in Engelstadio convenient aliquorum Principum Oratores, ad novum foedus inter se faciendum. Prima quoque die Martij convenient civitates in Ulma, ad mutuum foedus inter se ineundum; sed spes est quod una cum Principibus commune fedus inibunt.

Imperator misit unum e suis cubicularijs ad Helvetios, et tractat cum Helvetijs papisticis, ut fedus secum ineant pro defensione Italie, vicissim Se eos Helvetios defensurum contra eos Helvetios qui Lutherani sunt. Quod ne faciant, omnibus modis Rex Gallie obstat, et credo eum prævaliturum. Nam si a Rege Gallorum ad Cesarem transirent, perderent pensionem octoginta milium coronatorum, que Rex Christianissimus quotannis pendet Helvetijs. Tamen in eam caussam indicta est Dieta quinta decima hujus mensis.

Rex Ferdinandus modo in Bohemia est, sed ad medianam quadragesimam venturus est in Austria ad Viennam; nam ibi indixit Dietam omnium suarum ditionum et terrarum. Quo etiam Ludovicus Gritti adventurus dicitur, ut certas controversias componat de Slesia et Moravia, quas ditiones jam Ferdinandus possidet, inter Joannem et Ferdinandum.

Ego simul cum his litteris mitto ad Majestatem Vestram exemplar litterarum<sup>2</sup> Imperatoris Turcarum ad Regem Ferdinandum scriptarum, quarum copiam mihi fecit Orator Regis Joannis, qui in aula Ducum Bavarie residet.

In Austria magna charistia est, et magnus tumultus ex moneta, nam Ferdinandus olim excedit monetam argenteam, quam modo et damnavit et

<sup>1</sup> 21st of February.

- Not found.

prohibuit; vetuit quoque eam externis mercatoribus vendi: sed in sua camera cum magna jactura permutari mandat; et fama est plus mille hominibus quotidie ad Cameram Regiam morari, ut vicissim aliam monetam recipiant pro sua quam dederit, sed nihil assequi: adeoque multi timent ne insurrectio fiat in Austria.

Joannes Rex Hungarie quotidie auget suas vires, et fines suos prolatat, et coegit suos Episcopos Budam, caput Hungarie, iterum edificare. Mitto quoque ad Majestatem Vestram exemplar litterarum<sup>1</sup> Joannis, scriptarum ad Status Lige Suevicæ pro juniori Duce Virtenbergensi. Rex Gallie agit cum moderno Episcopo Treverorum, qui unus est ex Electoribus, ne ratam habeat

<sup>1</sup> " Joannes, Dei Gratia, Rex Hungarie, Dalmatie, Croatie, Marchie, Moravie, ac Lusatie, et  
" utriusque Slesie Dux, Reverendissimis, Illustrissimis, Spectabilibus, Magnificis, Generosis, et  
" Prudentibus Dominis, Capitaneo et Consiliarijs Suevice Confederationis nunc Auguste con-  
" gregatis, amicis nostris charissimis, salutem, et mutue amicitie atque omnis boni successus  
" assiduum incrementum. Reverendissimi, Illustrissimi, Spectabiles, Magnifici, ac Generosi, et  
" Prudentes Domini, amici nostri charissimi. Satis constare scimus Vestris Reverendissimis  
" et Illustrissimis Spectabilibus et Magnificis Dominis negotium Ducatus Virtenbergensis, ita  
" ut non sit opus Nos multis verbis apud vestras Dominationes de hoc agere. Nos, qui ex  
" corde miseremur casus eorum presertim, quos non sua culpa in aliquas calamitates incidisse,  
" intellecto quo pacto illustris Dominus Christophorus, Dux junior Wirtenbergensis, primum  
" preter omne suum commeritum fuerit eo Ducatu exutus, et quomodo postea non fuerint ei  
" servata promissa, coactusque fuerit ex ea curia, in qua tam indigne tractabatur, sese sub-  
" ducere, et ad opem et misericordiam vestrarum Illustrissimarum, Spectabilium, et Magnificarum  
" Dominationum supplex confugere, fatemur ingenue, vehementissime commoti sumus hac  
" ejus indigna calamitate; et si quid patrocinij et opis ei impertiri possemus, id libentissime  
" faceremus. Quemadmodum credimus Nos, et unumquemque maxime Christianum Principem,  
" ad hoc jure humanitatis teneri; indignum enim existimamus, quod ipse ob delictum paternum  
" penas presertim adeo graves luere, et dominio et principatu suo avito extorris vitam acerbam  
" et minus honoratam ducere deberet, voce etiam divina per Prophetam attestante filium non  
" debere portare iniquitatem patris: quamobrem rogamus vestras Illustrissimas, Spectabiles, et  
" Magnificas Dominationes ut ultra ejus adolescentis causse equitatem velint nostri etiam con-  
" templatione habere ipsum commendatum, et ita in suo hoc amplissimo conventu de ejus causa  
" decernere, ut Nos id quoque possimus vestrarum Dominationibus Reverendissimis, Illustrissimis,  
" Spectabilibus, et Magnificis omni genere mutui officij rependere, et velim eum in paternum  
" et avitum principatum reponi, vel si id nullo modo fieri nunc possit, saltem ei assignare et  
" restitui curare illa bona, que fuerant ei pro ejus sustentatione assignata, quod et nullo jure  
" mundi negari posse existimamus. Quem tali beneficio vestrarum Dominationum adfectum atque  
" exornatum, non dubitamus se juxta voluntatem desyderium et satisfactionem earundem in  
" omnibus gesturum. De Nobis autem veste Reverendissimi, Illustrissimi, Spectabiles, et Mag-  
" nifici Domini id sibi persuadere velint, ut quicquid Nos in earum honorem commodum et  
" utilitatem facere possumus, vel in posterum poterimus, id volumus semper ad omne illarum  
" arbitrium promptum ac paratum. Quas felicissime valere optamus, et ab ijsdem super his per  
" hunc Nuncium nostrum responsum expectamus. Date Bude, 25 Novembris, anno 1533,  
" Regnorum vero nostrorum anno octavo.

" JOANNES REX HUNGARIE,  
" manu propria."

electionem

electionem Ferdinandi in Regem Romanorum; et quotannis ei promittit tria milia coronatorum, que modo Augustæ ei solvere paratus est, si consentire proposito Regis Christianissimi velit. Responsum ab eo nondum habetur, sed brevi speratur. Et Dominus Langius quendam suorum familiarium in hoc ad Episcopum Treverensem misit.

Scripsi in ultimis meis litteris<sup>1</sup> ad Majestatem Vestram quarta Januarij ut Dux Guilielmus mihi narrasset Regem Francie deposuisse certam pecunie summam in bellum pro restitutione junioris Ducis Virtenbergensis apud Helvetios; super qua re diligenter perscrutatus sum, sed nihil certi scire possum; nec ex Langio intelligere potui, qui nuper ex Helvetijs venit, cum tamen omnia alia ille mihi libere dicere soleat. Ex consiliarijs Principum Bavariae intellexi Regem Christianissimum promisso ferre tertiam partem impensarum belli. Sperant quoque se a Majestate Vestra exoratuos ut tantundem ferat, adeoque spem et pollicitationem intelligo, non pecunie numerationem factam. Intellexi quoque ex Oratore Ducis Lunenburgensis, quem in aula Principum Bavarie conveni, Imperatorem et Ferdinandum misisse Episcopum Brixiensem in Daniam, et vehementer instare ut Ferdinandi filius<sup>2</sup> eligatur in Regem Danie, et Hamburgenses quoque in hoc sollicitari a C'esare, et ut a Lubecensibus deficiant.

Dominus Langius, qui fuit Orator Christianissimus in Comitijs Suevicis, jam in aula Principum Bavarie agit, in qua eum mansurum aliquandiu suspicor, et animadvero ex ejus verbis eum laborare inter certos Germanie Principes spirituales et seculares (quos statim subjiciam), ut fedus novum inter se ineant, una cum quibusdam civitatibus, excluso Imperatore et Ferdinando; in quod fedus (si continget) accessurum quoque suspicor Regem Christianissimum. Et dum loqueremur super eo federe, dixit sibi videri ex re et Majestatis Vestre et Regis Christianissimi, si simul in hoc fedus accederent, ut Majestates Vestre certam pecuniam confederatis penderent, si bello peterentur. Ipsi vero contra nobis militem per Mare Balthicum nobis mitterent, si quis Majestatem Vestram invadere vellet.

Principum nomina hec sunt.

Cardinalis Saltzburgensis.	Marchio Brandenburgensis.
Episcopus de Augusta.	Dux Ernestus Lunenburgensis.
Episcopus Bambergensis.	Dux Henricus Brunsvicensis.
Principes Bavarie.	Dux Mechlenburgensis.
Dux Otto Henricus Palatinus.	

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Maximilian, afterwards Emperor.

Princeps Bavarie nuper ostendit mihi litteras Venetijs ad se missas ; in quibus inter alia scriptum erat Regem Christianissimum in Ducatum Mediolanensem exercitum ducturum ; et Majestatem Vestram bellum meditari contra Inferiorem Germaniam : Turcam quoque magnam instruxisse classem ad occupandam Siciliam. Siculos quoque fama est advocasse Turcam propter nimias Cesaris exactiones.

Ego in Comitijs Auguste non fui, quanquam hoc Magistro Vaughan injunctum a Majestate Vestra fuerat, cuius vices ego subire jussus sum ; quia magna expectatio et ingens desyderium omnium fuit de Oratore a Majestate Vestra venturo. Et ipsi Principes in his comitijs non fuerunt, sed miserunt quisque suos Oratores, qui caussas duntaxat Ligæ tractarent. Omnia vero, que ibi agebantur per consiliarios Ducum Bavarie, quotidie ad me perscribabantur, nam Augusta hinc tantum itinere unius diei abest ; tum ab ipsis Ducibus mihi narrabantur, adeoque consulto non accessi, ne parum expectationi omnium adventus meus responderet.

Principes Bavarie intra dies octo quendam ex suis consiliarijs ad Majestatem Vestram mittent. Præpositum Majoris Ecclesie ad Sanctam Mariam, quem mittere decreverant, graviter laborare cepit ex oculis.

Has litteras mitto per cursorem Domini Langij, nam Gallicum iter Germanico mihi tutius videtur et expeditius.

Consiliarij Ducum Bavarie expostularunt in Comitijs Augustensibus cum Oratoribus Electoris Saxonie super illiberali dimissione Oratoris Majestatis Vestre, qui rubore suffusi dixerunt se id temporis non fuisse in aula : quod si affuisserint, longe diversum suavissent. Principemque ipsum ejus dimissionis ; et pudere et penitere dixerunt. Bene valeat Majestas Vestra, pro Cujus felicitate et incolumitate ego Deum assidue precibus interollo. Ex Munchen, 16 Februarij, anno 34.

Serenissimæ Majestatis Vestræ

Humillimus Servitor,

CHRISTOPHORUS MONT.

(*Superscribitur*)  
Ad Majestatem Regiam.

CCCXCV. PAGET TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

RIGHT worshipfull, and my singuler good Maister. Albeit I have here no newes, worthy to be signified, other to the Kinges Highnes or to your Maistership, yet I have thought it my most bounden duetye to write unto youe, as well for that at my departure youe commaunded me in any wise so to doo, as also most humbly to thanke your Maistership for the gentle and loving kindnes, which ones being somdele kindled in youe towardes me, and after by my negligence well nere extinguished, your Maistership of late, and in maner of your owne gentle instigation and humanyte, did revyve and quicken again; reducyng me in to his favour and grace, whos lest displeasur towardes me grevith me more, then the most cruell deth. In good faith, I speke without dissimulation, I esteme my self more bownden to your Maistership, then to all other, the Kinges Highnes only excepted. For wheras in dede other men had sumwhat hertofor avaunced and set me forwarde, and yet afterwarde, beyng by my owne foly retyred and cast back to the extremyte, beyng in the Kinges displeasure, the rest of my frendes not able to set me afote, ye have frendly and naturally regendred me, and browght me, quasi jure postliminij, ad pristimum statum et antiquam apud Regiam Majestatem gratiam; for the which I protest before God, ye have and shall have my hart prayer and service, next to the Kinges Highnes, above all men; most humbly thanking your Maistership, and even so beseching the same to contynewe with encrease your favour and benevolence towarde me.

The Diet, which was here appoyned the 15<sup>th</sup> of this moneth, is not yet begonne, for the Lubeckes and Hollanders, for whose cause the same was indicted, make curtesy, who shall cum furst to towne. If ther be a peax concluded betwene them, it is supposed that the Lubeckes will warre upon the King of Sueveden. In the cumpany of the Hollanders ther cummyth from the Courte of Flanders the bastarde sonne<sup>2</sup> of the late Emperour Maximilian, accompanied with 42 horses of his owne.

At Casselles, a towne of the Lantgraves, ther be convented and all redy the said Lantgrave, the Dukes of Sax, of Holtstene, of Mekilburgh, the Marques Brandeburgh, to thentent to make the Duke of Holtstene King of Denmark. And when this Diet at Hamburgh is ended, then dothe the Duke

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Vol. XXXI. No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 531.

of Luneburgh, with all other Princes and States Evangeliques, repaire unto the said towne of Cassell, to conclude among them a mutuall lege of defense for the mayntenaunce of the Gospell.

Other newes I have not to write to your Maistership, but that this daye I departe fro Hamburgh, and trust so to use my self in the accomplishment of the Kinges affaires, as my doynges shall succede to the Kinges Highnes contentacion and pleasur. I doubt of no man, but of the King of Pole, Who is moche counsailled by Bishops, and hath them moche conversaunt in his Courte. Thus I pray God send your Maistership long life, with moche worship and honour. At Hamburgh, the 22 day of February.

Your Maisterships, most bounden  
lover and servaunt,

WILLM PAGET.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right honorable and my singuler good  
maister, Maister Crumwell, Treasurer of the  
Kinges Jewelles, and of His Highnes Privey  
Counsaill.

### CCCXCVI. HACKETT TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASSYTH Your Mastership to understand, that the 18<sup>th</sup> day of this present monnyth I wrote my last letters<sup>2</sup> unto yow; and syns I ressewit one of yours<sup>2</sup> datyth the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the same; all wais confortyng me to do my dewoer, as I trust with Goddes grace I shall. And also I hawe ressewit the one hondyrt pondes sterlyng that your Mastership hath cawssyth to pay to Mr Bowyer, as partie of my old areragges, the last day of Jenner, which I hawe all imployd to syche usse as of long tyme past it was requissyth; and for the good comffort that I hawe had by your good Mastership is former lettres of my rest, and I beyng somwheate in neyd of more, I toke up by exchange fro Mr Thomas Leygh, at this tyme, the some of 80£ sterling, trustyng that yif by this tyme your Mastership hath not cawssyth the sayd rest to be payd to Mr Bowyer aforsayd, that hit shall plesse yow to cawse the hole to be payd to the sayd Thomas Leigh, who abattyngh hys 80£, shall send me the rest by exchange with the leste domage that he can.

And as touchyng syche tedynges as we hawe here at this tyme is, that the Quene Regent, beyng yit wexit with hyr old sekenys, by conssell of

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

fesyssyens

fesyssyens to change eyre, hath lefte hyr own Courte at Brussels, and is now loggyth at my Lord of Bredrode is howse, with in the sayd town of Brussellis, where She hath good open eyre. But ondowthyth She is not without danger, for the fesyssiens of France, Sawoy, and all this conttres, can not gretly skyll apon hyr sekenys; yit she goose and stondys in hyr chamber, and within the courte, up and down, one day well at esse as it semys, and another day as il agayn; and with syche feblenys of hart, as to She should remayn in the peyne.

Hyr Grace of late hathe cawssyd a Dyt of the Stattes of Brabant to asemble at Brussellis, and there Hyr Grace cawssyd a petyssyon of a som of monne to be dyssyryth of them. Which Astattes, afre 6 or 8<sup>th</sup> days comunityacion, they made a resolute answer that thEmperour at his last beyng here toke so grete a pettyssyon of them, that they be yit chargyt with all, and that His Majeste as then hath promessyth them, that in syx yere there after followyng, that He wold not charge them with no petyssyon, nothyr of any othyr imposyssyon, and that in all the mene tyme that He intendyt not but to kepe good peace and quyetnys with all the neighbors of this Low Conttres, and that afre the exspirasyon of the sayd 6 yere, where of there is yit tre yere to com, they wyll do what that they may do as then: and in this maner the Diet is sepanyth withoutt any grant, where with Hyr Grace was not pleassyth.

Ysterdaye I had the Scouttet and Lordes of this town at dynner with me, and at afre dynner I did aske the sayd Scouttet, betwix hym and me, what the cawse was, that the Regent wrote unto hym to know ewery nyght of all the strangers that came in the town<sup>1</sup>. I dyssyryng hym to be playn with me here in, he sayd, be his fayth, that his letter in deyd contenyth

of

<sup>1</sup> Hackett in a postscript to a letter of the 18th of February speaks of this subiect in the following terms:

" This day mornyng I beyng advertissyth that the Quene Regent hath wrytten past 8<sup>th</sup> days  
 " agone to the Scouttet of Machlyng, that he should procure secretly to know ewery nyght what  
 " strangers that comys trow and fro the sayd town, and thereof to advertis Hyr with deligens, yf  
 " they be any by likloth of importans, and I beyng assuryd that this Court here fro tyme to tyme  
 " be advertyssyd of all the occorenttes that may be, as ny as they can pickyth owt from Ingland  
 " hyddyr, and spessially of all syche personys as the Kynges Hyghnys senddes to Dowtchland,  
 " Estlond, and els where, and dowtyng to me that this edyght should be maede to stop or let any  
 " of the Kynges serwonttes, I dyd send for hym that was Secrettary in the wrytting of the for-  
 " sayd letter, to com to dynner with me; as he dyd; and after dynner, betwix hym and me I  
 " pray hym that I myght know to what pourpoce that syche letters were wryttyn now, whiche here  
 " afor tyme was not a costumyth to be. He sayd to me, ' Monsieur l'Embassatour, je suys Secre-  
 " tayre, et prefixement ne vous pouroy dyre leffecht; mes, Monsieur, pour vous satysfere de ce  
 " que avons touche, je vous juerc suer ma foy et mon honnor, qute na pas este fet pour nul 'esse  
 " qui

of all strangers, but besyddes this that he had a particular charge to take good heyd, yf there came some particuler persones of the town of Mastricht, and othyrs of the partyys of Lussymbowrch. Which personys in contemptyng thEmperours comandment as Ducq of Brabant, where they of Mastricht ought to take there resorte of ther apell by justyce to the Chansellery of Brabant, and they of Lussymbourch to the Hye Consell of Machlyng, bothe the sayd partyys hawe made ther apell to the Courte Imperial, which contrewenys gretly agens the preemynence and superiorite of the Ducq of Brabant. Where for the Quene, beyng advertissyth that som of the sayd partyys were comyng here to this town, dyd charge the Scoutet, where he myght fynd any of them, to take them as rebellis; in manner that I can percewe so mowche at this tyme, that they, that be now cheif royllers abowth the Quene Regent here, hawe not the ways to induse ther solettes to obeydence, as well as they were awont to do in my Lady Margret is tyme. Of which inconvenyent, to be playn with your Mastership, I ham notyng sory fore, consyddryng the tyme as hittes; for I perceve playnlly inowch, yf som of them had as mowche poer, as they have il wyll, they wold lightly declare them selvys, where now thy can, nether may, do yt. Wryttyn at Machlyng, the 24 day of Fevrer, 1533. Mons<sup>r</sup> de Prate is now in thes Courte reddy to depart this next monyht to convoy the Ducces of Myllan toward Myllan.

Humble and enteyrly yowr own,

JOHN HACKETT S.

ThEmperour and the Cardenal of Luke be at a lytle waryence togyddyr abowt the superiorite of the town of Mastricht, and Monsieur de Bure is gone toward the Cardenal, to se yf he myght passeyf ther defference. I wot not yf he shall, for the Cardenal wyll not leyse notyng of hys preemynens, yf he may.

(*Superscribed*)

To the ryght honnorable Sir Thomas Cromwell  
Knyght, one of the Kynges Priwe Consell,  
and Master of his Joyellhous.

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“ ‘ qui touche au Roy vostre mestre, ny a ces subgets.’ And here with I was answerd, but not  
“ satisfyd in my nowne mynd, calculyng the tyme as hittes owr il wyllers that be here trustes  
“ them selvys mowche apon the Scottes, and as I understand the Scottes in like apon thEmperour,  
“ and them that be here; but my trust is they shall obtayn but lytle proffyt, the tone of the  
“ tother, and less of us.”

CCCXCVII. HACKETT *to Crumwell.*<sup>1</sup>

PLEASSYTH Your Mastership to understand, that the 24 day of Fevrer I wrote my last letters unto yow, and for lak of mattuer of importance I deferryd my wrytting to this tyme. And this shalbe onely to advertis the same, that apon a fyve dayys agone Monsieur de Likker<sup>2</sup>, thEmprors Imbassatour resydynge in the Courte of France, with thEmperours lissens for som fyave dayys to se his wyfe, and to redres som byssenys of his own, is arywyd to this Courte, and hath beyn towe days, one after the tothyr, in grete comunycasion with the Quene Regent, and in syche manner that Monsieur de Prate, beyng somwhatre in a reddenyng afore hand, as fer as I cowd perceve, dyd the gretter haste to set forward, syns the sayd Imbassatour is aryval hyddyr. Soo that the sayd Monsieur de Prate as condytour, with the Ducheſſe of Myllan and hyre hole trayn, dapartyth yesterday at after dynner from hens toward Myllan, accompanyng with apon a hondyrth and 30<sup>th</sup> hors, 13<sup>th</sup> mullettes, and tre carttes, with intension to make journes of fowre or fyve legges aday, and takes ther passage trow Lowrayn, Burgoyne, and Savoye, the Ducheſſe hyr self in a lytyer with 6 lekays a foeth, all in blak welwed dowblettes, and well acowtirrh, and all the gentyllmen in cottes of blak welwed, and ther serwonttes with cottes of medley grey, and bordyth one hand brode of like welwed. And as touchyng this article at this tyme I have no more to say.

ThEmperours Imbassatour here before menssond, with my lady hys wyffe and othyr lordes of this Cowrte, dynneth with me a Tywsday, and yister nyght I sowpith with hym in like company. And, becauſe that aday or towayn afor his comyng I was advertissyth, of a man of credence of this Courte, that he had wrytten of late to the Quene Regent in one article of his last letters, that the Pope, whych I name the Uncleſſe Byſhop, stodeys and ymagenys all that He can do to attrae and owtdrawe the French Kynges amyttes fro the Kyng owr grete master, and in likewyſe to rejowyn and bryng to gydder interior lowe and amytt betwix thEmperour and the sayd Frenche Kyng; and that with the proces of tyme that He wold not marvell that the sayd Pope should obtayne the best partye of his pourpoce, touchyng the sayd 2 artycles; and to know the trouth of this reporte, serwyng to my pourpoce, in comunycasion, I dyd ask hym what that they say in France, how the Pope is

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.<sup>2</sup> John Hannaert, Lord of Liedekerke.

pleassith with the Kyng my master: he sayd, " Suer ma foy, Monsieur l'Embassatuer, i dyssent que le Pape est arrage de soy rewenger des Angloys, syl poura ou syl pouroyt." I dyd aske hym, " Monsieur l'Embassatuer, lentende vous que cest le chemyn de Dyeu ou de byenhuerte, que ce Prelat icy demayne ou serche de aveugler le monde, et mettre dysenssion entre les Prinssis Cristyens, come Il a fet parsy devant, et come feroyt encore syl pouroyt; ou sy ne vous semble que ce seroyt temps, que Dyeu y tenyce le mayn pour assister les Princeis qui vouldroyent le byen generale de tout la Cristiante, et extyrper les mallissis errueres et abussions de celuy, et ceux qui sont loccation de tout le mal della Cristientte de soubz ombre dettre nommes du Saint Eglysse, et ussant tout le contrayre ce que bonement ne ce poura remedier sans le Consyl Generale." And here unto the sayd Ambassatour made me answer, sayng, " Sertis, Monsieur l'Embassatour, je ne voye 2 chossis au monde plus nessessayres pour le byen della Cristientte, que premyerment que les Prinssis Cristyenys unganymyter ce devroyent byen et saynement entendre ensemble, et apres ce tenyr le Conssyl General pour la refourmacion delle Eglysse, et que cest a dowtter sy Dyeu ne tyent le mayn pour redresser les afferres comedit est, que le comune pupple ce deffreneront, come des ya ont comensse au pais de Monster, Waterland, et Westfalle, ou ilz comenssent a rebaptyser pour avoer tout byens comunes, jurant de no obeyr a prynce ny a prelat:" sayng more, that " quant a moy et a vous, Monsieur l'Embasatuer, notre devoer est, tout jours de tenyr le mayn pour le byen de les afferres, chacun de son cotte, pour tenyr pece et amyte en accomplissant la volunte et comandement des nos mestres." I sayd to hym, " Monsieur l'Embassatuer, je vous tyens pour celuy, quil voudroyt le byen de les afferres, tant de vostre coste que du nostre." He sayd to me, " Sertis, Monsieur, vous me pues tynyr pour tel, et onques nay dyssyre aultre en vous priant aussy de y tenyr le mayn au byen, et que pour le mayns, si nous navons pas le povoir afer du byen, que nayons pas le voulloer afer du mal." I sayd to hym, " Je prendray Dyeu en mon ayde de mon coste afer mon devoer." And herewith we fenyshit this pourpoce.

And for dowth to come to the lese knowlage anothyr tyme, I toght not conwenyent to aske the sayd Imbassatuer, whyddyr he had wrytten the article here before menssond to the Quene, or not; but as I conject he myght have wryttyn syche like effecht.

I have seyne letters from Ostriche of 14<sup>th</sup> day of Fevrer, that the Captayn Grytty was com fro the Tourk, as his Imbassatour, to Don Fernando, who ressewit the sayd Imbassatour ryght somptuously, and that Schiperius was arywyd

arywyt fro thEmperour to the sayd Don Fernando, and that hit was determinyng, that the sayd Schiperius showld retorne agayn as Imbassatour fro Don Fernando to the Tourk. Which Tourk, as hittes reportyth here, he goode forward with a grete arme toward Perssy, to make waer at Sofhy.

Fro Hambourch to this day I hyre nothyng, how ther Dyett frames.

The Quene Regent came a Monday last past fro my Lord of Bredrode is howse agayne to the Cowrte here. And because that She thynkes the eeyre of the sayd Bredrode is howse better for hyr complexion and sekenys then the sayd Court, She intedes thys day after dynner to retourne, and to remayn for a whille in the sayd Brederode is howsse.

They of Mastricht be yit indesydith with thEmperour. They knowllege Hym for ther temporell lord, and the Cardenal of Liege for ther spirituel lord. Which Cardenal at this tyme hath more good wyllers with in the sayd town, then thEmperour doys; where of the Quene, nethyr this Courte, be not best plessyng withall. But yit they daer not to obtemp to submyth them perforce, and by way of amyte they of Mastricht wyl not condyssend to thEmperours pleasure, holdyng them with the Cardenal of Luke, and ther old prewilleges. I newyr sawe this Low Contres with lese obedience of justyce, then they be at this houre, for dywerce plassis be infechtyth of this nyew seghtes of rebaptissement, and principally the este partyyes of Holland and Owyrstycht, and in suche manner that the Quene and hyr Consell be somewhat trowblyd to stodye how they may best ordyr remedye to refrayne and rebowth syche inconvenyence, as be like to follow trow all this Low Contres, yif it be not in tyme remedyet. And more ovyr now of late in this partyys of Brabant by Machlyng there be owtlawys, that compossis the hosbond men of the conttre, and in syche manner, that yf they send not a som of monne to syche a place, as they wryt in ther billettes of defyance, secretly, that they shalbe set all afyre; and of syche brandstyght there be tre or fowre riche hosbondmen, howssyng abowth the partyys of Machlyng, that be all bowrnth, and som cattell with all. The Quene hath send owt hyr placarts of comandment to all drossarts, scouettes, ballyys, and othyrs offyssers of the contres abowth, eche in his lemyttes to kepe good weche and take good heyd, and to diligent and procure de recowryng of sych malfactours, with the executtyng of them, to be punyshyt with the extremitye of justyce.

I remembry me but a whyle agone, that I hard spek one of this Courte, that sayd he hath seyne a letter owt of Ingland, makynge mensson that the comun peple mourmeryd mowche ageyns many thynges that they sye now adayys; and that yf there onys a comission begon, that the Scottes showld

take the tone partye or the tothyr; whych myght set the hole Reaulme in gret danger. I answerd unto hym, that he, that dyd wryte syche fantasye, knewe full lytle what he dyd wryte, and mowche lass de tempo futuro, and that the Kyng my master with his noble Consell, with kepyng good justyce as His Grace doys, and the amyable and good intretyng that His Grace ussis toward all his trywe and obeyent soggettes, shall preserwe his Reaulme with prossperous felicite agence all comossyons or adwercite: and that I merwellid gretly that they that hawe the ey sycht so sharp, as to se in the todyr syd owyr the sees, that they can not se the fyrys that bournys afor ther own dorrys, and the comosson of this nyewe secht of rebaptism, whereof there is the nombyr of 6000 all reddy, men and women, and ewry day incressyng more and more, whiche be your own neygbors, and subgettes to thEmperour. And here apon he made me answer, sayng, "Pour vray, Monsieur lEmbassatuer, "vous me dyttes la veryte de notre inconvenyence de pardesa." To the whych I sayd, "Pour le mayns en lyeu que vous mavyes parle du vent, je "vous ay resspondu auctentikement." And here with I stopt, sayng, "Ung "advertisement vault byen laultre." And thus we departyth amyably from othyr. Fro Brussellis, the 12 day of Marche.

ThEmperours Imbassatour, as he told me hym self, shall retourne shortly here hence to France agayne. I fynd hym good wylling, yf his hart and mowth agres to gydder, as I thynk it doys.

Humble and enteyrly your own,

(*Superscribed*)

JOHN HACKETT S.

To the ryght honnorable Sir Thomas Cromwell  
Knyght, one of the Kynges Pryve Consell,  
and Master of his Joyellhous.

### CCCXCVIII. HACKETT *to CRUMWELL.*<sup>1</sup>

PLEASSYTH Your Mastership to understand, that the 12<sup>th</sup> day of this present monyth I wrote my last letters unto yow, and syns I hawe ressewit yours<sup>2</sup> datyth the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the sayd, by the which ye asertayn me of the Kynges good mynd and intent toward me, and that His Grace hath agreyd unto me the rest of myn old arerages: for the which, and for all othyr his gracious

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

goodnys

goodnys unto me I can not satysfylly inowch with wourdes or wrytting thank His Hyghnys there of: but with good hart and interior good mynd I thank His Grace, and your good Mastership in like wyse, for all your labouwr and payn thakyng in the sollyshyng of my pore byssenys toward His Hyghnys. And now I may say that I hawe serwyd His Hyghnys this 8<sup>th</sup> yeres by past in this syde the sees, at His own Grace is costes and charges, which afor tyme I myght not freely say soo; assuryng your Mastership, as I take God to my record, and as be my former letters I menssond unto yow, that all that I procure for in this world, next God, is with intent to be the abler to do the Kyng my Sowrayn Lord agreeable and good serwyee.

As for thedynges owt of this partyys, I hawe knowlage of sertayntte that thEmperours Imbassatours from Hambourch hawe wryttyn of late to the Quene Regent here, that they dowthyth not but that they had comen to a werry good poyent and acorde with them of Lubyk, yf hyt had not chawnssyd that the Imbassatours of Inglond had comfortyth the sayd Lubkyrs to the contrary: menssonyng alsoo in ther sayd letters that the Duck of Holst told them that the Kyng hath made knyght a captayn of the sayd Lubycker shippis, yewyng hym a penssion of 2 hundred angellis a yere, and that the Kynges Imbassatours hath presentyth to assyst them of Lubyck with 30 or 40 thousand angellis to begyn war with thEmperour; soo that they dowthyth that they showld do but lytyll good with the sayd Lubkyrs at this tyme: sayng also, that the Kyng is Highnys is alyyd with the Prinssis that they name here Lutherians, and the sayd Lubkyrs, agens the Pope and thEmperour. Which letters, after that the Quene and the Counsell here had the reddyng and takyng owt the copeis, ilico they dyd dyspache a post with the origenal letters to thEmperour in to Spayn. I wote not how He shall like the sayd wryttinges; but, yf He knewe in what danger that all this Low Contres be in at this tyme with this nyewe secht of rebaptissyng, and fre liberte to make all goodes commune, and not to obey prynece nethyr prelat, He would like that tedynges mowche wours. For, as I understand, they be assemblyd all reddy to gyddyr in the partyys of Monster, Frisland, Westfalle, and there abowth sercumwoissyns, apon the nombyr of more then 60 thousand, and ewery day ther nombyr incressis more and more, and the gretyst danger that I percewe in this bissenys is, that the Princeis here abowths knowis not in sertayntie, to whom that they may trust. For they that were wont to take wagges to war here afor tyme, dywers of them wyll take no wagges, sayng that they wyll not fyght with them that intenedes to set all the world in libertie. But, as I ham infourmyth, all the Prinssis of Dowtchland, and of

all this oþyr contres here abowth, be werry wigllant to bryng them down and to resisthem, yf they may.

My Lord of Burre, the Gowermour of Frysland, and my Lord of Hoghestrat, be departyth now of late here hens toward Holand, Frisland, and Owyr Issyll, to resist all that they can or may, as well by justyce as perforce of armes.

The Lansgrave Van Essen, the Ducq of Julias, and dywers oþyr Prinssis, do send assistance of men and mone to the Byshop of Monster, who lyes at seige afor the sayd town of Monster; with in the whych town there is a 12 hundred fyghtyng men of this nyew seght, all sworne to obey no Prince nethyr prelat, but to parte ther goodes and make all commune, where they may. I assure your Mastership, that it were grete petie that God should permeyt that syche unhappy peple should have domination; for yf they myght com to the cheife of ther intentes in this partyys, they wold be the bolder in other partyys to atempt syche like interrice. I pray God sawe us from that.

As I ham infourmyd of sertaynte, the Qwene Regent hath send yesterdaþ 10 thowsand gold guldyns of thEmperours monne to assist the Byshop of Monster aghens this unhappy peple; and in likewyse, as I understand, all the Princis circumwoisyns be constrainyd for ther owne utilite to assist the tone the tothyr in this byssenys; which is not a lytle to be pondryt.

Of late ther is a gentyll man of Don Fernando past in post from hens towards thEmperour, and in like wyse a Secrettary of the Frenche Quenes, who had letters fro the Quene Regent also to thEmperour; but what ther comysyonys be, I can not say, for I know it not.

The Cardenal of Luke hath wryttyn to the Quene Regent that the Ducke of Sassen hat wryttyn now of late to the Ducke of Julias, warnyng hym, as a frend, to take grete cure and good heyd, that this nyew seght increse not in his contres; sayng that they be peple to set the world owt of ordyr, yf they may. And the sayd Cardenal wryttes, that the tyme here before that they were wont to be occupyyd in the churches with hyryng Godes serwyce, mas, mateny, and evensong, that now they spend the like tyme in the tawernys and in other unhappy plassis, with thesputyng of the natural poer of princis and prelates.

The Statteſ of Brabant hawe now of late consenttyth to the Quene Regent 40 thousand guldyns a yere, 6 yere one after a nother, like as they dyd to my Lady Margret here afor tyme. The Quene Regent, to change eyre, is now kepyng hyr Courte at my Lord of Nasow is howse here with in

Brussellis,

Brussellis, and of hyr dysspossissyon of hyr bodely holt She semys now to amend.

I send your Mastership herewith inclossyd the copie of a suplication<sup>1</sup>, which dywers Scottes dowellers and burghesis of Andwerp and Camffer hath presentythe to the Quene Regent to obtayn letters of reprisaille agens the Kynges subgettes of Harwyche, which She would not consent, tyll the Kynges Hyghnys were hereof advertissyd fyrst. My Lord of Bewyrs requy me to wryte unto the Kynges Hyghnes that his burghesis myght be restytutyth of ther goodes; and as I percewe, by them of this Prewe Counsell and Fynassis here, they would well that the Kynges pleasure were so to do or cawse to be done.

And to the intent that I myght hawe som lecit cawse to spek with the Quene Regent onys in tre or 4 monyttes, yf the Kynges Hyghnys mak answer unto hyr letters at this tyme, and that your Mastership so thynk best, ye may derecht unto me the sayd answer, with syche instruxion, as shall plese His Hygnys, that I may show Hyr by mowth. God sawe His moste noble Magiste, and prossperc your good Mastership with long life, good holt, and felicite. From Brussellis, the last day of Marche, 1533.<sup>2</sup>

Humbly yo<sup>r</sup> own, JOHN HACKETT S.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Ryght Honorable Sir Thomas Cromwell  
Knyght, one of the Kynges Pryve Conssell,  
and Master of his Joyelhous.

### CCCXCIX. J. DA CASALE *to King Henry VIII.*

Serenissime Rex, Domine mi observandissime.

MITTO ad Majestatem Vestram pauca quædam, quæ his Dominis Venetis, multis jam elapsis diebus, novi allata sunt, quorum recentiores nuncios etiam nunc accepere, quibus confirmantur ea omnia que illis scripta erant, ac certi fiunt Turcarum Regem in Syriam proficisci adversum Sophi, quanquam rumor esset pacem et conventionem sperari, eujus rei gratia Regis Sophi Legatos ad Abraym Basa jam pervenisse, qui in illis est regionibus. Aiuntque Turcarum

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> This date is quite clear in the original, but there can be no doubt it is intended for 1534.

Regem,

Regem, si ea pax procedet, arma in Christianorum regiones laturum; neque propterea intermissurum maritimum classis preparationem ad oppugnandum Coronem, finitimamque illis locis Italiæ oram, nisi Cæsar, et quidem non parva classe, illum prohibeat.

Dominus Julianus Cæsarinus, Cardinalis Cæsarini nepos, unusque Dominorum et Baronum Romæ, quum injuria ab Romæ Gubernatore affectus esset, quo tempore Pontifex Bononiæ erat, nuperque, quum alia injuria afficeretur, nanque ille suorum quendam ante domum suam comprehendit, ipsum Gubernatorem a visitatione Capitolij redeuntem aggressus est, eumque lætalibus vulneribus aliquot percussit, quibus si minus morietur, at certe dextera manu amissa evadet; quod magnum quidem Pontificij dedecus atque ignominia fuit.

Napoleo Ursinus, qui vulgo dicebatur l'Abbate di Farfa, a fratre suo, qui filius Dominae felicis erat, per dolum imperfectus est haud longe ab urbe Roma. Novi nihil aliud habeo, quod ad Majestatem Vestram scribam, cui me humiliter commendo. Venetijs, ultima Martij, 1534.

Excellentissimæ Serenissimæ Majestatis Vestræ  
(*Signatur*)      Humillimus S<sup>r</sup>      Jo. CASALIUS,  
Prot<sup>s</sup>.

*(Superscribitur)*

Serenissimo et invictissimo Regi Angliæ Franciæ,  
&c., Domino meo observandissimo &c.

#### CCCC. CARNE and REVETT to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASYTH yt Your Hyghnes. Thys ys to certyfy the same that at owr arryvall hether, the 6<sup>th</sup> of thys, we resortyd to my Lord Bysshopp of Paryse, in hys journey homeward beyng here, accordyng as Your Hyghnes pleasure whas; with whome, as sone as we cowd have audience (suche letters deleverde to hym, as wer to hym dyrectyd for the furtherance of Your Hyghnes grett cause) we treated of Your Hyghnes seyd cause, accordyng as Your Hyghnes pleasure and commaundement whas, thynkyng to have by hym some comfort and information howe and in what manere we shuld sett forward the same, accordyng to Your Hyghnes purpose shewd to us, after owr arryal to Rome. Who gave us awnswere, that the cause whas fynysshed, and sentence gevyn

<sup>1</sup> In Revett's handwriting; much mutilated and defaced by damp.

15 days past agenst Your Hyghnes, in causa principali, wherby the Bysshopp of Rome pronuncyd the first matrimony to be good, et prolem inde susceptam esse legitimam, ac primam esse restituendam, accordyng to a message that my Lord of Paryse sent to the French Kyng, and therhens to be directyd to Your Hyghnes, by a curre dispached from hym immediatly after the sentence whas gevyn: whero' we dyd not lytyll merwell, but also yt was to our grett hevynes to hyre of, and so to be broght sodenly owt of that good hope, that we were in, to suche a case, where we thought to bryng every thyng to Your Hyghnes purpose. And, Syr, where we wold a knowyn of hym the cause of suche hastye processe, seyng that he had wrytten that the Bysshopp of Rome wold be glade to do for Your Hyghnes, not only in the cause pryncipall, but also in the matters excusatorye, whyche seemyth not to agree with suche thyngys as Your Hyghnes was put in comfort of to be opteyned at the Bysshopp of Rome ys handys, as we seyd; to the wyche he made answere that the Imperialles at Rome had streyngthed themselfes after suche manere, that they coacted the seyd Bysshopp of Rome to geve sentence, contrarye to hys own mynd and to the expectation of the Bysshopp of Paryse and other agentes and favorers of the French Kyng ther. But surly, Sir, we thynke, yf the seyd Bysshopp of Rome had byn myndyt to do for Your Hyghnes in your seyd cause, He wold a fownd meance ynoghe to do otherwyse then He ded. Moreover the seyd Bysshopp of Paryse shewyd us, that the Imperialles suyd to the Bysshopp of Rome for the execution of the seyd sentence: wyche the Bysshopp of Paryse, as he seyd, wold warantyse not to passe; but we feare us hyt wylbe obteyned, in my Lord of Paryse ys absence, by the seyd Imperialles, seyng they cowd obteyne sentence in the principall cause, he beyng present.

And wher we wold [*have askyd h*]ys advys for letting of the seyd execution, he wold in no meance that ony of us shuld medel in yt, but that Your Hyghnes send to hym; and he dowthyth not but he will cause the Bysshopp of Rome to staye yt, when so ever yt shuld be callyt upon. Then we seyd hyt were to be feared lest hyt be decreyd, or that he shuld have any knowlege therof. He seyth that he wold warrantyse no suche thynge shuld passe, and wold in no wyse that any of us shuld to Rome at thys tyme. Wherfor we have dispached a curre to Your Hyghnes to certfyfe the same of the premissys; besechyg Your Grace that we may know farther of Your Hyghnes pleasure, wether we shal forwardes to Rome, or elles recule backe homewardes ageyne; and the meane season we shall tarye here, untyll Your Hyghnes pleasure cum to us. And yf the Bysshope of Rome shold be as well wyllyng,

as the Bysshopp of Paryse dothe reporte by Hym, He may admitte any of us, ex officio, to allege and to prove nullitatem sententie, and therby to stay the execution, and to have the sentence declaryd of none effecte. And, Sir, the seyd Bysshopp of Paryse shewyd us, that the Lady Princes Doager sent latly, in the moneth of Marche last, letters bothe to the Bysshopp of Rome, and also to hyre procture; wherby the Bysschopp of Rome whas myche movyd for hyre parte; and in hyre letters sent to hyre proctore, she certfyd hym of many letters that she had reseyvyd from hym, as well from Rome as frome Marcilia, movyng hym to cause the Imperialles and other hyre agentes ther to calle for speedy processe in hyr cause.

Other we have not to wryte to Your Hyghnes at thys tyme; and thus we moste humbly commend us to Your Hyghnes, besechyng Allmyghty God to conserve the same in his moste ryall state by many and infynyte yers. From Bononye, the 7<sup>th</sup> of Aprell, 1534.<sup>1</sup>

And, Syr, the seyd Bysshopp of Paryse shewyd us, that the Imperialles, befor the sentence whas gevyn, promysyd in the Imperor ys behalfe, that He wold be executor of the sentence; and of thys we thowt expedient to certfyfe Your Hyghnes of.

Your Hyghnes ys moste humbly  
subjectes and pore servantes,

(Signed) EDWARD KARNE.

WYLLIAM REVETT.

#### CCCCI. CARNE AND REVETT TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASYTH yt Yower Hyghnes. Thys ys to certfyfe the same, that sens ower letters of the 7 of thys, sent to Yower Hyghnes by oon Thomas a curror dyspached by us, wheryn we certfyed Yower Grace of the moste injuste and injurious diffinition made in Yower Hyghnes greatt cause by the Bysshopp of Rome, 15 days befor ower arryvall hether, accordyng as the Bysshopp of Paryse, whome we mette here, had us informed; wherapon both he and we thoght best not to goo any farther, Your Hyghnes pleasur not knowyn theryn,

<sup>1</sup> On the same day they wrote to the Duke of Norfolk, desiring a speedy answer.

<sup>2</sup> In Revett's handwriting.

whether we shuld so do or noo: thys day I, Edward Karne, receyvyd a letter from the Bysshop of Worcester from Rome, wheryn he wrott that the 13 and 15 of thys wer served upon hym 2 citations, in Your Hyghnes seyd cause, to se the executoriales deceyrd, and the expences taxed, accordyng to the tenor of them, wherof Your Hyghnes shal reseyve the copyse<sup>1</sup> inclosyd heryn; but whether any suche executorialles be decreed or noo, we cane not hyre of as yet.

Also we thoght expedient for the more suretye, that withyn 10 days after the sentense gevyn came to owr knowlege, I, Edwarde Karne, as Excusator and Yower Hyghnes subjecte, shuld appelle omni meliori modo from the seyd Bysshopp of Rome, yll and wrongfully informed, and also in feare of the Imperiales the tyme of the sentense gevyn, and from hys seyd nougnty injuste and moste injurious sentense, to the Bysshopp of Rome, beyng better fullyer and clerere informyd, and also in more libertye and securyte, then He whas at the tyme of the seyd injuste sentense gevyn. Of the whyche appele we have caused a instrument to be made privyly, so that Yower Hyghnes may take the commodite of yt, yf hyt shall stond with yower pleasur, as myche as may be, and yet nothyng done theryn in Yower Hyghnes name. But yf Yower Hyghnes wold have the same intimatyd to the Bysshoppe of Rome, yt cowd be nothyng prejudicall to Yower Hyghnes, of the whyche appell the same shal reseyve a copye<sup>1</sup> herwith. Moreover we hyre that the Imperialles at Rome have caused the sentense, nowe last gevyn, to be sett abrod in pryn.

Other we have not to certyfyte Yower Hyghnes of at thys tyme; and thus moste humblye we commende us unto Yower Hyghnes, besechynge Allmyghty God to conserve the same in hys moste ryall state by infynyt yers. From Bononye, the 25<sup>th</sup> of Apriell, 1534.

Yower Hyghnes ys moste humble subjectys  
and poore servantes,

(Signed) EDWARD KARNE.

WILLIAM REVETT.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kyng Hys Hyghnes.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

CCCCII. HACKETT TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASSYTH Your Highnys to understande, that fro tyme to tyme I do advertis M<sup>r</sup> Crumwell of syche occorenssis as I can percewe in this partyys, as fer as I can com to the knowlage of those, that may serwe for Yowr Grace is pourpoce to know and percewe.

And thus shalbe onely to advertis the same, that this last wyck arywyd here a post fro thEmperour with letters to the Quene Regent, answeryng to syche letters as She dyd wryte to advertis Hym of all the procedures that his Imbassatours procedyth and concludyth with them of Hambourch and Lubycck ; and how that they of Lubycck wold not accept that the Kyng of Swedyn showld be compreendydh in the trewys betwix them and thEmperour ; and how that Your Grace is Imbassatours procedyth sore contrary to thEmperours pourpoce ; and in likewysse how that yowr Hyghnys procuris diligently to hawe the election of the kyngdome of Denmark at your own pleasure and pourpoce, with presenttyng grete sommys of monne to them that be the Electours and Counsellors of the Reaulme ; and syche othyr tryfflys as She cowd imagyn to wryte, or had knowlage be hyre sayng, at the tyme of hyr wrytting, to know his pleasure, how that She may procede forwards in manner that his adversarys showld not com to obtayn the intent of their pourpoce agens Hym.

ThEmperour now at this tyme hathe sendydh unto Hyr large instruxions ; and, to the intent the better to com to hys pourpoce, hath comytyth for his Imbassatours to the partyys of Estland, Denmark, and Sweden, the Byshop of Brix, Monsieur de Bredrode, Mester Gherart Mullart, and Master Maximyan Transsilvano. And, as I ham infourmyth, they wyll procure the election of Denmark for the Duke of Holst, or for his yonger brothyr ; and to marre the ildyr daughter of Denmark unto hym, othyr els for Don Fernando with presenttyng or promessyng to pleasse the Ellectours. And, as I understand, thEmperour and they here make ther recknynges, that yf they may optayn that any of this tre be choessyn Kyng, that as then they may be able to cawse the Kyng of Denmark to kyttyll Inglonde with owt any infrangyng of peace betwix thEmperour and Your Hyghnys, as well as Yowr Hyghnys cawssis the Lantgrave wan Essen to kyttyll Don Fernando, thEmperours brothyr, at this

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

tyme

tyme withoutt any infrangyng of peace betwix Your Highnys and thEmperour; assuryng Your Highnys that, as fer as I can percewe, yf som of them that be abowth the Quene Regent here had as mowche poer as they hawe mallice and il wyll, they wowl do more hurt and harme, then they can or may do, thankyth be God.

And, as I hame infourmyth of a credyble personage of this partyys, thEmperour, nethyr this Low Contres, be not myndyth in no maner, for notyng that is done to this tyme, to begyn nethyr to declare them selfs to hawe warr with ther neygbors; and also that, to his thynkyng, yf som othyr prynce would yew the reaulme som byssenys of warr ado, that som of thEmperours Consellours wowl be notyng dysplessith ther at. Thus Your Hyghnys may persewe what good mynd that syche Counsellours berres to the comene welt, and to ther best neighbors.

The Byshop elect of Lonen in Denmark<sup>1</sup>, who came with Kyng Cristyen at his refuge to thes contres, and now lywys by the pensson that thEmperour and Don Fernando yewys hym, is now of late comen fro Don Fernando in post to the Quene Regent, and soo forthe departyth here hens 2 days agone in post towards thEmperour; Who, as I ham infourmyth by some aquentance that he hath in Denmark, hath optaynyth the coppe of syche letters as your Hyghnys hath wryttyn to the Ellectours and Consell of the reaulme of Denmark as consernyng ther election, and also the presntacyon that Your Hyhnys is Imbassatours hath presenttyh unto the sayd Ellectors to optayn the election to Your Hyghnys own pourpoce and awantage, who berrys the sayd coppeis with hym into Spayne, with the coppe of som other letters that Yowr Hyghnys hath wryttyn to the Lantgrave van Essen. And as I ondyrstond by a credible frend of myn, the occassion of the sayd Byshop is rydding in post toward Spayn is at this tyme for tow principall cawssis, with the tyrd conjugnyng. First to advertis thEmperour of the occorentes of Dowtchland, and of ther nyghbors sercomwoyssyns to Ostriche. The second is that Don Fernando dyssyrys to hawe socowrs fro thEmperour to resist his adversarys of Dowtchland, and to show His Majestie the perrellis that may follow to them bothe, yf He should leyse reputacion agens his ennemes at this tyme. The tyrd to invent the manner, yf they may, to stop that Your Hyghnys shall not com to your gracious intension touching the election of Thenmark. And becausse that me toght thes mattuers to be mattuers of importans, as now I derecht this letter unto Your Hyghnys, and becausse that I dar not trouble Your Magiste with

<sup>1</sup> Probably Vesalius, Bishop of Lund in Sweden. See Vol. I. p. 605.

my rude long wrytting, I do advertis Mr Crumwell<sup>1</sup> of the suerplus of syche occorentes as we hawe here at this tyme. Almyghty God prospere Your most noble Grace, and the moste noble Quene my mestres with long lyfe, good helt, mowche joye and felicite. From Brussellis, the 21<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1534.

Moste humble subget and serwont unto your Magiste.

JOHN HACKETT S.

### CCCCIII. GHINUCCI TO CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, Domine honorande. Voluit Magnificentia vestra, ut, quod oculi mei non attingebant, res ipsa mihi demonstraret. Hoc dico, propterea quod cum (quod sciam) personam Magnificentie vestre non cognoscam, voluit ut mihi benevolentiam ostendendo, et favorem suum prestando, prius beneficium reportarem, quam beneficium ipsum prestantem agnoscerem. Cum itaque Andreas, nepos meus, qui isthinc rediens ad me tandem pervenit, mihi retulerit quam benigno et jucundo animo Magnificentia vestra se promptum ostenderit et obtulerit in me juvando, ut ea liberalitate et munificentia, qua Serenissimus Rex, communis dominus, era me uti dignata est, frui et gaudere possim, visum mihi est ut, si debito meo erga Magnificentiam vestram ad presens satisfacere nequeam, id saltem agnoscam. Agnosco itaque debitum, offeroque me, dum occasio dabitur, vices, si non pares, saltem possibles, redditurum. Quia autem ingenui animi est debito se exonerare, cupio obligationi, quam erga vestram Magnificentiam habeo, et hoc addi, ut mihi occasionem dare dignetur, qua ei valeam in aliquo servire. Erit autem hoc mihi tam gratum, ut putem propterea obligationi mee erga eam satis plus duplo accessisse. Novi hic quod sciam nihil est Magnificentia vestra dignum; si esset, libenter scriberem, et id in futurum faciam, si modo nosse potero me ei propterea molestum non futurum.

Quod aut capitaneus ille, Barbarossa vocatus, cum classe ducentorum lignorum, et favore ac fomento Turce, occupandam Cartaginem, quam Tunisiam vocant, non puto Magnificentie vestre novum. Volui aut id scribere, ut viam hanc nova ad Magnificentiam vestram scribendi aperirem: quod si eidem Magnificentie vestre cognovero non displicere, curabo de his, que ad meam poterunt notitiam devenire, eam continue certiorem reddere. Reliquum est ut ei iterum gratias agam, rogemque ipsam enixe ut me Regie Majestati

<sup>1</sup> His letter to Crumwell is not found.

humillime commendare dignetur: et bene ac feliciter valeat. Ex Urbe, die 23 Maij, 1534.

Excellentissime vestre Magnificentie,

(*Signatur*) S<sup>r</sup> HIE. EP<sup>s</sup> WIGORNIL<sup>N</sup>.

Quod ad presens occurrit circa causam Regie Majestatis, scribo ad Dominum Karne, a quo poterit vestra Magnificentia informari, nam brevitas temporis non patitur ut ulterius scribam.

De rebus Germanie hic maximus est rumor. Tamen nihil de hoc scribo, nam propter vicinitatem veritas isthic melius sciri debet. Et vestre Magnificentie commendo.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thomae Cromvel, Serenissimi Angliae et Franciae Regis [Se]cretario, ac Thesaurario dignissimo, Dominoque meo honorando.

#### CCCCIV. Certen articles to be purposed on the KINGES behalf by Mouns<sup>r</sup> le Guys unto the FRENSH KING.<sup>1</sup>

FYRST, as touching the entrevien to be had bitwen both the Kinges, it is not to be doubted but, as the Kinges Highnes, for his parte, hathe depelie conceyved the good and estymacion that may ensue thereof, and also remembryng the perfite love amytie affeccyon and frendeship, which He most entierlie above all other bereth towardes his good brother the Frensh King, and therwith desireth his long contynuance in helth honour and victorie, so can not He but covete and wysshe to have meting with Hym to speke with Hym, and to imbrace his said so entierlie beloved brother. But, sithen it is so that His Highnes, having suche naturall regarde to the state of his Realme, suche love to his entierlie beloved Quene and yong doughter the Pryncess<sup>2</sup>, with suche ardant mynde and zele to the mayntenaunce, supportacion, honour, suretie, weale, and defence of the one and thother, can not convenyentlie passe out of his Realme, consydering the tyme, and the males borne to them bothe by the Emperoure, oneles He may first devise suche sureties for the con-

<sup>1</sup> From a Minute corrected by Crumwell. There is also a French translation in the State Paper Office.

<sup>2</sup> The Princess Elizabeth was born in September 1533.

veyaunce of his Person both by see and lande as may be thought expedient and nedefull, and more specyallie sithen his good brother perfectlie knoweth that He, passing out of his Realme, leavith behynde Him an other doughter and her mother eyther of them with their parentes and frendes maligning his enterprises in this behalf; who bering no small grudge ayenst his most entierlie beloved Quene Anne, and his yong doughter the Princesse, being an infante and of veray tender aege, might perchaunce in his absence take occasion to excogitate and practise, with their saide frendes and parentes, matiers of no small perill and daungier to his royall Person, Realme, and subjectes; and sithen also that His Highnes hathe latelie ben advertesed by the letters sent from his good brother by Mouns<sup>r</sup> de Guyes, and also many other weyes, that thEmperour purposeth to sende dyvers socours aswell out of Boheme, Italie, and Almayn, as also out of Spayne, into Flaundres, 3000 Spaniardes to ayde Don Fernando his brother ayenst the Duke of Wyrtenbergh; who perchaunce (althoughe the fame is so devulged) may yet sende those saide nomber of Spanyardes, with a farr greater nomber, in the Kinges absence, to invade his Realme: wherefore, if the King his good brother for his parte, as He for his parte, will be agreeable to furnysshe and sett fourthe a convenyent nomber of shippes barkes and galeys to kepe and make sure the sees from thEmperours incursions and invasions (if any should chaunce to be made), Who (as his good brother knoweth) beareth no good will to any of Them both, He thinketh the same shoulde not onelie be a grete honour sewrtye and estymacion to Them both, but also a grete strength, if any practises shoulde happen to be made by the Emperour to interrupte the saide meting or entrevieu, or otherwyse to molest anye of them.

And for the consideracions before mencioned He wolde desire his good brother (if so it wolde please Him to be content) to graunt that the saide entrevyen might onelie be at Calays, without going to any other place, whither if his pleasure were to come, both moche trouble shoulde thereby be avoyded, and moche tyme saved, which in passing to and from other places should and must nedes be spent and lost; whiche for their mutuall consultacions, and many other necessary thinges bitwen them to be determyned devised and concluded for the weale of Them both, their Realmes domynyons and subjectes, might induce no small let hinderaunce and losse of tyme. And being so that to this entrevien to be onelie had at Calays, if his saide good brother can be content to gyve his assent thereunto, whiche for the consideracions afore mencyoned shoulde turne to the grete pleasure and utilite of both, then were it mete and also expedient that the entrevien and meting shoulde be about the 20<sup>th</sup> daye August next, at the ferthest, or veray shortly after. And, where

as

as the honours puyssances and astates<sup>1</sup>, being all redy sufficientlie knownen to all the worlde, myght then appoyn to mete without any greate or costly pompe to be used by Them or their traynes, and his saide good brother to com to Calays with the nomber of <sup>2</sup> hundreth horsemen, if it so shall like Him; and being so that our saide good brother do not agree to the entrevien to be onelie had at Calays, but at Boleyn and Calays after the maner of the last entrevien; then doth the Kinges Highnes thinke, the premisses considered, that his saide good brother will condiscende, in case any invasion shoulde happen to be made into this his Realme or any of his domynyons (He being absente) that then and in that case He wolde, as his most assured good brother, in revenging thereof, covenauant and be bounde to do for Him no lesse then He in like case wold covenauant and be bounde to do for Him; which is, that, if the saide Emperour or any other by his procurement, wold invade the Realme or domynions of his saide good brother to the impechement of the said entrevien, that then in that case the King, as a most assured frende, wold in like wise invade thEmperour in such his domynyons and terytoryes, where He thought He might most facillie annoye and revenge any suche invasyon or enterpryse to be made by the saide Emperour; trusting, that his saide good brother will be bounde to do the semblable, if the case shall so happen. And, if there should no suche invasion be entreprised, yet the see to be furnysshed with shippes, and the frontures foranenst Flaundres to be fortefied with men of armes, for the suretie of bothe their Persons and traynes, shoulde move the hole worlde to thinke, besyde the surtye therof to Them bothe, that the amyte betwen Them is suche, as can not by any meanes be dissolved violate or broken; by reason whereof all the worlde shall take suche estymacion thereof, as shalbe to the honour, and dreade of Them both; the saide entrevien to be had by the 20 daye August, or shortelye after, as is afforsayd; eyther of the Kynges conveyeng in thayr companyes for their traynes, to the saide townes of Calays and Boleyn, the nomber of 300 horses and not above.

And, if it should happen the Bisshop of Rome at any tyme hereafter to fulmynate and sende fourth the execucion of his censures ayenst the Kinges Highnes into any the domynyons of his saide good brother, He then trustith that his saide good brother will also covenauant not onelie to shew Him self to be utterlie an enemye to the saide Bisshop of Rome, but also will gyve streight commaundement thorough out all his realme and domynyons, that

<sup>1</sup> "desdicts Seigneurs Roys" is here added in the French Translation.

<sup>2</sup> The number is also left blank in the Translation.

no such censures be there dyvulgated, publisshed, proclaymed, denounced, executed, or set up, ayenst the Kyng, his region, countreys, and domynyons, in any maner of wise.

And as concerning the contribucion of 50000 crownes, whiche his saide good brother desireth to be contributed of this last paymente of Maye, and to be employed in Germanye for thinterruption and let of the election of Fernando to be King of Romaynes, and for the ayde and supportacion of the Duke of Wirtenbergh, and his restitucion to the Duchie of Wirtenbergh, the Kinges Highnes is veray well pleased therewith, so alwayes, that the same be substanciallie employed to the saide intentes and purposes, having therefore suche sufficient and like bondes for the imployment thereof, as His Highnes for the contribution of thother 50000 crownes latelie contributed to the Dukes of Bavyere, then had and obteyned.<sup>1</sup>

#### CCCCV. KING HENRY VIII. TO FRANCIS I.

WHERE as the Most Cristen King, in his answere<sup>2</sup> to suche pryncipall poyntes, as, in the memoriall on the Kinges behalfe, delyvered to the Seigneur de la Guysshe, be conteyned; after declaracion of his good mynde in sundry articles, specyallie, that He shoulde desire above all to have the meane and commodite to may see ofte the King, and that the effecte of the entrevien is the most grete ease

<sup>1</sup> The French Translation has the following additional article :

“ Et quant a ce que le Roy son bon frere, tant par les Seigneurs de la Pommeraye et De Morette, que par ledict Seigneur de la Guyshe, a requis et proteste que le Roy ne Le pressera point a lentreveue de faire telles loix et ordonnances en France, comme le Roy a fait en ce Royaulme, touchant les Annates, causes dAppel, et Dispensations de la Court de Rome, le Roy en est fort bien content. Car bien Luy semble quil nest convenient a lamytie dentre Eulx, quill Le instante ne presse de faire loix contre son appetit et disposition; et correspondement Le requiert le Roy quill ne Le veuille instanter de revocquer aucune loy ne ordonnance qui ait este faite et conclute par Luy et son Parlement; estant ce neantmoins bien asseure, que si lEvesque de Rome ce pendant procede a Le grever et molester, sondict bon frere prendra en bonne part, si le Roy se plaincte, et deult vers Luy, remonstrast le tort et grife, qui Luy seroit fait comme a son entier vray frere et perpetuel allye, sans autrement Linstanter ne presser.”

<sup>2</sup> This answer of the French King has not been discovered. In the State Paper Office there is a copy, written by the same hand as the translation above referred to, of a letter in French from a servant of Francis to one of Henry (probably from De la Guiche to Crumwell), professing to give the sentiments of the former as to an interview between Them. The allusions are in many points adapted to the present occasion. But, as it bears no date, and does not disclose by whom, or to whom, it was written, it has not been inserted.

and contentement that He coulde have, to thintent that They myghte comon of their affaires togither. Wherefore if the King seeth that the saide entrevien may be made with his commodite and helth of his Person, He shalbe within the tyme and terme (as the saide De la Gusshe hathe shewed unto Him) redy and apparailed, thinking most commodious to make the saide entrevien in the self places and maner as the laste was don, without to take the Payne to seke new weyes and fashions, wherto He shalbe apparailed and redy with suche nomber of men and horses as the King shall thinke good, the saide entrevien to be made on eche parte with as litell expences as may be possible, without using in that behalf any superfluytees, ceremonyes, and expences inutiles; and that also He is of like opynyon as the King in this poynte, that for breking of thenterprises and assayes that myghte be made for to let and impesche them, there be leyed som shippes uppon the see for to kepe in comon suretie the sees and passages towardes Flandres and elles where; and that if during the saide intrevien thEmperour or his mynistres shoulde make som novelte or incursion upon the Kinges countrees, He wold employe his Person strength and goodes for the Kinges defence protection and conservacion, like as the treatie of amytie bitwen Them conteyneth: in the last article, prayeth of right good hert the King, that He woll gyve Hym knowlege of his fynall and last resolucion touching the saide entrevien, to thintent He may knowe what He hathe to do.

The King, well perceyving thereby suche zele and syncerite of amytie in his saide good brother, as his expectacion and confidence hathe ben alwayes, not onelie thanketh Him therefore most hertelie, pryncipallie for that He assureth to love the King, and esteme Him to moche to forgette Himself so farre as to suffer to be publisshed thorough his realme any depeschies fulmynacions or censures, that might procede of the Courte of Rome ayenst Him, but also declareth and gyveth Him knowlege his fynall resolucion this to be; That, although, as the King his saide good brother hathe in his saide articles fullie expressed, the love bitwen the said Seigneurs Kinges is so constant rooted and indissoluble, that the saide entrevien, nor the devises and wordes which they might have eche to other, coulde nothing adde nor augmente; yet notwithstanding, seeng the good disposicion that his good brother is of (as it is before rehersed), and that although there can be none addicion nor incresement made to so perfecte a love and amyte as is alredy bitwen Them, yet besides the entretenement and confirmacion of the saide indissoluble amytee, the meting entrevien and bodylie presence of Them, by humayne countenaunce of their visages and lyvely wordes casting certeyn inexplicable sparkles and beames of amyte and unyon into their hertes, engendereth suche

inestimable pleasure and amenyte in their saide hertes, so conjoint and unyte in love (as the saide Seigneurs Kinges be), that no gretter delectacion can be in this worlde: although also the Most Christen King tendereth so moche the prosperetye and helth of his good brother the King, that, as He wryteth in his first article, in case the King should see and knowe that there should be any apparence of incommoditye or daungier for his person or affairees, He wolde in no wise counsaile Him to absent Himself out of his Realme for the saide entrevien, having the King cast alredy to the worst almaner daungiers and perilles that might chaunce aswell in his Royalme and domynyons as upon the see and otherwise, and upon this entrevien proposed unto Him, so sought provyded and in the meane tyme established every thing to good suretie, and put order to the divertisement of all daungiers, as were by Him cast afore; knowing Himself in non other case then (as all other Prynces and creatures are) to be in the disposicion of God Almighty and at His pleasure, aswell within his Realme as without and upon the see, seeing the defence and ayde of revenge that his good brother assureth Him of, and that He will for his parte kepe the sees and passages with a navie, being the saide entrevien so farre fourth pourparled and sett, He is contented agreed and resolved fynallie to passe over to Calays to view and visite his saide good brother, at the places and in the maner and fashion as in the saide articles (his saide good brother so willing) is abovsaide; except onelie that He thinketh, for to have every thing well prepared with leasure, the saide entrevien may be differred to the      day of September next, desiring and prayeng affectuouslie to gyve Him knowlege of his advise, and of his intencion thereupon, and also of the nomber of shippes that He intendeth ayenst the tyme of thentrevien to have in redynes and abrode upon the sees; wherein He thinketh his good brother shall use no lesse diligence and dexteritye then He doth in seeing the moustres of his gensdarmes to be made, and his ordenaunces well settled upon the fruntures, whens any lett or impeschement may insurge, about the place of the entrevien most specyallie. Then shall the King shew in dede the grete hertie affection that He bereth unto his most assured brother and perpetuell allie the Frensh King, and with a firme assuraunce and confidence transporte Himself (God willing) over the see to thaccompilissement effectuell of the saide entrevien, whereof shall succede incredible commodite profite honour and estymacion of bothe Seigneurs Kinges, and to both their Realmes and domynyons contynuall welth and prosperetye.

CCCCVI. Instructions yoven by the KINGES HIGHNES to his right trustie and right welbeloved Cousin and Counsaillour the LORDE ROCHEFORD, whom His Highnes at this tyme sendeth in his Ambassade to the Right Excellent, Right High, and Mightie Prynce, his derest brother and perpetuall allie, the Frensh King.

(Signed) HENRY R.

FVRST the Kinges Majeste, knowing the approved wisedom fidelite and diligence, which is and ever hathe ben in the saide Lorde Rocheford, with the propence good will mynde and herte to serve His Highnes in all thinges that may tende to His Graces contentacion and pleasure, hathe now appoynted the saide Lorde Rochforde, as one whom His Grace specyallic loveth and trustith, with diligence to repayre unto his good brother and perpetuall allie the Frensh King, and aswell in his journey thitherwarde, as at his arryvaile at the Frensh Courte, to do and sey on the Kinges Highnes behalf as hereafter ensueth.

Fyrst, the saide Lorde Rocheforde, taking with him all suche letters wrtinges and instructions as be prepared for his depeche, conveying himself with all sped and celerytee towardes the Frensh Court, shall in his journey passing by Parys, in the Kinges Highnes and the Quenes Graces names, make their hertie recommendacions unto the Quene of Navarre, if She then be there; and ferther saye that the Quenes Grace his mastresse, like as She can not but moche rejoysse in herte the daylie increase of the indissoluble amytie and frendeship knytte and depely roted in the hertes of the Kinges Majestee Her Graces husbonde and the Frensh King her brother, whiche every day more and more openeth appereth and spreddeth it self thorough the worlde, to the high rejoysse and conforte of both Prynces their frendes and allies, and contrary wise to the discourage and confusion of their enemyes: so Her Grace considering the tyme of this determyned entrevien and meting to be suche as shalbe veray displeasaunte to Her, onles by the saide Quene of Navarres good meane advise and counsaile the same may be for a litle tyme proroged, having here Her Grace thererin most humblie ernestlie and effectuallie moved and besought the Kinges Majestie to be meane to his good brother, at her contemplacion, for a litle tyme to proroge the same uppon suche causes groundes and respectes as shalbe declared, and nothing obteyning by Her Graces owne medyacion, ne by others sundry the greate states of this Realme,

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at Her Graces request, and also for sundry other notable thinges moving the same, His Highnes being so ravysshed with desire of the sight of his good brother, and so desirous to have conference with the same for the better advauncement of their commune affayres, onles His Majestie shall have first knowlege of his good brothers mynde therein, whereupon His Grace, touching this prorogacion, hollie dependeth, determyning his will to be ever consonant and agreeable to his good brothers will; Her Grace is now dryven to her shoute ancre in this behalf, that is, to the onelie helpe of the saide Quene of Navarre, and the goodnes of the good King her brother, for Her Graces sake, and at this Her Graces sute and contemplacion, to staye the Kinges Highnes her husbonde, and to proroge their entrevien til a more commodyous and conuenyent tyme for all parties. And because the saide Quene of Navarre is a Pryncesse, whom the Quenes Grace hath ever entierlie loved, and never doubted of correspondence on her behalf agayn, the saide Lorde Rocheforde shall sey he hathe commaundement from Her Grace to open unto Her the veray botome of the Quenes stomake, and to declare what causes hath specyallie moved Her Grace to be so ernest a suter in this mater. And first he shall sey that the Quenes Grace doubtith not, but the saide Quene of Navarre, knowing the Quenes Grace to be so farre gon with childe, and by the reason thereof (the day and tyme of the entrevien kept and observed) in case of necessite constreyned to tary here behinde the King, as not being mete to be conveyed over the tombeling sees, cannot but moche on this parte agayne lament the injurye of the tyme; which, when She shoulde have most conforte of the Kinges Highnes, that is now to see Him and his good brother mete, shall inforce Her Grace without remedie to tary at home, Her Graces case also here being suche as wolde requyre of all tymes chieflie and pryncypallie His Highnes presence: which now, onles this entrevieu may be put of by her good meane till Aprell next, shalbe clerelie taken from Her at her most nede, to the greate confilte and inquietacion of Her Grace. For, though of the one parte, that is, the meting of so grete frendes there, mought be to her grete consolacion and conforte; yet, when She shall ernestlie remember, and on thother parte agayne consider her case, the Kinges daungier in his passage, and his long absence, whereof might also insue more daungier then were to be thought of, She therfore prayeth her good sister the saide Quene of Navarre ernestly at this now her nede to helpe that this entrevien may be differred till Aprell as afore. And this matier She willeth the saide Lorde Rocheforde to set fourth and engreve with suche vehemencie, declaring how ernestlie the Quenes Grace hathe this matier to herte, and how entierlie desirous

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Her Grace is to have herein her desired answer, as he may move the saide Quene of Navarre to joyne in this sute ernestlie with him to the King her brother; declaring how, the Kinges Majestie having appoynted an other personage to have at this tyme repayred to his good brother for other matiers, obteyned of His Grace with moche sute that the saide Lorde Rochforde might suplie this ambassade, chiefely for the better obteyning of Her Graces desire, being the saide Lorde Rochforde Her Graces brother, and one whom Her Grace knoweth well will, to the uttermost of his power, without offence to the Kinges Highnes, endevour himself to Her Graces satisfaction in this behalf.

Secondely, the saide Lorde Rochforde shall sey, that at the last entrevieu every thing proceeding bitwen bothe Kinges to the Quenes Graces singuler conforte, there was no one thing which Her Grace so moche desired, and yet coulde not atteyne to it by suche a lyke case, as the Kinges Majestie, departing to this entrevien at the tyme prescribed, shoulde be enforced to leave Her Grace at home, as the want of the saide Quene of Navarres company, with whom to have conference, for moo causes then were mete to be expressed, Her Grace is most desirous; and therfore most entierlie desireth the saide Quene of Navarre, that obteyning this delaye and protraction of thentrevien till Aprell, She will then at this the Quenes Graces most hertie request prepare Herself in the compayne of her good brother the Frensh King or otherwise to com down towardes Calays; that the Quene and She may then mete, wherein the Quene of Navarre shal not onelie bynde the Quenes Grace moche to Her, but also shew unto the Kynges Majestie singuler gratuytee and kyndenes, and shall in Her so doing accomplissh the office of a perfaicte frende, and answer to the expectacion conceyved of Her both by the Kinges Highnes and the Quenes Grace to the singuler contentacion rejoysse and conforte of Them both in that behalf.

Whiche matier declared unto the saide Quene of Navarre in suche sorte as is expressed, and as he is more fullie enstructe by mowth, wherby he may best conduce to the obteyning of the Quenes desired purpose herein, and answer of the same obteyned from the saide Quene of Navarre, according to Her Graces expectacion; the Quenes pleasure is, the saide Lorde Rochford shall with diligence addresse himself to the Frensh Courte, and after the delyveree of the Kinges Highnes letters of credence with His Graces most hertie and affectuous commendacions unto the same, and after also the declaracion of the late being here arryvede an ambassade from the Cytees of Lubeke and Hamburgh, whiche at their first accesse to the Kinges presence made a

solempne

solempne oracion, the copie wherof His Grace sendeth by the saide Lorde Rochforde unto his good brother<sup>1</sup>; and having the saide Ambassadours made overturē with the ayde and contribution of 100000 corons to be diffrayed unto them by the Kinges Majestee and his good brother the Frensh King, they doubt not to electe and chuse with their consentes suche a King of Denmarke as shalbe hollie in their devocyon, being in dede the matier in such case amongst them, that it appereth they be hable to accomplishe their saide promise. And considering the menyfolde commodytees that may ensue to the Kinges Majestie and to his good brother, and on the other parte the grete displeasure that shall thereby happen to their enemyes, namely the grete staye that by the acceptacion of the same shall ensew to all the Emperours compases, and considering how farre the same shalbe from his expectacion to be encountered and mette with all on that syde, and how moche it shall conduce to the subduing of his inordynate affection aspiring to the monarchie of the worlde, the Kinges Majestie hathe thought good not onelie to advertise his good brother hereof, but also to desire the same to contrybutye the moytie of the saide 100000 corons, lyke as His Highnes hathe with Him contrybutyd into Germanye; His Highnes not doubting but the same overturē, weyed and considered by his good brother, shall appere so goodlie an occasion for the advauncement of both their affayrees, as were not to be pretermytted, but the same to be imbraced and by all meanes enterteyned, and asmoche good like to ensue thereof as of the enterprise of Almayn.

And the saide Lorde Rocheforde shall also shew unto the Frensh King, that the Kinges Highnes is advertised, that albeit the Duke of Wyttenbergh is now latelie restored<sup>2</sup> by his and his good brothers meanes, yet the same Duke now is desirous and sueth to be at peax with thEmperour and his brother Ferdinando. Of the trewth whereof it should be mete for Us both to have certen knowlege, the thing touching moche both the King and his good brothers honours, to have him, whom They have ayded to the recoveree of his right, without their knowlege to fall into thEmperours lappe.

Fynallie, the saide Lorde Rocheforde shall sey unto the French King that the Kinges Highnes hathe ben advertesed that a Secretary of the Chauncellours latelie hathe commytted to warde at Parys a White Freere

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Vaughan and Mont in their letter, before, p. 500, state the probability of the Duke being restored to his Duchy on the dissolution of the Suevic League, which according to Mont, before, p. 536, happened in February 1534.

Italyen called Palvisinus, onelie, as His Grace hath ben infourmed, because the saide Frere wrote unto His Grace a certen letter; at whiche advertisement the saide Lorde Rochford shall say the Kinges Highnes had grete mervaile, and willed him specyallie to move his good brother for the saide Freers delyveraunce, and to say it was straunge to His Highnes to here that for wrytinge to His Grace anye person shoulde be there molested, though their writing had ben moche warse then his was, His Grace trusting that his good brother wold not therewith be contented; and so effectuallie to solycite his indelayed delyveraunce. After all whiche matiers declared unto the Frensh King, the saide Lorde Rochforde shall then begynne the Quenes sute for prorogacion of thentrevien, using therin such weyes and meanes as shalbe thought good to the Quene of Navarre, the same havyng any likelihod or apparaunce of good successe, and adding to the reasons above declared, as it were of him self, that in his opynyon it shoulde not be amysse for His Grace to graunte herein the Quenes Graces sute, forasmuche as the tyme will shortelie be here.

The saide Lorde Rochforde shall also saye, as it were of himself, for the furtheraunce of the Quenes Graces sute, and the declaration also of the Kinges sinceryte towarde his good brother, that notwithstanding the importunate sute of his nobles on the Quenes parte, being now the greate nomber of them at London<sup>1</sup> by the reason of certen treasons conspired ayenst His Grace, yet His Grace wolde in no wise graunte so moche as to wryte unto the saide Frensh King in it, the saide Lorde Rochford even so tempering his communycacion with the Frensh King in this matier, as He smell not the Kinges Highnes to be over muche desirous of it, but all in the Quenes name, and as the Kinges Highnes had ben only content that the saide Lorde Rochforde shoulde shew this thing to his saide good brother without any grete desire on his behalf that his saide good brother shoulde graunte the same. And the saide Lorde Rocheforde shall ferther do and sey in this behalf in all pointes as he hathe receyved more ample and full instructions of the Kinges Highnes and the Quenes Grace by mouth, in the debating and consultacion hereof accordinglie.

<sup>1</sup> For the trial of William Lord Dacre of the North on a charge of High Treason, of which he was acquitted on the 9th of July.

CCCCVII. G. DA CASALE TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MAGNIFICE Domine mi observandissime, Salutem &c. Superioribus diebus ad Dominationem Vestram ea scripsi, quæ super injuncto mihi negotio egeram. Quod quum postea Pontifex in dies pejus Se habuerit, frustra actum et tentatum erit. Heri quidem ac nocte præterita in eo fuit, ut esset fato jam jam concessurus. Extrema quidem corporis ei frigore diriguerunt, quemadmodum ante meum adventum bis etiam accidit. Nunc certe animam agit, et pituita suffocatur adeo, ut nulla spes amplius vitæ relinquatur.

*Quod ad futurum Pontificem attinet, ea per me summa diligentia sunt tractata, ut, si Cardinales Galli rem adjuverint, ut spero facturos, boni aliquid ex nostri Regis Angliae sententia confici posse confidam.*

Bene valeat Dominatio Vestra. Romæ, die 24 Septembbris, 1534. His scriptis, die 25, hora 18, Pontifex expiravit.

(Signatur) S<sup>2</sup> GREGORI<sup>2</sup> CASALI<sup>2</sup>.

(Superscribitur)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumwel, Serenissimi  
Regis Angliae Secretario Primario.  
Londini.

## CCCCVIII. G. DA CASALE TO CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem et Felicitatem. Alijs literis<sup>2</sup> Dominationem vestram certiorem feci quemadmodum die 11 Octobris Cardinales, celebrata missa Spiritus Sancti, solenniter ingressi sunt Conclave, quod prima noctis vigilia clausum fuit. Certo sciat Dominatio vestra, me diligenter quæ in mandatis habebam procurasse, et, ut sæpe scripsi, omni industria et arte in id ipsum invigilavi. Quia vero, quum primum Romæ fui, animadverti Cardinalium majorem partem Cardinali Farnesio, propter egregias ipsius dotes, favere; eum superioribus diebus sæpe adivi, et illi literas regias ex ijs quæ nemini erant extrinsecus descriptæ, quum ei describi fecisset, reddidi mihi fidem facientes, ac deinceps narravi quam bono animo Serenissimus Rex noster semper erga ipsum extitisset. Et inter cætera illud recensui, quod,

The passage printed in Italie is written in cypher.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

quum

quum anno 1529 Clemens Septimus mortuus crederetur, Ejus Majestas præter voluntatem Eboracensis et Campegij Dominum Vincentium Casalium, patrualem meum, cum mandatis et literis, tum suis, tum Regis Christianissimi, misit, quo ipsi Pontificatus potius procuraretur quam Campegio aut Eboracensi, propter eam quam de ipso conceperat opinionem. Quod certe verum est, ut illustrissimus Dux Norfolciæ, Dominus Wintoniensis, Dominus Brianus, et Dominus Petrus Vannes, recordari possunt. In mentem præterea ei redegi Serenissimum Regem nostrum mandasse Campegio regni Anglii protectionem adimi, et ipsi dari; memorem silicet eorum, quæ sui causa et cum Pontifice et cum Cæsare egisset; et haud æquo animo tulisse rem effectum non fuisse sortitam: quibus rebus consideratis de Suæ Majestatis optima in illum voluntate, deque illius erga Suam Majestatem summo studio, Serenissimum Regem maxima admiratione accepisse, ipsum in sua causa contrarium extitisse. Ibi Farnesius multis argumentis conatus est sese excusare, et multa repetivit quæ me instante pro causa regia fecit. Culpam vero omnem in Clementem Septimum ejusque perfidum ingenium congerebat, qui bonis invitis causam eo deduxerat, ut sine Cardinalium dedecore sustineri non posset. Multa igitur mihi aperuit, quæ secum Clemens egerat, ut ipsum ad id quod fecit impelleret. Mihi quidem summopere se desiderare ostendit Majestati Regiæ satisfacere, et illius causam componere, propterea quod id et ad Cardinales spectat, et ad salutem pertinet reipublicæ Christianæ et hujus Apostolicæ Sedis. Dicebatque, quod si Deo placuerit sibi dare autoritatem, se ante omnia totis viribus conaturum, ut satisfaciat Regiæ Majestati. Id vero etiam ipsius nomine multoties mihi repetitum fuit a Domino Latino Juvenale, avunculo meo, ipsius secretario, qui negotium Pontificatus transigit, quod si Farnesius Pontificatum adipiscitur, omnibus postpositis negotio Regis Angliæ componendo vacabit, eumque ut carissimum filium et Sedis Apostolicæ benefactorem amplexabitur, haud oblitus beneficiorum quæ in Sedem Apostolicam contulit. Quum deinde animadverterem Pontificatum quotidie magis in Farnesium declinare, viderenturque Galli quoque eodem descendere, quanvis neque mihi neque cuiquam suam mentem declararunt, ante quam Conclave occlusum foret; nec possem ego intra Conclave cum Cardinali aliquo remanere, quia longo tempore hic orator fui, non enim prælatis et alicujus autoritatis viris illuc aditus est: nihil agere prætermisi cum Cardinalibus, præsertim Lothoringio, Borbonio, et Tornonensi, ostendens quantum Serenissimus Rex noster de illis sibi polliceatur, et quid Rex Christianissimus promiserit et debeat. Multisque modis persuasi, quicunque Pontifex creetur, Regis Christianissimi amicum minime fore, neque Sedi Apostolicæ bonum pastorem, nisi Serenissimo Angliæ Regi satisficerit,

beneficio compensans injurias a prædecessore illatas, et injustitiam factam declarans. Quamobrem illos obtestatus sum, velint, proprij honoris causa et reipublicæ Christianæ et Regis Christianissimi, cum primum de electione determinantur, in qua ipsi magna pars sunt, ab eo qui Pontifex evadet, illius quod in mandatis continetur fidem accipere ea forma, quam potiorem judicaverint. Hanc ego rem persæpe cum his Cardinalibus tractavi, qui mihi semper ingenue responderunt sese non minus pro Serenissimo Rege Angliæ, quam pro Rege Christianissimo esse facturos; et quod opus sit optime intelligere visi sunt, seque ad id studiosissimos obtulerunt.

Cum Cardinales Conclave essent ingressi, ut et Gallis inservirem, et negotium hoc memoriae affigerem, eo die a[*b ipsorum*] latere non discessi, sed cum jam noctis duæ horæ præterijssent, vellentque Conclave concludere, egoque illos relinquerm, se nihil omissuros promiserunt. Cumque ego Gallos jam Farnesio inclinare colligerem, Domino Latino avunculo meo dixi, scirent ideo illos pro Farnesio facturos, quoniam ad id autoritas Serenissimi Regis nostri intercederet, qui hunc potius quam alium quempiam comprobaret. Optime valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 12 Octobris, 1534.

(*Signatur*) S<sup>Q</sup> GREGORI<sup>Q</sup> CASALI<sup>Q</sup>.

Magnifice Domine, mi observandissime, Salutem, &c. Prima parte hujus noctis electus est in Pontificem reverendissimus Cardinalis Farnesius, summa cum laetitia totius urbis, et ut videri potest Cardinalium magno consensu, qui unum tantum diem intra Conclave morati, hanc creationem fecerunt. Crastino mane solitis cæremonijs Pontifex pronuntiabitur. Atque ego fusius rem explicabo. Bene valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 12 Octobris ante medianam noctem, 1534.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*) S<sup>Q</sup> GREGORI<sup>Q</sup> CASALI<sup>Q</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumwel, Serenissimi Regis Angliæ Consiliario, et Secretario Primario, &c.

CCCCIX. G. DA CASALE *to* NORFOLK.

ILLUSTRISSE et excellentissime Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem et Felicitatem. Postquam Romam veni, nihil agere prætermisi, quo mandata perficerem, et omnibus viribus conatus sum Gallis fautores comparare. Et in id quicquid hic habeo autoritatis et amicitiae totum contuli, nec unquam ab ipsorum latere discessi, donec Conclave clauderetur; meque omnino ita gessi, quemadmodum etiam a Dominatione vestra illustrissima monitus fui, ut neque ulla in parte Serenissimo Regi displicuisse, et in his quæ Galli velle visi sunt, tum Regi Christianissimo, tum ipsis Cardinalibus, me cumulatae satisfecisse confidam. Cardinalis Farnesius, ad quem Galli inclinarunt, qui in electione maxima pars erant, nec sine ipsis quicquam confici poterat, brevissimo temporis spatio, die scilicet noctem subsequuto qua Conclave clausum fuerat, appellatus est Pontifex ante scrutinium, idest suffragij genus, quod fieri solet mane, dum missa celebratur. Id vero accidit summo Cardinalium consensu, omnesque illum ut Pontificem in capella, in qua solent creari Pontifices, venerati sunt, ac pedem exosculati, præter unum Cardinalem Campegiū, qui rem graviter tulit; nihilominus ipse quoque mane sequente una cum reliquis suffragium tulit. Ita nemine discrepante Farnesius Pontifex creatus est, et Paulus Tertius nuncupatus, maximaque celebritate et populi frequentia in ædem Divi Petri Romanorum humeris delatus. Qui certe hujus dignitatis magnam gratiam Regi Christianissimo debiturus existimatur. Galli enim negotium confecerunt, et Lothoringius quidem, secundus post Cardinalem Medices humi prostratus, hunc Papam appellavit et adoravit, quos cæteri, ut superius dixi, sunt deinceps subsequuti. Hujus quidem creationis ingens in urbe gaudium est. Is enim bonus vir et integer omnium opinione existimatur. Populus hic a Martino Pontificem Romanum non vidit, sperantque omnes Ecclesiæ in pristinum statum restituendæ operam daturum. Antequam enim huc ascenderet, dicebat Se, si unquam licuerit, Concilium indicturum; suique Eum in eadem opinione perseverare affirmant. Certe nulla unquam Pontificis electio sincerior et sanctior extitit, fuitque Conclave illud celeberrimum nobilissimorum Cardinalium adventu, inter quos etiam duo Germani fuerunt, Salzburgensis, et Tridentinus. Idem dicit Se Angliæ Serenissimum Regem carissimi filij loco habiturum. Duplex Romæ gaudium est ex hujus electione, et ex alterius morte, quem omnes mortales acerbissimo odio prosequabantur, et mortuo etiam sæpe noctu sepulchrum ferro pectitum fuit, semel etiam dirutum, et cadaver gladio confossum;

quod

quod nisi respectus Cardinalis Medices fuisse, unco illud traxissent. Tandem custodiam sepulchro apposuerunt. In reliquis reverendissimis Gallis acquiesco, qui de hoc Pontifice sibi etiam pro Serenissimo Rege Angliæ pollicentur, et Lothoringius, ut Dominatio vestra illustrissima intelliget, dicit se velle in Angliam ad Serenissimum Regem venire. Ipsi Galli bene animati videntur, quapropter illis ego hujus negotij curam relinquo, nec me cum Pontifice immisceo. Nolle enim, dum Serenissimo Regi inservire quærerem, Suæ Majestatis indignationem incurrere. Optime valeat Dominatio vestra illustrissima. Romæ, die 15 Octobris, 1534.

Excellentissimæ vestræ Dominationis Illustrissimæ  
(*Signatur*) S<sup>E</sup> GREGORI<sup>E</sup> CASALI<sup>E</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)  
Illustrissimo Domino Duci Norfolciæ,  
Domino meo observandissimo.  
Londini.

#### CCCCX. G. DA CASALE to ROCHFORD.

ILLUSTRISSIMO Signor mio osservandissimo. Questa sarà primamente per fare reverentia à vostra Signoria poi per darle nuova delle cose di qua. Quella ha da sapere che così come Papa Clemente in tutto'l tempo del suo Papato haveva tenuto afflitta et mal contenta questa città così la tenne nell'extremo della vita sua, dubitandosi che non havesse à morire per anchora, si come era desiderato di ciascuno. Finalmente giunta la morte ha così rallegrato ogn uno che e meraviglia à crederlo. Questo popolo si mise subito in arme per volere saccheggiare et abbrusiare le case di Philippo Strozzi, et questo perche sotto il nome suo Papa Clemente haveva l'anno passato convenuto con Romani di mantenergli il frumento a cinque scudi il ruggio, poi glie l'haveva fatto pagare dodici, et volevano essere restorati di questo danno patito. Non dimanco li Cardinali ve s'interposero, et assettorono la cosa in questo modo, che Philippo desse sicura di stare à ragione, et pagare quello sarebbe judicato, et la differenza si compromettesse in doi Cardinali che l'havessero à decidere. Con questo rimedio fu acquietato l'ira et furore di questo popolo. Contra Papa Clemente poi hanno fatto tutte quelle dimostrationi che si potessino fare contra il piu tristo principe del mondo. Il sepolcro suo è stato rotto ogni notte et imbrattato di mille porcherie, di maniera che e bisognato rifarlo et ripingerlo

ripingerlo ogni mattina e bisognato anchora fare scrivere in marmo le parole che erano state scritte sopra la sepoltura, perche ogni notte erano mutate et guaste et dove diceva, " Clementi VII. Pontifici Maximo, cuius invicta virtus " sola clementia superata est," era scritto et mutato " Inclemens VII. Pontifici " Minimo, cuius victa virtus sola avaritia superata est," di maniera che e bisognato fare scrivere l'epitaphio in marmo, et tenere al sepolcro gente armata che lo guardasse. In conclusione da doi servitori suoi in fuori non e stato huomo dico tanto de parenti, come degli amici et servitori, che si sia doluto della morte sua, et sopra questo non mi voglio extendere piu lungamente perche sarei troppo lungo et prolixo. Dirò adunque solo che la morte di Papa Clemente et la creatione di Papa Paulo Tertio, che cosi si chiama questo, ha dato tanta consolatione letitia et gaudio à questa città, che sarebbe impossibile a potersene imaginare piu, et sono rese infinite lode et gratie a quelli Cardinali Francesi, che si sieno st ati inclinati a costui, et habbiano operato assai per farlo, si per essere Romano, si anche per essere in vero tenuto il migliore de Cardinali, se non si muta.

Questi reverendissimi Francesi staranno anchor qui qualchi giorni, e vero che Monsignor di Loraine dice havere scritto al Re, et che havuto che havra risposta potra essere che se ne ritornerà in Francia di dove mostra havere desiderio et volonta di passare in Inghilterra, nondimanco non so quello farà. Gli altri non partiranno cosi presto di qui.

L'armata di Barbarossa, secondo che era il suo principale intento, ha pigliato Tunisi di Barberia, città grande come Roma, et nella quale potrà tenere commodamente l'armata sua, et infestare continuamente la Spagna et l'Italia per essere à punto contigua alla Spagna et alla Scicilia, di maniera ch'io vedo l'Imperadore essere molto occupato in defendersi et d'havere bisogno d'essere si potente che possa combattere l'armata di Barbarossa, o stare continuamente ben armato per defendersi.

Si sono intese certe altre nuove d'Hungheria, ma non si sono verificate pero non le scrivo. Et in buona gratia di vostra Signoria, et del Signor suo padre et mio patrono, humilmente mi raccomando. In Roma, alli 15 d'Ottobre, 1534.

Di vostra Signoria illustrissima

Humillimo

(*Soscritto*) S<sup>tor</sup> GREGORIO CASALE.

(*Soprascritto*)

Allo illustrissimo Signor, mio colendissimo,

Milord of Rocheford, &c.

CCCCXI. G. DA CASALE *to* CRUMWELL.

MOLTO magnifico Signor mio. Trovandomi con Monsignor di Loreno, ho inteso ch'un suo gentil'huomo si parte di qui per Francia in poste in questo punto, si che non ho tempo di scrivere à vostra Signoria lungamente, ne in Latino. Dirò dunque brevemente che per essere il Papa, secondo l'usanza in preda di tutto 'l mondo, id est, di chi vuole gracie et audientie sino all'incoronatione, ne questi reverendissimi Francesi, ne altri, hanno possuto molto negociare con Lui. Et anchora che li Cardinali Francesi habbiano pure havuto qualche ragionamento col Papa delle cose del Re loro et nostro, secondo m'hanno detto et promesso, che per questo gli sono stato et sono continuamente appreso, impero ne per loro ne per altri hanno fatto, cosa alcuna. Et secondo che io posso comprendere, di Francia aspettano risposta di quello hanno da fare et come s'hanno da governare dico tanto nelle cose del Re loro come del nostro. Io sono stato col Papa una volta, et m'ha pregato ch'io lo voglia consigliare et ricordare quello ha da fare, et che via potrà tenere per ridurre il Re nostro, et contentarlo mostrandomi non havere altra cosa piu à cuore di questa, et sarebbe lungo à dire le parole et mine che sopra ciò m'ha tenuto. Io gli ho detto non havere commissione alcuna di parlare sopra cio, et che mal volentieri vorrei consigliarlo in cio, ma che lo conforto à fare tutto il contrario di quello che Papa Clemente ha fatto contra la Maesta del Re, et levare tutti li torti et ingiustitie che gli sono state fatte, et fare noto à tutto il mondo la giustitia di Sua Maesta, tal che Sua Maesta possa conoscere havere à fare con un Pontifice iusto et amorevole verso lei. Et quanto al Concilio che m'ha detto voler fare gli ho risposto che se lui pensa fare Concilio avanti che'l Re Christianissimo et il Re nostro sieno satisfatti s'inganna, et che'l Concilio sarà un mettere l'armi in mano à questi Principi. Non ho poi parlato piu col Papa, ma Lui per Messer Latino Juvenale m'ha fatto piu volte ricercare, ch'io voglia dire l'oppinione mia di trovare un modo, che si possa satisfare al Re con honor suo et della Sede Apostolica. Io gli ho detto che non saprei dirgli altro di quello ho detto, et che non voglio travagliarmi piu oltre ne parlare piu col Papa, dal quale sono stato ricercato per via di Messer Latino sopradetto di parlargli. Il Cardinale di Loreno m'ha medemamente ricercato che io voglia dire qualche modo et via, et parlare col Papa sopra ciò, ma io gli ho risposto il medemo, et in effetto non ne parlerò piu motto con persona non me ne dando la Maesta del Re altra commissione. Il prefato Cardinale di Loreno m'ha pregato à soprastare qui, sin tanto che di Francia venga risposta delle lettere che ultimamente mandorono,

che

che non può tardare ad arrivare. Questi Signori Francesi sperano di questo Papa ogni bene; impero io sono d'opinione ch'el non sia per fare cosa alcuna, ciò è ne capitolatione ne trattato con Francia o con Spagna sino che non sia fatto il Concilio o muti proposito di farlo perché parmi vedere che vada à camino di volere andare netto et puro à questo Concilio.

Supplico vostra Signoria che si degni farmi rispondere se ho fatto bene o male ad aspettare qui, secondo e parso à questi Signori Francesi, et medemamente come m'ho da governare per l'avenire.

Barbarossa prese Tunisi, secondo ch'io scrissi per l'altre, et Andrea Doria è stato qui a far intendere al Papa che l'Imperatore offerisce gran cose per opporsi à questo Turco, et che se sua Maesta Cesarea fa la metà di quello ha promesso, et gli dia sessanta galere et navi à lui basta l'animo di andare à combattere Barbarossa; ma si e inteso che era venuto per havere le galere di Francia, et il Papa n'ha parlato in Congregatione. Credo li Cardinali habbiano risposto per verba generalia, ma credo non se ne farà niente, se prima l'Imperatore non fa giustitia al Re Christianissimo, id est, non gli lascia il Ducato di Milano. Andrea Doria ha detto che se Barbarossa piglia la Sardegna, come può facilmente fare, la fortificherà di sorte che mai piu la perderà, si fatta mente che verremo ad havere il Turco su le porte.

Et in buona gratia di vostra Signoria humilmente mi raccomando, et la ringratio senza fine della gratia fattami fare dalla Maesta del Re, di quel mio varent che mi e stata si grata, che non sarà mai ch'io ne le sia eternamente obligato, ne mai mi terrò satio di servirla. Et nostro Signor Dio la conservi et guardi. In Roma, alli 24 d'Ottobre, 1534.

(Soscritto)      S<sup>t</sup>or GREGORIO CASALE.

(*Soprascritto*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumwel, Serenissimi  
Regis Angliae Primario Secretario, &c.

## CCCCXII. LEYGH to CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

**R**IIGHT honourable Sir. This shalbe to advertise Your Mastershipp that of late I have received a letter from Sir John Hacket the Kings Ambassador in thees partize; and herin clossyd your Mastership shall receive a just copye

<sup>1</sup> Holograph. From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series, Vol. XXII. No. 464.

of the same accordyng to the sayd M<sup>r</sup> Hacket dyssire. And this present daye we have knolege here that he ys departyd ought of this world, on whose sole I praye Jesu have marcy.<sup>1</sup> And for be cause that he hathe ben ever a good master and frend of myn, I am myndyd, God willing, to take my journeye to Dowaye to se what ende he hath made; whiche I trust be a very good and a godly ende, and that he hath left all his besignes in good order. And all suche wryttingys, with all his other rekenyngs, I shall do my best to gytt in to myn hands, or ells put them in the best suerty I can that theye be not brybed awaye; and at my retourneyn shall not fayle to advertise<sup>2</sup> your Mastership of every thyng with diligens. And for suche monye as ys be twext the sayd M<sup>r</sup> Hacket and me, I trust your Mastership will se that I shalbe no losser.<sup>3</sup>

Thus I beseche Jesu preserve your Mastership. In hast, from Andwarpe, the 28 daye of October, 1534.

Your servant at commandment,

(Signed) THOMAS LEYGH.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right honourable M<sup>r</sup> Cromwell, one of the  
Kings Privie Counsell, this be delivered, at  
London.

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary copy of the will of Sir John Hackett is in the State Paper Office. It is dated at Douay on the 26th of October 1534, and after recommending his sinful soul to God, the Virgin, and all the Saints in Heaven, he directs that his body "incontinently after his decease" be conveyed and transported in to the towne of Calays, there to be buried in our Ladys "Chirche." He then bequeaths a number of specific legacies to his friends, the first of which is "to the Most Reverend Fader in God Mons<sup>r</sup> thArchebishop of Palerme, Chef of thEmperours Prive Conseil, a chayne of fyn golde with a crosse hangyng therunto garnyshed with rubys wayeng two markes and two ounces or theraboutes;" and after the legacies to his friends he gives alms to certain towns, and legacies to many of his servants; and after providing for the payment of all these legacies, and for his debts, the testator remits the residue of his goods, which shall "remayne after his decease, whatsoever they be, to the handes and good pleasure of the Kinges Majestie his Lorde and Maister," and then "ordeyneth executors of his said testament my said Lord thArchebishop of Palerme and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Cromwell, that is to say the said Lord of Palerme for the execution of thaffaires in the contreys of thEmperour, and the said M<sup>r</sup> Cromwell for execution of thaffaires in England."

<sup>2</sup> A letter from Leygh to Vaughan on this subject is in Galba, B. X. 48.

<sup>3</sup> It appears in the will that shortly before Hackett's death he sent John Roo, his servant, to Antwerp, to borrow £40 of Thomas Lighy; for the repayment of which he provides, as John Roo had not returned.

## CCCCXIII. G. DA CASALE TO CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem ac Felicitatem. Post novissimas literas meas ad Dominationem vestram die 24 Octobris dataas, Cardinales Galli a Rege Christianissimo responsum acceperunt; et, ut ipsi mihi dixerunt, super negocio Serenissimi Regis nostri soli Cardinali Lothoringio cura demandata est. Ac inter cætera illud injunctum ei fuit, agat ut Pontifex Ejus Majestatem a censuris absolvat. Postquam hæ literæ venerunt, et Galli super illis cum Pontifice sunt loquuti, quemadmodum Lothoringius ac reliqui mihi retulerunt, videtur Pontifex ipsis satisfacere. Ut tamen mea est opinio in Pontifice voluntatem ad gratificandum propensam cognoverunt, idque ex verbis et promissis, huic enim viro ut sincero, et qui idem dicat ac faciat, fidem Galli habent. Ego certe nihil prætermisi cum Cardinali Lothoringio, adhortans conetur opinioni, quam Serenissimus Rex noster de ipso habet, factis respondere. Nec tamen discessi ab illa generalitate de qua alijs meis literis scripsi agendum, silicet cum Pontifice velit injuriam Serenissimo Regi illatam tollere, et Ejus justitiam declarare. Cum his vero Cardinalibus, quibus ego amicitia et familiaritate sum conjunctus, ita me gero, ut dolere me dicam, mea ipsorumque causa, quod operam dare negligant ut injuria illata Regiæ Majestati corrigatur; quod nisi fecerint, sub oculis esse certissimam Sedis Apostolicæ ruinam et excidium; quam ad rem plurima adduco quæ fide et consideratu digna sunt, adeo ut inde perterreri debeant. Cum Lothoringius perendie sit discessurus, Pontifex constituit responsum super hoc negocio cras dare ipsi soli; ita plus spatij ad cogitandum habebit, nec, ut opinor, cuiquam præter Lothoringium id communicabit. Nec ego quærar scire, sed quo pacto hucusque feci non cessabo res Serenissimi Regis extollere, et ruinas huic Ecclesiæ impendentes prædicare, neque ostendam cupere me scire quid sint facturi. Cardinalis Lothoringius magna sperare videtur, sed tamen vereor ne Pontifex non sit ita cito rem magni momenti facturus propter quandam natura insitam tarditatem. Non silebo hic nonnulla eorum, quæ Gallis Pontifici proponenda exposui. Quum enim hoc solummodo Pontificem possit impedire, quin agat in causa Regis quod Galli voluerint, quod silicet Cæsarem offendere vereatur, dixi ostendendum esse hoc responsum Pontifice faciendum Cæsarianis, ut dicat,

“ Promisistis prædecessori meo quod, si sententiam contra Regem Angliæ  
 “ tulisset, Cæsar Illum intra quatuor menses erat invasurus, et Regno expul-  
 “ surus. Nunc non modo Regem non expulit, verum etiam Illius amicitiam  
 “ magnifacit. Ipse autem Rex modo præter temporalia etiam spiritualia

“ omnino possidet, neque hodie inter Christianos Princeps est, qui suos populos  
 “ magis dicto parentes habeat. Germani insuper Sedis Apostolicæ hostes, qui  
 “ jam refrigere videbantur, nunc cornua sumpserunt, et omnes ad Regem Angliæ  
 “ currunt, nova etiam regna et pecunias et armatorum copias deferentes in  
 “ nostram perniciem. Præterea Princeps ille pleniores quam unquam alias in  
 “ præsentia thesauros habet, estque amicis potentissimus unde Mihi valde est  
 “ timendum. Præterea magnam Ego partem dominij ecclesiastici Turcis  
 “ obnoxiam habeo. Vos autem non modo de rebus meis liberandis non  
 “ cogitatis, sed ne illa quidem paratis, quibus vestra defendere possitis, quæ  
 “ sunt eidem periculo subjecta. Arma igitur sumite, et quod prædecessori  
 “ meo polliciti estis, exequimini, et Ego vos censuris et quibuscumque rebus  
 “ volueritis adjuvabo.” Quod si Cæsariani Pontificem ludere nolent, sese id  
 facturos confirmando poterit Pontifex fraudem aperire, si de modo et de tempore  
 certo scire voluerit; sin autem fatebuntur, Cæsarem silicet non posse in præsentia  
 id præstare, tunc Pontifex sine reprehensione dicere poterit, “ Consulamus  
 “ ergo rebus nostris; et quæ vendere non possumus, donemus sic exigente  
 “ tempore, quodque per summam patimur ignominiam, habita potius honoris  
 “ nostri ratione patiamur, ostendentes Regem Angliæ quod fecit jure fecisse, et  
 “ justiam pro Ipso facere; nec quod adhuc actum est ostendamus injuste  
 “ Regem fecisse nobis invitis et in nostram contumeliam.” Narravi insuper Cardi-  
 nali Lothoringio id, quod Serenissimus Rex mihi dixit, Cæsarem cum suo  
 Oratore in Hispania egisse ut Suam Majestatem adhortaretur, nollet veteres  
 amicitias deserere, Regis Galliæ causa illum nimis amicum Pontificis esse dicens.  
 Hoc autem idcirco feci, ut ostenderem si Serenissimus Rex noster voluisse  
 Cæsarem secum amicitiam libentissime initurum fuisse sine ulla de matertera sua  
 mentione, non secus ac si ab humanis excessisset, ut etiam, donec anno præterito  
 in Anglia fui, nunquam audivi de illa a Cæsare verbum unum tantummodo factum.  
 Scio Cardinalem Lothoringium, ac alios nonnullos qui ex me audiverunt, quia  
 huic rei idoneos existimavi, ista Pontifici proposuisse. Ego si auderem Pon-  
 tificem adire, multa magnaque Illi dicerem, verum aberrandi metu ab instituto  
 itinere non recedam. Lothoringius rogavit me velim Romæ commorari, donec  
 ipse in Galliam et in Angliam, quo se venturum credit si Regi Christianissimo  
 visum fuerit, devenerit. Respondi me hoc facere non posse, nisi Majestas  
 Regia jusserit, mihi enim injunctum esse Venetas ire, nec omittere posse.  
 Nihilominus ut ei satisfacerem, quia hoc videtur admodum desiderare, dixi me  
 ad Regiam Majestatem scripturum, cui rogo Dominationem vestram hoc referat,  
 et mihi quid in hoc facere debeam rescribat.

Pontifex iste in publicis rebus gravem admodum et accuratum Sese  
 ostendit, et hucusque nihil Eum certi in sua mente decrevisse puto. Nullum  
 adhuc

adhue nuntium legavit. Videtur in suis actionibus parum erraturus, sed pauca facturus. Propterea judico in negocio Serenissimi Regis nostri, quanquam Se bono animo esse ostendit, non tamen sic cito multa magni momenti facturum. Bene valeat Dominatio vestra. Roma, die 7 Novembris, 1534.

Heri superiora scripsi. Hodie Pontifex in diem crastinum distulit responsum, quod Lothoringio datus est; qui nihilominus eras discedere vult, et Pontificem itineri accinetus adibit. Quoniam Galli suas literas perscripserunt, quanvis putem tabellarium non missuros, antequam Pontifex Lothoringium sit alloquutus. Volui tamen præsentes literas obsignare, ne forte tabellarij dissecessus me falleret. Si Lothoringius aliquid mihi dicet de ijs quæ a Pontifice accipiet, scribere non omittam; sed in hoc ei molestus non ero, puto enim non dicturum, et fortasse ne ad Regem quidem Christianissimum scripturum, quo habeat quod verbis coram exponat. Die 8 Novembris.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestrae

(*Signatur*) S<sup>E</sup> GREGORI<sup>O</sup> CASALIUS.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thoma Crumwel, Serenissimi  
Regis Angliae Secretario Primario, &c.  
Domino in eo observando.

#### CCCCXIV. G. DA CASALE to CRUMWELL.

**M**AGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem. Ex literis Domini Protonotarij, fratri mei, quas superioribus diebus scripsit ad Dominum Petrum Vannes, Dominatio vestra motus Hungariae cognoscere potest. Deinde eadem vera esse confirmatum est, et Venetiarum Princeps Ludovico filio exequias in æde Divi Marci dedisse dicitur. Tumultus illi maximi momenti sunt; et, judicio quidem illorum qui res Hungaricas norunt, Rex Joannes meliori quam antea conditione futurus est, sublatis Hieronymo Laschy et Ludovico Gritti, qui valde odio erant Hungaris, dolebant enim illos causam esse, quod Turca ipsorum regiones devastaret. Quumque multi populi eadem cæde sint coinquinati, cogentur omnes convenire, et Regi Joanni parere, et Ferdinandum fugere, cum quo creditur Ludovicus Grittus consentiens fuisse. Turcarum vero tyrannus animadvertis Regem Joannem ab Hungaris magni estimari, et Eum esse qui festucas sibi ex oculis eximat, amicitiam Illius optabit, quum presertim, ut dicitur, Rex ad eum miserit, qui factum excuset. Et hoc quod dico eo etiam facilius

facilius eveniet, quod Princeps Turcarum nunc occupatus est in expeditione contra Regem Persarum. Dominus Protonotarius, his rebus perceptis, per diversa itinera scripsit, et hominem quoque data opera in Hungariam misit ad cognoscendum rei veritatem, et finem tumultus, et quo animo et Turcæ et Hungari factum ferant, et ad viarum securitatem explorandam. Optimum quidem factu foret si Rex Christianissimus literas ad Regem Joannem daret, quæ fidem facerent verbis Domini Protonotarij, quo principi illi adesse et favere melius posset, ne forte per hos tumultus regnum illud in manus Ferdinandi deveniat. Ipse Dominus Protonotarius multis ante diebus discessisset, sed Cardinalis Lothoringius, qui Venetias est iturus et in ipsius domo hospitaturus, ipsum rogavit se vellet expectare. Is autem Cardinalis, quanvis longe prius se discessurum dixerit, non tamen prius quam hodie discessit. Optime valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 9 Novembris, 1534.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(Signatur) S<sup>Q</sup> GREGORI<sup>S</sup> CASALI<sup>S</sup>.

(Superscribitur)

Magnifico Domino Thoma Crumwel, Serenissimi  
Regis Angliae Secretario Primario, &c.  
Domino meo observando.

#### CCCCXV. G. DA CASALE to CRUMWELL.

**M**AGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem. Quæ modo occurrent, scripsi ad Dominum Petrum Vannes; quibus illud adjungi potest, discensionem inter Pontificem et Urbini Ducem quotidie magis augeri. Pontifex de jure procedit. Dux Camerinum munivit. Ducissa, tradito ei Camerino, in Lombardiam secessit. Equites Ducis, qui in terris Venetorum stativa habebant, inscijs Venetis in Ducatum Urbini venerunt, propterea quod timor erat a Pontificijs, qui ad Perusium erant componendæ rei causa. Huc accessit, quod rebus Perusiniis compositis, et factionum principibus ea conditione dimisis, ut absentes bonis suis fruerentur, alterius factionis satellites ex infima plebe Perusium ingressi sunt, impulsu (ut quidem videtur) Ducis Urbini. Hinc futurum colligo, ut Pontifex cum Duce Ferrariæ compositionem faciat, pecuniæ colligendæ causa, cuius maxime indiget, et ab illo Duce ingentem summam accipiet. Res itaque in eo statu est, ut ego quidem judico ut, si Galli sciant ac velint, pulcherrimam habeant occasionem Pontificis sibi conjungendi.

Ex

Ex Domino Petro Vannes Dominatio vestra cognoscat, quæ habemus ex Hungaria, quo quidem Dominus Protonotarius frater meus spem habet penetrandi, qua in re primam quamquam arripiet occasionem. Erit autem illius profectio valde opportuna, propterea quod Rex Joannes in satis bono statu est. Turcarum Princeps, quemadmodum Venetijs significant, est hiematurus in Syria; nondum enim illam provinciam explicavit contra Sophiam.

Bene valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 5 Januarij, 1535.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*) S<sup>r</sup>or GREGORI<sup>o</sup> CASALI<sup>o</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumwel,  
Serenissimi Regis Anglie Secretario, &c.

#### CCCCXVI. CAMPEGGIO to CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE et clarissime Domine, tanquam frater honorande. Ex literis Reverendissimi Domini Polydori Vergilij nuper cognovi Dominationem vestram, pro sua singulari humanitate, negotia isthic mea egregie juvasse, seque etiam majora in commodum meum pro virili curaturam promisisse. Quo profecto mirum in modum sum lætatus. Non enim dubitare possum, quin posthac tanti viri interventu res meæ isthic meliore sint loco. Quamobrem de tam præclara Dominationis vestræ in me voluntate et benignitate immortales sibi ex animo ago gratias, eamque majore quo possum studio et diligentia rogo et obsecro, ut a protectione mea mearumque rerum, quam adeo liberaliter et humane sua sponte suscepit, nequaquam desistere velit, sed perget me sibi jam obstrictum sub perpetuo suo habere patrocinio, ac imprimis me isti Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati commendatum faciat. Cui quanvis in causa Ejus, quemadmodum apud Eam ingenue testatus sum, diversam a quibusdam habuerim opinionem, in cæteris tamen, quæ Majestatis Suæ dignitatem aliquo pacto tangere videbantur, deditissimi Sibi et fidelissimi sevuli officium semper præstisti, ac præstiturus sum dum vivam. Talia enim ac tanta sunt Ejus in me collata beneficia, ut me meaque omnia in Ejus obsequijs exponere semper debeam, et in primis optem; id quod Dominatio vestra, nacta temporis opportunitatem, Majestati Suæ meis verbis omni cum reverentia significare non deditabatur, in cuius fidem jam me totum dedi. Pro quibus officijs gratias immortales Dominationi vestræ perpetuo habebo et agam, relaturus quidem summa

summa cum animi voluptate, si quando sibi inserviendi sese obtulerit occasio, qua mihi profecto nihil optatius in presentia contingere posset. Benevaleat Dominatio vestra, cui me meaque omnia unice dedo et commendo. Romæ, 14 Januarij, 1535.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*) uti fr: dedit<sup>mus</sup>

(*Superscribitur*)

L. CAR. CAMPEGGI.

Magnifico et clarissimo viro, tanquam fratri honorando, Domino Thomæ Cremvell, Serenissimi et Potentissimi Angliae et Francie Regis Secretario, et Magno Cancellario.

#### CCCCXVII. CRUMWELL to DE BRYON.<sup>1</sup>

FORASMOCHE as Mons<sup>r</sup> de Brion, Admyral of Fraunce, now here in ambasiade to the Kinges Majestie from his good brother and perpetual allye the French King, hath, syns his arryval here, on the Frenche King his maisters behaulf, aswel opened unto the Kinges Highnes certain overtures made unto the Frenche King by the Countie of Nasso at his late being in Fraunce, wherunto the said Frenche King hath ne wil make any direkte answer without the counsail consent and agrement of the Kinges Majestie, forasmuche as their moost firme and assured amytie freendship and intelligence doth soo require; as also commened with His Grace touching his resolution in some thinges moved to His Majestie by his said good brother the Frenche King at their late entrevieu at Calays: the Kinges Highnes, moost thankfully accepting the gratuitie and kindnes of his said good brother in this behaulf, hath thought convenient to answer to every parte of the said Mons<sup>r</sup> 1Admyralles credence in maner and forme ensuyng.

First, where the said Mons<sup>r</sup> 1Admyral hath declared howe the Countie of Nasso, at his late being in Fraunce, made overture unto the Frenche King, on thEmperours behaulf, for 2 mariagies to be treated on; thone betwene the Dolphin and the Lady Mary the Kinges doughter, thother betwene thEm-

<sup>1</sup> This is a minute, without date, of the answer to be given to Admiral De Bryon, who is stated by Lord Herbert, p. 410, to have come on a special embassy to England in the beginning of 1535. The document is not shown to be Crumwell's, but is ascribed to him, by conjecture, because he filled the office of Secretary of State.

perours sonne<sup>1</sup> and the said Frenche Kinges yongest daughter ; the Kinges Majestic, as His Grace can not but moche mervayl to see percyve and considre herin thEmperours malice, Whiche, devising to enfeble and diminyshe the strengthes and puissance of bothe Princes by the dissolution of ther moost entyer and assured amytie, wold take his begynning in suche a mater as neyther He hath any maner of interest in, as in dede He hath not, in the Lady Mary, nor the Frenche King canne with his honour harken unto it, being the thing soo openly and manifestely grounded uppon rancour and malice both towardes the Frenche King and the Kinges Majestic, as therby it evidently appereth He only myndeth the dissolution of this amytie for the better achieving of some of his oun purposes, without consideration or respecte of his old frendes, conformably to his accustumed maner of dealing, whiche sekethe only to the dishonour of al Princes, as the said Frenche King, Who hathe susteyned greate and sundry dishonours at his hande, dothe wel knowe, his present commoditie and advaantage, with an insaciablie appetite aspiring to the hole monarchie of Christendom ; soo His Grace nothing doubteth but the synceritie of his good brother is suche towardes Him, as neyther He wil give eare to any pece of this overture tending to the dissolution of their moost assured amytie, ne yet soo lightly passe it over, but that He wil with Himself depely perpende and waye bothe what dishonour He hathe susteyned at thEmperours hande, and also howe, by the only harkenyng to this mater, He wold procure yet more dishonour to Him, bothe by the moving of Him to set fote in a mater moost certainly void of al honour, and also by covert meanes and untrue suggestion to incense Him to the violation, or at the lest to the interruption, of his amytie and frendeship with his moost certain and assured frende the Kinges Highnes, to the greate dishonour of his name and corone for ever, in the opinion of al the worlde ; whiche the Kinges Majestic doubteth not his said good brother wil of his highe wisedom considre as appertayneth to his honour, and utterly to surcease any further to conimune in this behaulf.

Secondarily, wheras the said Mons<sup>r</sup> 1Admyral hathe shewed unto the Kinges Highnes howe the said Countie of Nasso, as it were to whet the Frenche King, and sharpin Him to the graunting of his desire in thise mariages, made overture in thEmperours name that the said King shuld, afre the death of the Duke of Myllayn that nowe is, have and enjoye the Duchye of Millain, and, untyl suche tyme as the said Duke shuld dye, receyve by thandes of thEmperour yerly, as it were for a tribute for Millain, 100000 coronnes ; adding further that, in eace the Frenche King wold be content to

<sup>1</sup> Philip, born in 1527 ; and Margaret, born in 1523.

condescende to an entrevieue to be had betwene the Quene his wief and the Regent of Flaunders the Quene of Hungary, they shuld not only more amply treate concernyng the said mariages and other thinges declared, but also have greater overtures made and setfurth at the said entrevieu on thEmperours behaulf: the Kinges Highnes, considering aswel howe highly it shuld touche his good brothers honour, albeit the grounde of thise overtures were honorable, as in dede it is not, to suffre his wief, a woman, to treate in maters of soo highe consequence, as also, in case He might with his honour wade further herin, howe this weye He shuld only depende on thEmperours sleve and pleasour for thobteyning of his oun right, and finally be therof clerly at thEmperours wil upon any newe surmysed quarel, disappointed when He shuld thinke Himself moost sure of it, canne in noo wise eyther counsail his good brother to amplecte and embrace any of thise overtures, or in any wise to give further eare to them, or to any suche devise or compasse, whiche canne be neither for his honour nor suretye.

And wheras, thirdly, there hath been communication betwene the Kinges Highnes and the said Mons<sup>r</sup> IAdmyral concerning an overtury and request made unto His Grace by his said good brother, at their late entrevieu at Calays, conteyning in effecte that, forasmuche as the name and title of Fraunce of long tyme hath been the rote, wherof hath sprong betwene the twoo Realmes contention and variaunce, and that the said Frenche Kinges desire is, as the Kinges harte and his be most certainly knyt in oon, soo al occasions might be avoyded, wherof in tyme cummyng might arrise any maner grudge or unkindnes to thinterruption of the perpetual amytie betwene them their Realmes and subgiettes, concluded that the Kinges Highnes wold releace that name and title; for recompence wherof the said Frenche King promysed to delyver to His Grace Gravelin, Newporte, and Dunkirk, the Duke of Vandoms landes in Flaunders, with the title also of the Duke of Lorayn to the Duke dom of Brabant and the towne of Andewarpe, with sufficient assistance for recovery of the same: the Kinges Highnes, befor He shal answer to this pointe, wil moost entierely beseche his good brother, that, in like maner as His Grace at the last deternyned entrevieu was contented, at his said good brothers desire, not to have pressed Him to the making of any semblable lawes to those agreed upon here by the hole Realme for preservation of the rightes and privileages of the same, assauted by the injuryes of the Bishop of Rome; soo, albeit his said good brother, aswel for the zcale He bereth to truth and justice, as therby to shewe unto the Kinges Highnes gratuitie, shuld percase desire the Bisshop that nowe is, Who hath ever confessed the justice of his cause, for thonor of his See, to revoke and denounce voyd and frustrate

the

the injust and slanderous sentence given in prejudice therof by the late Bisshop diseased; yet the Kinges request and desire is to his said good brother, that He, treating with the said Bisshoppe herof, for correspondence again on his parte, shal in noo wise move or desire His Grace, to the violation of any lawe passed in that behaulf, as a thing wherunto He wil in noo wyse condescende or agree. For, to be franke and playn with his said good brother, His Majestie woll in noo wise, directly or indirectly, confesse the Bisshop of Rome to have any jurisdiction in Princes. And therfor to conclude, the Kinges Highnes obteyning this request of his said good brother, and the said Bisshop pronouncing, by his meane, the said sentence voyde, woll not only be content to treate with Him for his satisfaction in the renoucing of the said title, but also to commune upon a mariage to be concluded betwene the noble Princesse his moost entirely beloved daughter and heir the Lady Elisabeth and the Duke of Anguilesme<sup>1</sup>, his good brothers yongest sonne; whiche overture His Highnes doubt not his said good brother wil esteme as appertayneth.

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#### CCCCXVIII. KING HENRY VIII. to DE BRYON.<sup>2</sup>

Most deare and bestbiloved Cousin. Bothe by the King our good brothers letters and yours<sup>3</sup> We perceyve right well the contynuall good disposition and inclination that our saide good brother, correspondently to our expectation, heareth to the stablishement and deduction of the syncere and feithfull love and amytie bitwen Us, infallible, to be extended to our successions and Realmes for evermore. Although suche purposes as have bene on his behalf to Us declared and requyred by the credences of the Tresorer Palamedes be not of suche sorte and equite, that of reason We shuld condescende unto them, like as in our conferences and communications by Us and our Conseil it hath bene so parfaictely declared to the said Tresorer, that We can thynke non otherwise, but that any man, indifferently consydering and wayeng the same, ought to thynke and juge to be not expedient for Us and our honour to embrace the same; trusting assuredly that, whan he shall amplyly infourme you therof, ye shal juge non otherwise your self.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles, born in 1521.

<sup>2</sup> From a minute, of which the parts printed in small capitals are written by Henry VIII. himself.

<sup>3</sup> Neither of these letters have been discovered.

And touching the mariage proposed, to the whiche the King our good brother (as by consequence of rapport and affirmation (wylling Us to beleve you as his owne persone, and ye praying Us to geve no lesse credence to the said Tresorer than to your self) We beleve certainlye) is asmoche enclin and desyrouse, as of any thing in the worlde, as to the mean wherby our said amytie and union shalbe made hereditarye and pardurable; and We, having ben the furst inventeur and styrer of that knot of alyaunce and affinitie, doo persiste contynually in our furst purpose, fully mynded with equall and reasonable conditions and pactions herafter by the deputes on eche part to be declared and accorded, to go thorough to the perfection of the same, fyndyng our said good brother of like conformite, and folowing his desire, upon trust that, like as ye have writen, ye wolbe present furnished with ample commission power and auctorite; We be disposed and resolved to sende shortly over to Calais deputes for our part, that is to say, our most trusty and best biloved Cousin the Duk of Norfolk, and our right trusty and right welbiloved Conseillers Sir William Fitzwilliam, Knight of our Ordre, and Treasurer of our Household, and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Cromewell, our chef Secretary and Vice-chanceeler, as amplye instructed and furnished as may be devised, there to treate upon the conditions and final conclusion of the said mariage, with you and suche other of like qualitie and degrees, as the King our said good brother shal appoincte and assigne to the same. Then shal it appere that We shalbe asmoche conformable to reason and egall conditions for our part, as the King our good brother wolbe for his; so that, if any lack be therin founde, it shal not be imputable unto Us, proposing utterly in that matier not to digresse from reason and reciprokenes.

The terme of the meting at Calays most convenient is aboute Whitesontyde next, and shorter We thynke not convenyent, bicause We thinke expedient and commodyous (although it be not necessary for our part) bifore any conclusion or further treatie (to thentente to eschewe all maner seede or colourable occasion that myght be taken by any calumniation in tyme commyng) in the meane tyme the King our good brother, having the Bishop of Rome of olde somoche dedicate to Hym, that We thinke He may easely leade Hym to doo any thing that He woll require of Hym, woll assaye by all wayes and meanes possible to persuade the said Bishop, proceeding ex officio, to revocke and annullate the inique and injuste sentence of Clement his predecessor upon the pretended mariage with the Lady Katheryne our brothers wif AND US, AND TO DECLARE IT NAWGH, WHYCHE TO DO WE THYNKE IT WERY FAYSYLL FOR OUR GOOD BROTHER, SINS WE DO PARSAIVE BY LETTERS THENS BOTHE

THE OPPYNYON OFF THE LERNYD MEN ABOWGHT THE POPE THER TO BE OFF THAT OPPYNYON THAT WE BE OFF, AND ALLSO A SUMMewhat DISPOSITION TO THAT PORPOSE IN THE BISHOPPE OFF ROME SELLFE, ACCORDYNG to equite reason and the lawes bothe positive and divine; as it is like He woll not refuse so to doo, if our good brother woll instantly desyre Hym therof, wherby there shuld be taken from all evill wyllers the occasion of calumnye. Yet notwithstanding, if it happeneth that the said Bishop wold obstinately folowe the steppes of his predecessor, and be more enclyned to the mayntenance of the actions and sentences of his See, then to equite or justice; THEN WE TRUST THAT OUR SAYD GOOD BROTHER (PARSAYVYNG THE RYGHTE TO STANDE ON OUR SYDE, AND THAT NOTT WONLY THE UNYVERSYTES OFF HYS HOLE REALMES AND DOMYNIONS HATH SO DEFYNYD, BUT ALLSO THE MOST PART OF THE REST OF CHYSTENDUM, AND ALLSO THE BEST LERNYD MEN OFF THE BISHIOPPS OFF ROMES CONSELL NOW BEYNG CALLYD FOR THAT PORPOSE) WYLL FULLY AND HOLLY, BOTH HE AND HYS HOLE REALME, ADHERE AND CLEVE TO US AND OUR DOYNGES IN THYS BEHALFE, YFF (AS WE TRUST) THEY SO ENTERLY MYNDE THYS MATRYMONY AS THEY MAK PRETENCE; WHYCHE YFF WE THOWGHT THEY DYD NOTT, WE WOLDE BE RYGHTE TO SEND SUCHE AN EMBASSADE FOR THAT PORPOSSE. WHERFOR WE IHERYN MOST ENTERLY DESYRE SHORTLY TO HAVE ANSWARE, WHYCHE WE WOLDE BE RYGHTE LOTHE SHULDE BE SUCHE AS WERUPPON WE MYGHT TAKE ANY OCCASION OFF SUSPYCION. Trusting FURTHER ALSO that our said good brother woll BOTHE PROMESSE unto Us upon his word, AND IN DEDE PERFORME, that in the meane tyme, before the said meating of our Deputes, He nor directly nor indirectly shall practise sett furth nor conduce any mean or intelligence of mariage, or of other PRACTES either with thEmperour or the King of Portugal, nor any other, unto suche tyme as our said Deputes have mett to geder.

Of the whiche pointes We pray you, in your best dexterite and fashon acoustumed, ye woll employe your diligence, so that spedely and brevely We may herupon knowe our said good brothers fynall and resolute mynde conformable to this our advice; and, the same known, We shal sende our said Deputes at Whitsontyde, within the whiche terme We thinke the mater may be brought with the said Bishop to an assured point of Ye or Nay, or elles at suche other tyme as He may have some resolution therof afore, or at the lesse before the dissolution of the said meating.

Furthermore praing you, most deare and bestbiloved Cousin, that ye woll declare and persuade to our said good brother, that We woll, rather with Hym then with any Prince lyvyng, entre in to any maner honorable and reciproke conventions and treaties, as with Hym that He most entierly loveth  
and

and trusteth. Our confidence is ye woll not be therto slak nor negligent, but rather more diligent and dextre than in any other cace, wherin ye shal, amonges many other, administre unto Us an acceptable pleasure, the whiche We shal have in fresche memorye to knowlege it in tyme and opportunite.

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CCCCXIX. G. DA CASALE *to* CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem, &c. Res præsentes, quas scripturus sum, adeo sunt perplexæ, ut verear ne non satis commode eas explicare queam; in summa præsertim temporis brevitate, cum Pontifex subito et uno momento Dominum Latinum Juvenalem decrevit ad Regem Christianissimum mittere. Itaque sine mora discessurus est.

Jam multos dies Cæsaris Orator et Cardinales Cæsariani et alij plærius ejusdem factionis in unum sunt congregati, ijdemque Pontificem solicitant ut causam Camerini ejusque negocij compositionem Cæsaris judicio et sententiæ supponat, pollicentes Cæsarem, quæcunque Ipse voluerit facturum, ostendentesque optimum factu fore, si res ista componatur, propterea quod Dux Urbini quotidie aliquid in Dominio ecclesiastico sit vel turbaturus vel etiam occupatus. Et hac via nituntur Pontificem quasi subjectum sibi habere, quemadmodum etiam Clementem habuerunt, dum negotium Ducis Ferrariae in Cæsaris manibus erat. Altera ex parte Cæsariani valde suspenso animo sunt. Sciunt enim, quod etiam istic jam notum esse existimo, Gallos dicere prodicionem Marsiliæ tradendæ detectam esse, unde causam habeant armandæ augendæque classis, quam dicunt præter triremes maximam navem, Franciscam nomine, et decem galeones et sex galeatias habituram, et hæc quidem navigia brevi Marsiliam per ventura. Quod si erit, non audebit Cæsar in Italiam transire, neque Andreas Auria ita erit amens, ut Genuam relinquat, ubi maxime a Gallis est timendum. Sic, quæ in Africam vel in Græciam, quemadmodum jactabant, expeditio parata est, frustra erit et cum ingenti interim impensa, præter enim Germanos milites Andreas Auria decem milia peditum habet. Ex his rebus nata est Domini Latini repentina profectio. Quanvis enim nihil emanet ex ijs quæ acturus est, nihilominus excusaturus et causas redditurus videtur, cur Pontifex velit hoc pacto Camerini negotium Cæsaris judicio subjicere. Præterea quo ista in Africam expeditio confici possit, poterit cautiones a Gallis querere; quas tamen meo judicio non obtinebit.

Sic

Sic enim Principes sibi invicem diffidunt, ut non videam quomodo Pontifex inter ipsos securitatem possit invenire. Bene valeat Dominatio vestra, cui me plurimum commendo. Romæ, die 4 Aprilis, 1535.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*) S<sup>2</sup> GREGORI<sup>2</sup> CASALI<sup>2</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumwel, Serenissimi Regis Angliae Secretario Primario, et Domino meo observando.

Londini.

#### CCCCXX. CRUMWELL to G. DA CASALE.

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori, Salutem et Commendationem. Complures post vestrum hinc discessum et varijs temporibus datas a vobis literas accepi, quarum recensiones sub die 20 Februarij<sup>1</sup> Romæ scriptæ sunt. Quicquid vero de occurrentijs istis publicis, ac privatis Regiæ Majestatis rebus, in dictis literis unquam significabatur, sigillatim ac diligenter id ipsi semper exposui, gratumque et acceptum habet sedulum istud vestrum scribendi officium, nec ego antea vestris literis respondi, quod putavi praeter istorum successuum cognitionem (quæ sui novitate grata semper est) non esse admodum multa, quibus particularius foret respondendum. Nunc autem Regia Majestas, quum vestras tum ad Se tum ad me literas pressius accuratiusque perlegisset, illud inter cætera mente adnotavit, Pontificem vobiscum loqui voluisse, summamque præ Se tulisse Regiæ Majestati gratificandi propensionem, et ob eam causam duos accersisse ex Hetruria jureconsultos cum primis eruditos, quorum doctrinæ sanoque judicio potissimum fidat, eorumque sententias et opiniones pro Regiæ Majestatis causa stare, et ejusmodi esse, vestris vos literis affirmatis, ut Pontifex ex officio beat præsens matrimonium, etiam si de validitate dispensationis a Julio factæ constaret, approbare. Cæterum causam hanc ut veritatis fundamento totam innitentem, et si Regia Majestas cum Deo satis firmatam habeat et omni ex parte stabilitam, in hunc tamen sensum literas vestras interpretatur, Pontificem scilicet de ejus rectitudine et æquitate cum Sua Regia Majestate quam optime sentire. Proinde, si amicum ac syncerum istud pectus erga serenissimum Dominum meum Regem, quod vos scribitis, re vera habet, quin potius ut bonum quenque virum ab omni prorsus odio et affectu liberum et

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

immunem

immunem in primis decet, si veritati ex animo favet, Ejus certe sunt partes ut suam hanc erga invictissimum Dominum meum Regem, in causa omnium justissima, bene affectam voluntatem suo etiam publico testimonio et approbatione universo orbi reddat perquam manifestam, suaque sponte innataque animi probitate et solius veritatis propagandæ studio nulla Regiæ Majestatis intercessione expectata ad id adducatur, ut nullius metu seu respectu a vero rectoque deflectens de prioris matrimonij invaliditate præsentisque firmitate et robore ingenue pronunciet, quemadmodum doctissimis illis viris quos hujus rei causa ab eo accersitos istic adesse scribitis, maxime probari significatis. Efficiet certe Pontifex rem suo munere et officio dignam serenissimo Domino meo Regi, qui suæ causæ justitiam tot vigilijs sumptibus ac laboribus diu quæsitam, et jampridem cum Deo compertam habet, vehementer gratam sibique in primis et Pontificatui suo longe utiliorem, quam nunc demonstratione sit opus. Vos autem, si hac in re nullo Regiæ Majestatis expectato mandato, nulloque suo jussu (non enim firmiora suæ causæ, quam nunc habet, adjumenta aliunde sperat) quicquam proficeritis, ac Pontificem vestra dexteritate ex vobis ad id quod scribitis adduxeritis, ejusdem Regiæ Majestatis expectationi (quæ non vana aut ficta officia, nec infructuosos rerum eventus, de vestris actionibus sibi pollicetur) procul dubio respondebitis; et hæc a Pontifice benevolentia et gratia ex officio proveniens eo nomine gravior et acceptior erit, quod veritatis ratio Deique respectus sanaque conscientia ad hoc Eum, mortalium nemine procurante, nunc commoverit. Et bene valete. Londini, die 10 Aprilis, 1535.

(*Signatur*) Vester bonus amicus,

Thom̄s CRUMWELL.

(*Superscribitur*)  
Magnifico Equiti, Domino Gregorio Casalio,  
&c., amico carissimo.

### CCCCXXI. DE BRYON TO KING HENRY VIII.

SIRE. Jay receu les lettres, quil a pleu a Vostre Mageste mescripre par le Tresorier Palamydes, le contenu esquelles, et aussi tout ce quil ma dit de par Vous, jay amplement faict entendre au Roy vostre mieulx ayme frere et perpetuel allie; Lequel, Sire, a este tresaise dentendre lestat sante et bonne prosperite de vostre Personne, continuant tousjours de sa part, comme Vous faites de la vostre, a tressingulierement et de tout son cuer desirer, que lamytic et union fraternelle dentre Vous, qui est si seure, si certaine, si ferme, et

et infalible, que plus ne pourroit estre, se puisse, par le moyen de lalliance et mariage propose de Madame la Princesse vostre fille avec Mons<sup>t</sup> le Due d'Angoulesme son filz, desduire et estendre a jamaiz en voz successeurs roiaumes pays et subgeetz, qui sera le grant bien heur et prosperite diceulx. Pour laquelle chose, Sire, mectre et faire venir a tant desire effect, apres avoir ledict Seigneur entendu par vosdictes lettres les bons et grans personnaiges, quil Vous plaist nommer de vostre part pour se trouver a Calaiz, est delibere puis aussi quil Vous plaist me faire tant d'honneur que de m'avoir agreable en ceste convention me depputer lung de ceulx qui ira de son couste avec Messieurs les Grant Escuier<sup>1</sup>, Chevalier de l'Ordre, Maistre de l'Artillerie, Conseiller du Roy en son Prive Conseil, Maistre Guillaume Poyet, aussi Conseiller audict Prive Conseil, et President en la Court de Parlement, et Maistre Guillaume Bochetel, Secretaire des Finances; qui ne fauldront, Sire, nous y trouver garniz de tel et si ample povoer et auctorite, quil este requis a traicter sur les condicions et finale paction d'une si grande et honnorable chose que dudit mariage. Et d'autant, Sire, quil Vous semble que le temps plus convenable et apropos pour lassemblee et convention des Deputez pourra estre a la Panthecouste prochaine, le Roy la trouve et treuve tresbon. Maiz, pour ce que Vous estimatez expedient que, avant que d'entrer a traicter sur ceste matiere, le Roy vueille effectuellement S'employer et efforcer a persuader le Pape, que proceddant par Luy ex officio Il revocque et adnichille la sentence donnee par le Pape Clement son predecesseur sur le fait de vostre mariage, pour tollir et oster aux malvueillans toute occasion de calumpnier au temps advenir; je Vous advise, Sire, que ledict Seigneur a trouve et treuve cest adviz tresbon: suivant lequel, et aussi que la chose Luy touche si avant comme elle fait, actendu que mondiet Seigneur d'Angoulesme son filz, advenant le mariage dont il est question, y aura semblable interest que Madame la Princesse vostre fille, se delibere faire promptement a Rome une bonne depesche pour persuader le Pape, par tous les meilleurs moyens qu'il pourra, de faire ladiete revocation.<sup>2</sup> Et croiez, Sire, que en cela il nobmectra chose quelle soit

pour

<sup>1</sup> James Richard de Genouillac.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of the following despatch from the King of France to the Bishop of Mâcon, his Ambassador at Rome, is inclosed:

" Monseigneur de Mâcon. Vous avez peu congnoistre clercement, par ce que Je vous ay pareydevant escript, de combien Jay ordinairement en a cuer l'affaire du Roy d'Angleterre, mon bon frere et perpetuel allie, et quantes depesches reiteratives Jay faites a Rome, tant du temps du feu Pape Clement, que depuis, pour cest effect, qui Me gardera de vous en repliquer riens davantage pour ceste heure. Vous advisant que lune des choses de ce monde, qui Jay continulement le plus desire et desireroys encores, ce seroit de veoir que la sentence, qui a este par

pour y induire ledict Pape, encores que jusques icy en deux ou trois choses dont il Luy a faict instance et priere, il nayt este par Luy satisfait, comme il esperoit; ce neantmoins, ou ledict Pappe ne vouldroit a ce condescendre, maiz percister en la sentence de sondit predecesseur, vostredict bon frere estime que cela ne sera pour aucunement reculler ne differer la convencion desdictz Depputtez, ne remectre a autre temps le jour quil Vous a pleu arrester et

“ cydevant donnee a lencontre dicelluy mon bon frere, fust du tout estainete abollye et declairee  
 “ nulle, affin de Luy lever toutes les occasions de suspeccon et malcontentement, quIl peult avoir a  
 “ cause dicelle, a lencontre du Sainct Siege Appostolique. Au moyen dequoy, et pour lamour  
 “ fraternelle que Je Luy porte, laquelle est telle que Je tiens et repute ses affaires avecques les  
 “ miens nestre qune mesme chose, vous povez croire, Monseigneur de Mascon, que Jay faict tout  
 “ ce quil Ma este possible, pour Le persuader et faire persuader a ce quIl voulsist oublier le tort  
 “ et injure qui Luy a este faict au fait dicelle sentence; laquelle, comme vous scavez, a este  
 “ parcydevant trouvee par plusieurs grans et notables personnages, et de diverses nations, fort  
 “ desraisonnable et estrange, et vous mesmes povez estre records des propoz que en avez autres-  
 “ foys entenduz, mays il ny a encores eu ordre que mondiet bon frere se soit voulu condescendre  
 “ a ce que dessus. Toutesfoys Je nay laisse pour cela depuis la mort dudit Pape Clement de  
 “ tenir la main ace que dict est; et dautant que Je veoy de quelle importance et consequence est  
 “ cest affaire pour tous les Princes Chrestiens, a ceste cause, Monseigneur de Mascon, Je vous  
 “ en ay bien voulu escrire la presente; vous priant et ordonnant que apres la reception dicelle,  
 “ vous vous vucillez retirer devers nostre Sainct Pere, pour Luy faire entendre prudemment  
 “ dextrement et sagement, ainsi que Je suis seur que vous scaurez tresbien faire, tout ce que  
 “ Je vous escriptz cy dessus, et supplier Sa Sainctete que pour le bien universel de toute la  
 “ Chrestiente, Elle vueille estre contente de faire toutes choses pour rabiller la faulte faicte par  
 “ icelluy feu Pape Clement audict Seigneur Roy dAngleterre; remonstrant a icelle Sa Sainctete  
 “ que Je suis davis, et Luy conseille, comme son tresdevot et affectionne filz, quElle doibt revoc-  
 “ quer casser et adnuller promptement ladict sentence. Enquoy faisant ce sera donne grande  
 “ occasion a icelluy mon bon frere de demeurer content et satisfait, et oultre cela de faire par  
 “ cy apres plus voulentiers quelque chose en faveur de nostredict Sainct Pere, et dudit Sainct  
 “ Siege Appostolique, quIl ne feroit demourans les affaires comme ilz sont de present; et  
 “ davantage levera icelle Sa Sainctete a tous les autres Princes de ladict Chrestiente loccasion  
 “ quil pourroient avoir deulx ressentir de telle facon de faire, qui ne sera pas peu gaingne a  
 “ nostredict Sainct Pere, estans les choses dicelle Chrestiente reduictes en lestat quelles sont de  
 “ present, et le peu dobeissance que plusieurs Princes de divers pays rendent a icelle Sa Sainctete.  
 “ Et au reste nostredict Sainct Pere peult estre asseure, que en faisant ce que dessus, je nes-  
 “ timeray pas moins ce quIl aura faict pour mondiet bon frere, que si cestoit pour Moymesmes.  
 “ Et apres ce que vous aurez entierement dict et declaire, ce que dict est, a nostredict Sainct  
 “ Pere, vous ne fauldrez de Madvertir bien au long, et par le menu de la responce quil vous aura  
 “ faicte, et de ce quil Luy semblera que Je pourray et devray faire davantage envers icelluy mon  
 “ bon frere pour parvenir a ce que dessus, et Je My employeray de tresbon cuer, pour autant  
 “ que Jentende tresbien que, si les choses demeurent comme elles sont, icelluy mon bon frere  
 “ ne fauldra de Sen ressentir toute sa vie, et de ma part pour lindissoluble amitie qui est entre  
 “ Nous, Je ne pourray faire de moins que de faire le semble. Vous avisant au reste, que Je  
 “ tiendray et reputeray pour jamais icelle sentence aussi faulce et aussi desraisonnable, que  
 “ scauroit faire mondiet bon frere, qui est tout ce que Je vous diray pour ceste heure. Pariant  
 “ Dieu, Monseigneur de Mascon, quil vous ayt en Sa saincte et digne garde. Escript au Port  
 “ de Grace, le 16<sup>me</sup> jour dAvril, mil 535.”

establir,

establier, en quel il ny aura faulte que ceulx de son couste ne se trouvent. Vous avisant en oultre, Sire, que le cas susdicts advenant, que ledict Pape refuse de faire ladiete revocation, le Roy vostredict frere est content de Vous promectre et assurer, qu'il aura et tiendra a jamaiz de son couste ladiete sentence, donnee sur le fait de vostredict mariage, pour injuste et inique ; et, pour telle la soustenir, Vous assistera et deffendra, demourant au surplus ung chascun de Vous en ses roiaume et pays en la forme et maniere de vivre quil est deput, sans estre reserche ne poursuivy dune part ne d'autre a faire autrement que ce que bon Luy semblera.

Sire, quant a la promesse que desirez que vostredict mieulx ayme frere Vous face, je Vous asseure, Sire, et Vous promechez de par Luy, sur mon honneur, qu'il ne se fera ne concluera aucun traicté alliance ne mariage daucun de Messeigneurs ses enfans, jusques au jour de ladiete convention et assemblee que avez assigne a ladiete feste de Panthecouste, et tant que lesdicts Deputtez seront ensemble ; et par la bouche mesme dudit Seigneur feray ramentenoir a vostre Ambassadeur ladiete promesse, afin que par Luy en puissez estre advertry.

Sire, suivant ce quil Vous a pleu mescripre, jay bien voulu, usant de la plus grande dilligence et dexterite quil ma este possible, Vous faire ouvertement purement et a la verite entendre (ainsi que la desirez) le bon vouloir intencion et resolucion du Roy vostre mieulx ayme frere ; Vous suppliant treshumblement croire et estimer de moy, que ne me trouverrez jamaiz negligent de memployer, tant que jauray vye, a tout ce que je congnoistray, qui touchera une tant bonne, tant heureuse, et prouffitable chose, que lamytie et perpetuelle union de Vous et de vostredict frere, lequel je Vous supplie penser estre prest, et en la mesme et corespondante volonte que Vous estes, dentrer en toutes manieres dhonorables et reciprocques conventions et traictez avecques Vous, comme celuy que ne trouverez jamaiz autre que le meilleur frere et amy que avez en ce monde.

Sire, me recommandant tant et si treshumblement que faire puis a Vostre Mageste, je supplie nostre Seigneur luy donner en parfaicte sante et prosperite tresbonne et longue vie. Escript a Grace, le 17<sup>me</sup> jour d'Avril.

Vostre treshumble et tres obeissant  
Serviteur,

(Suscrit)  
A la Mageste du Roy d'Angleterre.

(Signé) BRYON.

CCCCXXII. KING HENRY VIII. TO DE BRYON.<sup>1</sup>

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, We commende Us in our most harty maner unto youe. Advertising youe, that by Mons<sup>r</sup> Treasorer Palamydes We have not only receyved your frendly letters, but also at good lenght harde the credence commytted to the same touching suche matiers and affayres, as at your late being with Us We had togither communication of; our mynde and opinion wherin, as to oon, whom We knowe of perfite honour and moost assured amytie and frendshippe towardes Us, We shal herafre frankly frendly and playnely open and declare; being wel assured the same shal by youe be bothe likewise accepted and taken, and also in suche sorte pondered, wayed, and to our good brother declared, as therby shal unto Us both, being moost assuredlie and faythfully knyt in perpetual amytie, with mutual removing of all occasions that might by any meane engendre the contrary, ensue honour and glory, with thatteyning of our hartes desires. And, forasmoch as the said Mons<sup>r</sup> Palamydes hath conceyved his said credence compendiously in articles, We shal therfor to youe, our most assured and faithfull frende, even in like maner brefly make answer to the same; nothing doubting but the calling to your remembrance of our conference and communication at your said being here, with thise presentes, shal thorough your frendly meane conduce al thinges to good effecte and purpose.

And first, wheras upon overtury proceeding of the causes aforsaid by Us to youe set furth for the mariage of our most dere and most entirely beloved doughter the Princesse to Mons<sup>r</sup> de Angolesme, the said Mons<sup>r</sup> Palamydes hath in his said credence declared our good brother to be of conformable mynde, adding in that cace a desire on your parte, aswel that We shuld give with her in mariage the 50000 crownes of pension, as for the more perfite and assured establishment of our said amytie We shuld remyt the fifty thousand crownes of the pension viagere, and the 10000 crownes paid yerly for salte, as thinges moost odious to the realme of Fraunce: to declare and expresse unto youe, as to an other Our self, and our good brothers eare, frendly, our conceyete touching thise articles, We shal desire and pray youe with Us to considre, whether it be a frendly overtury of our doughter and heir, of moost certain tifle, without remayndre of querel, to the contrary, the revenue of our Crowne

<sup>1</sup> From a minute (much injured by damp) indorsed, "Answers to be made to the Admyralles  
" artycles."

lately encreased in yerly and perpetual valewe to the somme of two hundred thousande markes sterling, to be coupled and matched with our good brothers yongest sonne. Considre therwithal, whither it be soo lightly to be esteemed, as requireth not only 50000 crownes of pension to be given with her soo greate an enheritor in mariage, as it were for her finding, but also the relinquyshing and remytting of the pension of 50000 crownes viager, and the 10000 crownes for salt; whiche thinges considered, with remembraunce of our procedinges touching our good brother and the hole state of Fraunce, unto whom (without exprobation be it spoken) being doon to them whom We therby accompte our oun, as ye may and doo, We doubte not, accompt Us neverthelesse yours, what benefite wealthe and commoditie hath by our meane thenne, whenne a frende was in season, ensued unto you, We be wel assured it shal to you, that be of indifferent and honorable judgement, evidently and manifestly appere, that neyther honnour nor frendshippe canne with good advise and deliberation either move Us with suche unfriendly and dishonorabile conditions to bestowe our doughter, or suffre Us by any meane to remytt relinquish or release without consideration of our merities and mutual reciprocation, conservatour of love and frendshippe, any dieutie or pension rightfully, as thise doo, belonging unto Us. For, albeit We could be content, for the greate love and zeale We bere in harte to our good brother, to doo more for Him and his realme thenne worldely pollicye wold in al thing require, yet We knowe wel his amytie to be again upon suche certaine and stedfast foundation established towarde Us, as wold at our hande receyve nothing that might be to Us dishonorabile, or wherby the worlde, for want of correspondence, might have cause to judge our amytie maynteyned for thatteyninge of purposes withoute original from the rote of love and harty frendshippe. And therfor for this tyme We be enforced, aswel touching thise articles, as the rest to be afre declared, untyl We may upon suche conference as We had lately together with a perfite consideration of al partes of frendshippe, receyve our good brothers more certaine and frendly resolution, to suspende our answer, being in dede the said articles more to be mervayled at, thenne requisite to be answered; unto whiche by your wisdom wayed in the balaunce of frendshippe shal to our good brother be soo setfurthe and declared, as therby shal, we doubte not, followe his certaine and spedye resolution conformably to our desire, with the greate encrease and advauncement of both oure honouris.

Secondarily, wher as upon suche communication as We had with youe concernyng treaties or werre with or against thEmperour, the said Mons<sup>r</sup> Palamedes

medes hathe in his said credence declared that our good brother wold We shulde sende unto Him suche articles as We wold shuld be agreed on in the said treatie, with offre in like maner to sende suche as He for his parte wold with the saide Emperour treate of, to knowe our mynde and opinion touching the same, remembryng in thise articles to Us the treaties passed betwene our good brother and the said Emperour, and his honour depending in the same, letting our good brother directly to stande against the said Emperour, and yet declaring his good wil to commence warre against the Duke of Savoye in Piemount or Savona, therby to irritate and provoke thEmperour, and finally by that compasse to bring Him in open hostilitie both with Us and our good brother, with an overture of 50000 crownes to Us for our werres in Irlande and Denmarke, soo as We wold contribute a like somme towardes the said entreprises in Savoye Piemonte or Savona; further touching pretely our said good brothers entent to performe his entreprise for recovery of the Dukedom of Millayn, Lordshippe of Genes, and the Erledom of Aste, the veray true inheritaunce of our good brothers childern, with a desire of our ayde therunto, forasmuche as for our only sake He hath refused suche overtures as have been by thEmperour set furthe in that behaulf: albeit We have soo joyned Our self in harte with our goode brother, as We must nedes take in good and loving parte al that procedeth from Him, and that as He shal contribute with Us touching Irland and Denmark, so canne We gladly agre to doo likewise with Hym in any place of                            of thaffayrs; yet, remembryng the couching of the said credence, and howe at al tymes, for our good brothers sake chiefly, We have utterly refused to treate with thEmperour, notwithstanding the most honorable conditions or overtures He could offre or make unto Us, We cannot a litle muse to considre our good brothers scrupulosity, grounded as it were upon a reverence towardes Him, gladder thenne He wolbe to treate with Him or otherwise at his pleasure to be shaken of, who hath ever been frende or foo, as the tyme, thadvancement of his oune affayres, or his private affection hath required served or moved Him. Whiche We doubt not but your frendship towardes Us, according to our opinion of youe, wil not only yourself considre, imprinting in your oune brest our procedinges and overtures, both befor mentioned, and touching the title of Fraunce, not to spring, bicause We be not of puissaunce bothe to preserve and kepe that hath by our moost noble auncestours been left unto Us, and to renewe and revive in our Personne with encracement therof their fame and glory, but only to have grounde and begynning of the harty good wil love and affection We bere unto our good brother; but also in suche amyable and frendly sorte  
declare

declare the same unto Him, as the rather by your memme, being our assured frende, knowing his resolution therin, We may in suche ordre and conformytie with correspondence of gratuitie and kindnes procede, as may be to the advauncement of our comune affayres, and the disgracing of our enemyes and yvel willers.

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CCCCXXIII. G. DA CASALE *to CRUMWELL.*

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem, &c. Ex alijs meis literis Dominatio vestra cognovisse potest, quantopere superioribus mensibus studuerit Dominus Protonotarius Casalius, frater meus, viam reperire ad Regem Joannem, quam minimo periculo perveniendi. Ferdinandus enim Rex Romanorum mirum in modum omnes in Hungariam aditus semper observari fecit, et hoc præsertim tempore quo Viennæ negocium pacis tractatur inter Ipsum et Joannem, cui nollet ab ullo principe consilium aut favorem præstari. In causa etiam fuit, ut majori diligentia itinera custodirentur, Hieronimus Rorarius, qui missus in Hungariam a Pontifice veniam transeundi petivit a Ferdinando, nec impetravit. Cum igitur Protonotarius frater vias alias omnes custoditas videret, et Episcopus Zagabriensis, unus ex consiliarijs Joannis Regis, sese aditum per Zagabriam daturum polliceretur, iter illud arripuit, præmisso secretario suo explorandi causa, qui quidem loca eadem tuto evasit, in quibus frater meus in manus adversariorum incidit. Cum enim ad decem miliaria prope Zagabriam pervenisset, ac minimum a loco tuto abesset, in castello quodam San Mabor nuncupato ab Hispano Ferdinandi præfecto detentus fuit, unaque cum ipso Andreas Corsinus Regis Joannis secretarius, qui superiore anno in Anglia fuit, habebatque a Rege Christianissimo literas ad Regem suum credentiales. Cum autem videret Protonotarius frater se esse bene de facie notum, illi præfecto Hispano non dissimulavit quis esset, et a quo mitteretur, monens ne suum iter impedirent, quoniam id foret contra omne jus, cum inter Serenissimum Regem nostrum et Ferdinandum pax sit, et Viennæ etiam in præsentia per Oratores Regis Joannis pax tractetur cum Ferdinando. Verum nihil hæc verba profecerunt. Quinimo videns frater meus, accepto responso Regis Romanorum, se et Corsinum Viennam mittendos esse, ea arte usus est, ut suum famulum emiserit, qui arrepta fuga hujus rei nuntius extitit. Nemo est qui hoc factum non valde detestetur; et ipse Pontifex, ad cujus aures id penetravit, ut mihi relatum fuit, dixit alienum fuisse ab horum temporum statu

hanc

hanc Regi Angliæ et Regi Gallorum conquerendi occasionem dare. Fuit enim contra jus gentium. Et profecto Rex noster et Rex Christianissimus possunt existimare hoc esse bellum movere. Dignabitur Dominatio vestra rem hanc Regiae Majestati explicare, quæ si statuerit pro liberando oratore et servo suo aliquid agi aut scribi, rogo Dominationem vestram ut rei exequendæ nullam moram interponi patiatur. Nam vereor ne Ferdinandus, cum sciat fratrem meum, dum Venetijs foret, rebus suis adversari, solitum illum pessime tractet. Obsecro autem Dominationem vestram, ut mihi significare velit quod Regia Majestas deliberaverit, sive silentium rei imponendum, sive potius de hoc facto conquerendum esse statuerit, vel si potius aliquid agi pro istius liberatione censuerit oportere, idque ut me ad Suæ Majestatis voluntatem accommodare possim, cui quicquid placuerit nobis semper probabitur, qui pro illa vitam ipsam exponere semper parati sumus.

Quanvis scio Dominationem vestram multis semper magnisque negotijs premi, et adeo occupari ut minime mirum sit si nihil adhuc ad innumeratas literas meas responderit, nihilominus tam multa sunt quæ me Venetias ire volunt, quod hinc omnino discessisset, nisi me adversa valetudo, qua jam per duos menses conficiar, retineret. Principio mansi jubente Cardinale Lothoringio, quemadmodum ad Dominationem vestram scripsi saepissime. Cum deinde nihil unquam mihi responsum ac mandatum fuerit, mea hic mansio quodammodo confirmari videbatur. Nunc vero animadverto male consultum fore, si cum convaluero hic diutius maneam, et multis quidem de causis, sed in primis quod Veneti jam diu meam ad ipsos legationem cognoverunt ex literis oratoris ipsorum, cui Regia Majestas id aperuit. Unde Orator Venetus, qui Romæ est, saepe me de mea profectione interrogavit, ostendens adventum meum expectari. Quin etiam nuper hoc ipsum ex me diligentius quæsivit, propterea quod Carolus Capellius, qui Orator istic erat, ex Anglia redijt, Venetique novum oratorem mittere ad Regiam Majestatem supersedere volunt, quoad sciant an verum sit quod de adventu meo audiverunt. Ego quidem me omnino iturum confirmavi, cum primum per valetudinem licuerit, quod certe facturus cum in equo stare possim. Dominationem autem vestram præsentibus literis orare atque obtestari non omittam, ut aliquid mihi responsi dare dignetur, ne sim penitus ignarus eorum, quæ de voluntate Dominationis vestræ et Regiæ Majestatis scire aveo. Tantos certe motus rerum futuros cerno, ut ubicunque fuerim operam meam haud frustra futuram existimem, vel in hoc saltem ut indies Regiam Majestatem certiorem faciam omnibus de rebus quæ aut fiant aut tractabuntur.

Pontifex his diebus ad Civitatem Veterem profectus est, ut partem classis Cæsarianæ, in qua erat Marchio Vasti, ibi expectaret, datus stipendum duodecim

decim triremibus, quarum tres erant in portu Civitatis Veteris, reliquæ novem adveniebant cum Marchione Vasti, qui his pontificijs triremibus et alijs computatis 23 triremibus portum Civitatis Veteris intravit. Omnes quidem optime sunt instructæ, et rebus ad navigationem bellumque necessarijs et militibus etiam Germanis atque Italos. Eodem tempore 36 Cæsarianæ naves onerariæ oram Civitatis Veteris sunt prætervectæ, quæ, ut postea auditum est, in portum Gaietæ se receperunt. Pontifex, constituto duodecim triremibus praefecto Comite Anguillariæ, et stipendio dato, ac solenni benedictione impertita, in propinqua sui dominij loca secesserat, cum certior factus fuit supra Salernum triremes circiter quinquaginta visas, in quibus plerique existimabant esse ipsum Barbarussam, et ea de causa venisse, ut partem istam classis Cæsarianæ invaderet. Hoc nuntio accepo Marchio Vasti Neapolim per equos dispositos cucurrit, ut loca illa muniret; et Pontifex Romam redijt. Deinde cognitum fuit non Barbarussam, sed Judeum pyratum, qui cum eodem facit, advenisse; nec de numero triremium constat, nisi quod sunt pauciores multo quam primo divulgabant. Fortasse ista confinxerunt, ut ex hoc terrore facilius exigant tributum, quod in regno Neapolitano constituerunt, unius aurei pro qualibet domo. Illud etiam auditum est Andream Auriam cum triremibus circiter

<sup>1</sup> Hispaniam versus contendisse.

De Cæsaris adventu nihil adhuc certi ex ipsius literis, quamvis omnes qui ex Hispania scribunt consentiant classem consensurum, et deventurum in Sardiniam, ubi classem totam unire in animo habet, ac postmodo in Sicilia descensurum, nescio quo consilio. Affirmant classem istam ex triremibus, et onerarijs, et alijs minoribus navigijs, naves ultra ducentenas habituram. Dux Urbini ostentationem hujusmodi fecit, sex milia peditum egregie armis instrutorum sub signis habuit, neconon equites quingentos, sub quorum præsidio commeatus magnam copiam filio Camerinum comportavit, tametsi minime opus foret ea de causa tanti facere exercitus apparatus. Transiit autem per loca dominij ecclesiastici, et misit de via qui ad se vocaret Baptistam Savellum, qui in locis finitimis exiguis quibusdam copijs Pontificijs præest. Volebat autem ei quantum virum habiturus esset in bello inde ostendere, sed ille ire recusavit. Affirmant plerique Ducem Urbini minatum fuisse se cum illis copijs Romanum invasurum, quod non sine aliquo effectu accidisset, si venisset rebus ita ut nunc se habentibus.

Cardinalis Ravennatensis, calumnijs et delationibus Anconitanorum, quibus legatus præfuit, factus reus, cives quosdam innocentes morte multasse, jussu Pontificis in arcis Sancti Angeli custodiam missus fuit. Is fassus est se quidem

<sup>1</sup> Blank in original.

eius rei concium fuisse, sed culpam rejicit in Vicelegatum, asseritque id fuisse Clementis Pontificis jussu perpetratum. Cardinales omnes iniquissimo animo ferunt Ravennatensem captum, nihilque pro ipsius defensione omiserunt, liberamente cum Pontifice hac de re conquesti sunt, et in primis Cardinalis Tranensis. Voluerunt autem causam ipsi cognoscere: quod Pontifex non denegavit, et sex Cardinales dedit qui judicio et quæstioni præsunt.

Non miretur Dominatio vestra, si nuntium de captivitate fratris mei non statim significavi. Non enim prius Galli tabellarium expedire voluerunt, neque aliam ego mittendarum literarum facultatem habeo. Novissime allatae sunt literæ ex Hispania, die 4 Maij datae, quæ significant Andream Auriam pervenisse ad Cæsarem, qui divulgavit Se brevi classem consensurum, et in Siciliam iturum existimant. Classem quidem ipsam ingentem et valde munitam fore prædicant. Bene valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 14 Maij, 1535.<sup>1</sup>

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*) S<sup>vs</sup> GREGORI<sup>r</sup> CASALI<sup>s</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumvel, Serenissimi  
Regis Anglie Secretario,  
Domino meo plurimum observando.

#### CCCCXXIV. DECLARATION OF KING FRANCIS I.<sup>2</sup>

LE Roy TRESCHRISTIEN, apres avoir entendu, et fait entendre, par grande et meure DELIBERATION ET DILLIGENCE, DE MILIEURES ET PLUS GRANS LETTRES DE SON ROYALME le differend qui a este parcydevant touchant le mariage PRETENDU

<sup>1</sup> In a separate letter, of the same date, Casale states that the French Orator has shown him Francis's letter to the Pope respecting Henry's affair, and asks directions how to act. The Pope heard the Orator, and took time to consider, and has not yet given any answer. He is very slow in deciding. See Lord Herbert, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> This rough minute is largely corrected by the hand of Henry VIII., whose alterations are printed in small capitals. It was probably sent to France by Lord Rochford, and appears to have been the first sketch of the declaration, which was afterwards translated into Latin, and is printed by Burnet, in the Appendix to Vol. III. p. 84. (with a few verbal inaccuracies) from a contemporary copy which is in the State Paper Office. The second indorsement, which Burnet, both in p. 101. of his text, and in p. 87. of his Appendix, ascribes to Crumwell, is not in the Secretary's handwriting; but is written by the same person as the following indorsement on the paper in the text: "A devise in Frenshe to be confirmed by the Frenshe King for the adnullacion and revo- cacion of the Bisshop of Romes sentences ayenst the Kinges Highnes." The Latin declaration was probably the "boke in Laten" alluded to in the instructions, printed in p. 609.

A fair copy of the declaration in the text, but considerably different in some parts, is in the State Paper Office.

entre le Roy d'Angleterre et la Douairiere Katherine, qui aparavant fut  
MARIE AU RY Prince Arthur d'Angleterre son frere, LE SUR CE PARFAIT CONSE-  
MATION ENSUAYY, CONSIDERANTE AUSY LA validite ou invalidite de la dispence  
bailee a l'effect dudit mariage, ensemble le proces et differend, qui a este sur  
le mariage QUI A ESTE CONTRACTE ET CONSUMME par le Roy d'Angleterre son  
BON FRERE HENRY VIII<sup>E</sup> avecques la Royne Anne qui a present est, avecques  
les sentences et censures sur ce donnees par le feu Pape Clement dernier decede,  
par le quel il SEMBLE a confirme et approuve ledict premier PRETENDU mariage,  
casse et adnulle le VRAY second faite et contracte avecques ladie Royne  
Anne : et PURCE que le Roy a fait veoir et consulter avecques plusieurs grans  
et notables personnaiges de son Royaume, tant theologiens que juristes, les  
causes et merites desdites differendz et proces, et tout ce qui se peult deduire  
sur la validite ou invalidite, tant de ladie dispence, que de chascun desdictes  
mariages ; et quil a trouve la dicte dispence avoir este bailee contre tout  
droit divin et humain, et ne povoit aucunement valloer ne subsister PROHYBE  
PAR ICELLES, consequemment le PRETENDU mariaige, qui sen est ensuivy avecques  
ladie Douairiere Katherine, et les sentences donnees sur lapprobacion dudit  
PRETENDU mariaige, et invalidite du second, estre injustes inicques et desraison-  
nables : Le Roy FURTANT PROMETTE EN FOY DE PYNCE, ET promectra, REPUTER  
ACCEPTER soustenir deffendre ET MAYTENIRE CONTRE ET ENVERS TOUS ESTATS LEDICT  
second mariaige, CEST A DYRE LA MARIAGE DENTRE SON BON FRERE HENRY VIII<sup>E</sup> ET  
LA RAYNE PUR ASTURE ANNA SA FAME, estre legitime vallable ET IMMUBLE, et  
les enfans qui en sont descenduz, ou pourront descendre, estre legitimes et  
capables de lheritaige d'Angleterre, SANS JAMES Y CONTERVENIR EN LIEU QUE-  
CONQUE, et quil tient et tiendra PUR JAMES la fille yssue dudit premier mariage  
nestre legitime ne capable dudit heritaige. Aussi lesdictes sentences surce  
donnees par ledict feu Pape Clement, OU PAR CY EN APPRES ESTER DONNES PAR  
AUCUNS AULTRES, estre nulles et contraires a tout droit DEVYNE ET HUMMAYNE, et  
telles les REPUTERA ACCEPTERA SOUSTENDERA ET DEFANDERA par tous licux, et  
procurera a tout son povoir, QUE LES SENTENCES DEJA DONNES soient BREVEMENT  
casseees et revocques COME INJUSTES INIQUICQUES ET DERESONABLES par le Pape

THIS AYDE MUST  
BE DECLARYD IN  
WHAT SORTE IT  
SHALL BE.

qui a present est, et par le Siege Apostolique. Et si, pour raison  
de CEST MARYAGE FAICTE AVECQUES LA RAYNE ANNE, le Roy d'Angle-  
terre ou ses HEYRES ET successseurs sont inquietez en AUCQUNES ses  
estatz dignitez pais terres et seigneuries, le Roy LEUR DONERA surce  
secours et aide contre tous leurs turbateurs et inquietateurs, qui pour ceste  
occasion le vouldroient sur ce invahir ou aggreser en OCQUUNES estatz pais  
terres et seigneuries.

## CCCCXXV. G. DA CASALE TO CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem et Felicitatem. Die 22 Majj quicquid habui literis dignum ad Dominationem vestram perscripsi<sup>1</sup>, imprimis de inopinata Cardinalium creatione, inter quos Roffensem<sup>2</sup> elegerunt. Postquam ego tantum virium recuperavi, ut incedere possem, omnes Cardinales amicos nostros adivi, eisque demonstravi quam temere ac stulte fecerint in Roffense in Cardinalem eligendo, unde et potentissimum Regem et universum Regnum Angliæ mirum in modum lœdunt, et injuria afficiunt. Roffensem enim virum esse sic gloriosum, ut propter vanam gloriam et jactantiam quandam ei ingenitam in sua opinione contra Serenissimum Regem adhuc sit permansurus, qua etiam de causa in carcere est, et morti quidem condemnatus, annis etiam penitus confectum et decrepitum esse dixi, et propterea ad illa, quibus eum aptum fore existimant, inutilem prorsus futurum. Nec cessavi per summam indignationem ita exclamare, ut in re tanta decuit. Qua de re tota urbe sermo fuit. Quapropter Pontifex jussit me ad Se vocari. Ego autem longe plura quam cum alijs feceram ad Ipsum verba habui, nunquam alias gravius erratum fuisse ostendens. Pontifex vero quæ dicebam, ut quæ præter opinionem suam accidissent, accipere visus est; multisque rationibus ostendere conatus est, id Sese boni causa fecisse; cum enim Cardinales essent creandi, duabus de causis Sese ad unum ex Anglia eligendum adductum fuisse: et unam quidem causam hanc esse quod literas Regis Christianissimi viderat, quibus Se admodum cupere ac desiderare scribit ut res cum Rege Angliæ componantur, ita ut Serenissimo Regi Angliæ satisfiat in matrimonij causa. Hinc autem existimavit Se et Regiæ Majestati rem gratam facturum, et ad easdem res tractandas idoneum instrumentum habiturum. Alteram vero causam hujusmodi afferit, quod Concilio animum in primis applicuit, et cum quædam constitutio velit Concilio interesse Cardinales ex omni natione, Sibi necessarium visum Anglum aliquem facere Cardinalem; neque Roffensem potius quam alium in mente habuisse; sed cum dictum esset quanta in existimatione forent Roffensis scripta, in Germania præsertim atque Italia, additis etiam Campegij et aliorum verbis, qui virum summopere laudarunt, Sibi pulchrum quiddam visum eum

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who was consecrated to that See in 1504, and was beheaded the 22d of June 1535. The other Cardinals made at this time were Nicolas Schomberg, John du Bellay, Jerome Ghinucci, James Simonetta, Gaspar Contarini, and Matinus Caracciolo.

creare Cardinalem, et inde credidisse Regi Se rem gratam facturum. Ad quæ singula uberrime, ut opus fuit, respondi. In fine autem admonui, ne, cum erratum hoc admissum sit, et maximum certe vel ob id potissimum, quod inconsulto Serenissimo Rege hoc fuit, nolit ulterius ad rubeum biretum et pileum mittendum cardinalatus insignia procedere, nisi prius aliud ex Anglia audiverit. Pontifex quidem me vehementer rogavit, ut vias omnes tentare velim, quibus apud Regiam Majestatem excusatam hanc rem faciam, unde Se plurimum dolere dicit, cum præsertim ego affirmaverim rem esse ejusmodi ut excusationem non recipiat.

Bene valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 29 Maij, 1535.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*) S<sup>Q</sup> GREGORI<sup>S</sup> CASALI<sup>S</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumvel, Serenissimi  
Regis Angliæ Secretario, &c.,  
meo observandissimo.

#### CCCCXXVI. G. DA CASALE to CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem. Non priusquam hodie literas Dominationis vestræ 10 die Aprilis<sup>1</sup> datas accepi per manus mercatoris cum Joanne Giraldi facientis. Hinc factum est, ut responsum facere non prius licuerit. Cumque hac nocte tabellarius in Galliam sit discessurus, haud ita sane ut vellem diffusius respondere potero. Statim literis acceptis Pontificem adivi, atque id fecisse simulavi ideo quia querimoniam essem facturus de literis quibusdam ex Gallia allatis, quarum exemplum in Concistorio lectum audiveram; sed de his literis inferius narrabo. Inde igitur sumpta occasione, me cognoscere dixi quod, si Ipse, quemadmodum propitium semper animum erga Serenissimum Regem meum præ se tulit, ad opera deveniret, me speraturum ingens inde bonum et præcipuum ei honorem devenire posse. Tum Pontifex, num quid ego consilij ad id haberem, interrogavit. Respondi mihi videri debere Ipsum, qui Se tantum justitiae et veritatis amatorem profiteatur, ad Se viros doctrina insigne vocare, et ex illis meram sinceramque veritatem cognoscere: qua cognita, nollet Clementem imitari, qui veritatem cum compumperisset, celabat, et prævertebat ut ea ageret quæ Sibi in animo essent, sed

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

potius

potius eam manifestare orbi vellet: minime vero consulendum esse Simonettam, aut hos Rotæ Auditores, qui, ut Clementi obtemperarent, una cum sententia suum iniquum animum contra Serenissimum Regem Angliæ declararunt. Nonnullos autem doctos viros nominavi, et alios etiam ex Gallia accersendos dixi, ut in eo et Christianissimo Regi et omnibus satisfieri possit. Hoc sibi haud displicere Pontifex dixit, sed velle amplius rem considerare: expectandum præterea Sibi videri responsum eorum, quæ Ipse dixit Oratori Regis Christianissimi, neque vel in hac vel alia in re, quæ huic negotio opportuna videatur, quæcunque poterit facere, omissurum. Verbis quidem declarat Sese mirum in modum cupere res istas componere, unde Sibi plurimum laudis et gloriæ redundet; quod si verbis facta responderent, possem certe boni aliquid ex eo obtainere. Illud vero non tacui, quod de Cambrai obtulit Oratori Galliæ, tale esse ut in eo spes nulla sit collocanda, verum illam quam ego ostendo viam esse ineundam. Plura autem dicere non habeo. Hodie enim, ut superius dixi, literas Dominationis vestræ accepi. Pontifex autem natura est unus omnium in deliberando longissimus. Non intermittam modis omnibus operam dare, ut res huc deducatur, sed dissimulanter agam, ne videar ex Serenissimi Regis voluntate loqui, at potius hujus Romanæ curiæ causa. Gallis etiam, ne segniter agant, instabo.

His diebus Orator Galliæ literas quasdam accepit, quibus significatur de monacis quibusdam in Anglia morte multatis, propterea quod asserebant non posse Regem supremum esse in Ecclesia Anglicana. Lectum fuit in Concistorio exemplum istarum literarum, quæ commiserationis plenæ sunt; factum enim verbis multis exaggerant, illosque sancte et sapienter consilio Serenissimi Regis respondisse recensent, et genus mortis acerbissimum explicatur. Qua de re plurimus Romæ sermo fuit, et nonnulli etiam Cardinales dixerunt sese illis talem mortem invidere, et unum ex illis esse optare. His ego, ex quibus hoc audivi, respondi, qui sic loquerentur, Cardinalibus dicent, si id ipsum vere optant, in Angliam eant, et istorum stultitiam imitentur. <sup>1</sup> *Miratus certe sum Oratorem Gallie has literas ostendisse, nec Gallorum ingenium satis nosco. Latinus enim mihi dixit, sibi Christianissimum dixisse, Regem Anglie ea flagitare, que obtainere impossibile sit, et Se id videre; nihilominus tantum Ei debere, ut non possit Pontificem non rogare. Quod ad monacos damnatos pertinet, Galli precipue sunt, qui rem nescio quomodo admirantur.*

Ex literis, quæ novissime ex Hispania habentur, cognitum est Cæsarem nondum classem condescendisse, sed brevi fuisse consensurum, et naves circiter ducentas habiturum, in quibus jam equites et reliquæ copiæ erant impositæ.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is in cypher.

Credunt ferme omnes Cæsarem in Africam primo iturum, quod minime dimitenda sit occasio Barbarussam primo quoque tempore aggrediendi. Quod si Cæsar alio quam in Africam contenderet, Secum duceret Andream Auriam, et magnam classis partem, sine quibus esse non potest. Viribus itaque divisis res contra Barbarussam gerere <sup>1</sup>; cum opus sit totis viribus ad illum opprimendum ire, Cæsarem Afri[cam] petitum judicant; negotio igitur illo confecto, in Siciliam trans[iturum.] Marchio Vasti cum altera classe Neapoli discessit, ducentis Neapolitanis viris nobilibus comitatus, qui illi suis impensis ad illam provinciam prosequuntur. Pro Cæsaris autem adventu imperatum fuit totius regni Neapolitani primatibus, ut ad proximum Divi Joannis festum Neapolim convenient.

Nuntius quidem Cæsaris ad Ducem Urbini profectus erat, ut illum ad res cum Pontifice componendas adhortaretur. Is retulit Ducem ostendere se compositionem rerum summopere desiderare, sed Camerinum nunquam demittere in animo fixum habere.

Urgentibus Cæsarianis et alijs Cardinalibus, qui ægre ferebant in hac Cardinalium electione ipsis in uno satisfactum non fuisse, Pontifex nuper Protonotarium Caracciolum, Neapolitanum, in Ducatu Mediolanensi Cæsaris Cancellarium, Cardinalem creavit loco Archiepiscopi Mediolanensis Ducis Ferrariæ, quem Sibi creandum collegij suffragijs sumptis reservarat. Ab ipso Duce Ferrariæ nondum responsum venit super illa pecuniæ summa, super qua Pontifex et illius oratores discrepabant. Sed si res illa componetur, quamvis Caracciolum nunc elegerint, nihilominus collegium Cardinalium non recusabit Archiepiscopum quoque Mediolani cooptare.<sup>2</sup>

Ex nonnullis, qui ex Vienna huc advenerunt, cognovi Protonotarium Casalium arctius custodiri, et secretissime haberi. Orator quidem Regis Romanorum dicit literas habere, quæ significant eum fugam arripuisse<sup>3</sup>, sed figmentum hoc esse puto Ferdinandi ad rei turpitudinem celandam. Mirantur nanque omnes tantam ejus fuisse insolentiam, ut Oratorem tanti principis contra omne jus in carcere habeat. Mihi quidem videtur, quod nisi Regia Majestas Oratorem Cæsaris alloqui dignetur, vel aliquid aliud super hoc quod opportunius judicaverit agat, pessime et indignissime tractatum iri Oratorem suum, fratrem meum.

<sup>1</sup> This hiatus, and those in the two next lines, arise from mutilation.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus d'Este, the Archbishop of Milan, did not obtain the hat till 1538.

<sup>3</sup> This statement is confirmed by another letter from Gregory da Casale of the same date. And in a subsequent one of the 28th of August from Bologna he repeats his complaint of the imprisonment and ill-treatment of his brother John, and again presses for the King's intercession on his behalf.

Audivi, statim post Roffensis electionem, in Flandriam tabellarium ab Oratore Cæsaris missum fuisse, ut quam primum inde in Angliam scriberetur, jactaretur opera Cæsarianorum eum factum fuisse Cardinalem. Optime valeat Dominatio vestra, cui me plurimum commendo. Romæ, calendis Junij, 1535.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*) S<sup>9</sup> GREGORI<sup>9</sup> CASALI<sup>9</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumvel, Serenissimi

Regis Angliae Secretario Primario, &c.

Domino meo præcipuo.

CCCCXXVII. Articles and instruxions, conteyning the KINGES HIGHNES  
resolucion and full pleasure in His Gracous affairees, to  
be executed by his right trustie and right welbeloved  
Cousin and Counsaillour the DUKE OF NORFOLK and his  
colleges, the Kinges Ambassadours and Commissioners  
now resident at Calais.<sup>1</sup>

FIRST, where as the Kinges Highnes hathe perceyved, aswell by the reporte  
and relacion of his right trustie and welbeloved Counsaillour the Lorde  
Rochford, as by sondry letters from the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges,  
that the pryncypall stycking of the Admyrall of Fraunce and his colleges  
remayneth uppon the 2 fyrt poyntes conteyned in the former instruccions  
yoven to the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges at their de[parture

] of the Duke of Angolesme for his educacion in this  
Realme; in which poyntes, notwithstanding the reasonablenes of the same,

<sup>1</sup> From a minute corrected by Crumwell, mutilated by damp. It does not authentically appear who these Commissioners were, nor when they went to Calais. We have seen (p. 588.) whom the King at first proposed to send, but Lord Herbert in his enumeration (p. 411.) substitutes for Crumwell Bishops Goodrich and Foxe, and adds that Lord Rochford was sent subsequently. The omission of Crumwell is corroborated by a private letter to him from Fitzwilliam, dated at Dover on the 25th of May, in which it is mentioned that De Bryon arrived at Calais on Saturday, and was ready to depart on Monday, and that the writer met Rochford on his way. Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, 2d Series, Vol. XI. No. 58. The document in the text is indorsed "The " seconde instruecons to the Duke of Norff: and other the Kinges Amb<sup>s</sup> at Calais." This description corresponds with the statement given by Lord Herbert of the substance of those instructions, but this document comprises also what is by him given as the purport of third instructions, giving the Commissioners an ultimatum, to which they should resort, in case they should be unable to carry the terms, which they were in the first instance to propose.

and

and the grete weale honour and suretie that dependeth thereof, chieflie towardes the Frensh King and his Realme, they will not relent, as appereth by the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges letters and advertisementes by the same: nevertheles the Kinges saide Highnes, having maturely deliberated debated and considered with his hole Counsaile here uppon all things that may be don and executed at this tyme by his saide Ambassadours at Calais, with His Highnes honour and the commodyte and weale of his Realme, hathe resolved and fynallie determyned his gracious pleasure in maner and fourme as in these articles is here insuenglie mencyoned and conteyned; at the disputacion and debatement whereof was present the saide Lorde Rochford, who can by mowth thoroughlie instructe the saide Ambassadours of the same in all poyntes, as the case shall requyre.

And to the first parte His Gracious pleasure is that the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall, at their congresse and meting with the said Admyrall and his colleges, ones agayne assaye them by all the meanes they can possiblie, and with suche reasons argumentes and persuasions, as by their wisedom and dexteritye they can imagyne or thinke most to preuale towardes the conducing of them to consent and agree to the boke delyvered to them in Laten by the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges, and by all meanes to presse them thereunto; which, notwithstanding all that the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges can say do or alledge, if they shall [*and not*] relent and gyve place unto the same, then the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall ferther presse them, by all the meanes they can, to have the same bonde pacte and promise of their maister the Frensh King and his 3 sonnes, and to have them onelie bounde therunto, as is conteyned in the saide boke in Laten, omytting the rest. In which poynt the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall firmelie stycke fast, without relenting in any maner of wise, if by any meanes possible or by any reasons allectations or persuasions that they can make, the French men may or will be induced thereunto. And in case they will not, then shall the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges say unto them, on the Kinges Highnes behalfe, that albeit there is nothing conteyned in any of the same demaundes, but that that is honourable mete and reciproke, and (if they consider it well, and syncerely do mynde the perfection and conclusion of this maryage) for their weale honour and suretie nothing more conducible and requysite; yet, seeng they can not consider it nor take it so, nor, being so moche wedded to their owne will, woll not condiscend unto the same; the Kinges Highnes, because it shall syncerely appere that in his defecte shall ensue no breeche nor alienacyon from

the conclusion of any good purpose or affaire that might tende to thincrese of amyte, the weale honour and unyte of both the Kinges, their Realmes and subjectes, specyallie being so honourable personages on both parties now mette and assembled at Calais for that purpose, can be contented, uppon the consideracions aforsaide, to agree and conclude upon the effecte of suche a mynute as His Majeste now sendeth by the saide Lorde Rochford, being in effecte according to their owne mynute sent hither in Frensh, which the Kinges Highnes hathe also remytted and sent agayn by the saide Lorde Rochford at this present. Whiche if they shal condiscende unto, and conclude that the Frensh King and his 3 sonnes shall ratifie and confirme theeffecte of the saide mynute, that is to say, the said Frensh King to be bounde thereunto by treatie, and his 3 sonnes by a nother instrument and wryting to be made for that purpose, as (if they be of such integryte and assurednes towards the Kinges Highnes, and so sincerenly mynde thaccomplishement of this affairee, as they ought to do) they can not refuse it; then shall the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges, by consent of both parties, cause the effecte of the saide mynute to be reduced into the Laten tong in fourme of a pacte and treatie, and thereupon condiscende and conclude accordinglie.

Secondarylie, touching the traduction hither into this Realme the saide Duke of Angolesme to be educate and brought up here, the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall eftesones in that behalf, by all meanes they can, presse the saide Admyrall and his colleges, aswell by remembryng unto them such overtury and promise, as the Frensh King of his owne mocyon made unto the Kinges Highnes at their last being togither at Calays and Boleyn, of the sending hither of the saide Duke, when there was no such just urgent nor honourable cause (saving onely amyte) to requer the same, as there now is, as by adding thereto all such reasons allegations and argumentes, as may best persuade them thereunto, according to theeffectes and contynue of the Kinges Highnes last letters addressed to the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges, for that purpose amongst other things. Wherein the saide Duke and his colleges shall fymelie stonde and stycke fast, as reason and equyte will bere them in such wise, as they seme not to the French men facillie to be removed or relent from the same. All which notwithstanding, yet if the saide Admyrall and his colleges will by no meane reason nor persuasions be allured ne induced to condiscende thereto, that then the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges, proceding ferther with them, shall assaye and presse them to treate condiscende and conclude, that the saide Duke of Angolesme shalbe traduced and brought hither into this Realme, at suche tyme as thespousaile shalbe solempnised betwixt

betwixt the most excellent most high and mightie Prynesse the Ladye Elizabeth, Prynesse of Englonde, and the saide Duke of Angolesme, which shalbe when she shall com to the full age of 7 yeres, from thensfourth to demoure contynue and abyde here, to be trayned educate and brought up in the Kinges Courte, untill the saide matrymonye shalbe fully laufully and perfytely consummate; bynding the Frensh King in this article by the same day to be limited to sende him hither after suche sorte as is conteyned and expressed to the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges in their saide former instructions. In which poynt and all other concerning the traduction hither of the saide Duke of Angolesme, eyther fourthwith, orells at the sayd tyme of thespousalles, the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall, by all the meanes polycies and wayes that they may honourably do, presse and persuade the saide Admyrall and his colleges to treate condiscende and conclude upon the same accordingly. And in case they will not, but peradventure will alledge that in the meane season the Kinges Highnes may have an heyre or heires males lyving at those yeres when the saide espousailles shalbe solempnised, so as then it should not be requisite nor mete for them to treate that the saide Duke of Angolesme should com into this Realme; to that the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall answer, that if it shall so happen the Kinges Highnes to have an heire or heires males, they shall now treate pacte and conclude, that then the saide Duke of Angolesme shall not be traduced into this Realme untill suche tyme, as by occasion of the deth of suche heire male, as God defende, if any such heire male shall happen to be, the saide Lady Elizabeth shall by survyving becom heire apparent, as she now is. And in case that the sayde Admyrall and his colleges will stycke in that poynte, and perchaunce will demaunde that, if the Kinges Highnes shall happen to have an heire male lyvyng at such tyme as the saide Ladye Prynces shall com to her age of 7 yeres, that then she may be traduced and delyvered into Fraunce, to be nurysshed educate and brought up there; to that the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall answer that, if the saide Admyrall and his colleges will now treate condiscende and conclude to delyver the saide Duke of Angolesme into this Realme at the tyme of the saide espousailles, which shalbe when the said Lady Prynces shall com to her full age of 7 yeres, as is aforsaide, that then the Kinges Highnes, having at that tyme 2 heires males on lyve, shalbe contented to delyver the saide Lady Prynces to be educate in the realme of Fraunce, till the maryage be consummate; providing always that, if it shall happen the said Duke of Angolesme to dye after that, or afore the consummacion of the saide matrymonye, that then the saide Lady Prynces shalbe at her lyberte to repaire

ayen into this Realme with the repeticion of her dote and dowary, and all her movable goodes, in maner and fourme as in that parte is conteyned in the saide former instructions, whereunto the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall referrer themselfes in that poynt accordinglye. And ferther, in case they will not consent nor condiscende to any of these overtures and degrees, notwithstanding any reason that the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges can or may alledge to conduce them thereunto, that then the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall say unto them that the Kinges Highnes, mynding (if they will com to any reason reciprokenes or conformyte at all) so sincerenly to procede in every behalf, as it may appere in the face of the worlde that this meting of so honourable personages is not on his parte grounded upon fryvolous causes, is contented that it shall be treated condyscended and concluded on both parties that the saide Duke of Angolesme shalbe traduced and brought hither one yere, or at the leste 6 monethes, before the consummacyon of the saide matrymony; which if they shall condiscende unto, that then the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall procede to the treatie and conclusion of the same with the saide Admyrall and his colleges, as shall aperteyn. And in caas they woll not agre to this article, then to certifie the King with all sped. And also in caas that, before that tyme of thespouselles or of the consummacion of the saide matrymony, the Kinges Highnes, or the Frensh King, or both of Them, shall happen to dye (which God defende), that in that case it be convenaunted agreed pacted and concluded at this present congresse, that the executours of the saide Kinges, or of one of the saide Kinges first happening to decesse, and the executours of both, if both the saide Kinges shall so happen to dye, or the rulers and governours of such heires as shalbe then within age, and the heires of ayther Prynces then being at their full age, or the one of them being at full age, shalbe bounde by treatie to accomplishe and perfourme all the pointes conteyned in this saide treatie, in lyke maner and fourme as the saide 2 Kinges should do, if God shall send Them lif to the fynall accomplisshment of the same.

Thirdely, where as the Kinges Highnes by the saide former instructions hathe gyven in charge to the said Duke of Norfolk and his colleges that amongst other it be specyallie provyded, in case the saide Duke of Angolesme shall succede the Kinges Highnes in the emperiall Crowne of this Realme in the right and title of the saide Lady Pryncess, that then his saide dukedom of Angolesme, and all other his domynyons landes and possessions within the realme of Fraunce, or elles where in any of the Frensh Kinges domynyons, shalbe clerely exonerated and frely discharged, by the consent of their

Parliamente,

Parliamente, from all exactions servytutes homages and fealties, so as thereby remayne to the Frensh King nor his heires nor successours any duetie or occasion of demaunde or clayme, whereby might arryse in tyme commyng any unkyndenes bytwen the 2 Kinges of Englund and Fraunce, as in the saide former instructions more at large amongst other thinges is conteyned; the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall in that poynt stycke fyrmely to the conducing of the same to effecte, according to the veray teanour purporte and meaning of the saide former instructions, if they can by any meanes possible induce the Frensh men thereunto: which if they can not, they shall fynally, after long debatement of the matier, shewing them selfes not facilie to be amoved nor brought from their opynyon in that behalf, without grete reasons and persuasions on the Frensh parte may lede them, condiscende to protracte and put of the conclusion of that matier, till the saide matrymony shall be consummate; so alwayes as they do comprehendre and devise a specyall article in their pacte and treatie, that, at the saide tyme of consummacyon of the saide matrymonye, the parentes shall agree condiscende and conclude upon the same on both parties, as the case shall requyre.

Fourthely, the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall convente treate and conclude with the saide Admyrall and his colleges, that neyther the Kinges Highnes, nor the Frensh King, shall herafter treate conclude or practise any mariage allyaunce pacte amyte or leage with thEmperour, without the mutuall consent will assent and agreement of both Kinges of Englund and of Fraunce in any maner of wyse.

Fyvethlie, where it appereth to the Kinges Highnes by the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges letters, that the saide Admyrall uppon overture made unto him touching thindiction of the Generall Counsell, begon right lovyngly and acceptablie to embrace the same, the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall specyallye pacte and convenaunte, in a nother pacte besides the treatie, that the Frensh Kyng shall not consent nor agree to thindiction of any Generall Counsaile, but at suche tyme and place as the Kinges Highnes shall condiscende unto: proceding ferther to treate and conclude with the sayde Admyrall and his colleges in that poynte, according to the effecte tenour and purporte of the saide former instructions in every behalf.

Sixtely, if the saide Admyrall and his colleges shall treate with the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges for any ayde or contrybucions to be had of the Kinges Highnes towardes the mayntenaunce of any warres ayenst thEmperour,

thEmperour, as by all likelihod, and as it appereth by the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges letters, they intende to do ; to that the same Duke and his colleges shall replie and saye, that thay ons concluding uppon the mariage in suche fascyon and sorte, as the Kynges Highnes thayr maister maye persayve the integryte of thayr procedinges in amyte with Hym, that then they advertising Hym therof, they dowt not will so answer to the same with lyke correspondens of kyndenes, as they and thayr maister shall have good cause to be content, yff the thinges requeryd shall seme to be resonable recyproke and indifferent.

Fynallie, the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges shall in all other thinges procede to treate convente and conclude with the saide Admyrall and his colleges after such sorte, and in such maner and fourme, as is prescribed unto them by the saide former instructions ; and conferring the same instructions with these, and all other letters and advertisementes that they have receyved from the Kinges Highnes syns their departure to Calais, shall delyberately consulte upon the same, so and in such wise as the effectes thereof may the better be compased and atteyned : forseeing alwayes that like as these be thinges of moment and gret importaunce, so in all their procedinges with the Frensh men they shew themselfes to be men of gravyte and wisedom, and not hastelie facillie nor lightly to condiscende to any articles or conclusions, but by good advise and deliberation, as aperteyneth.

And, as in these articles and instructions are devised sondry wayes and overtures to conduce the saide Frensh men to conformyte, and som good conclusion in this affaire, so as, if they will not condiscende to one, they may be brought to a nother ; so shall the saide Duke and his colleges, in the proponyng of the same, not shew them selfes to hastie in making one overture after a nother, but pausing in every degree, and proceding in a gravous sorte, with mature advise and deliberation, do studye and compase, by all the wayes and meanes they can, to induce the Frensh men to condiscende and conclude uppon those poyntes, that shall tende most to the Kinges honour, thadvancement of His Gracious affairees, and the wealth of his Realme and subjectes according to His Gracious trust and expectacyon commytted to them in this behalfe.

And, if in all their procedinges with the saide Admyrall and his colleges any ambiguyte doubt or question shall arrise in any of these articles, or in any other case of disputacions that may happen to be spoken of in their conferences togither, wherein it shall or may be requisite for the saide Duke of Norfolk and his colleges to know the Kinges Highnes mynde and pleasure ;

that

that then they shall indelayedly, and from tyme to tyme as the case shall requyre, advertise His Majestie thereof, so as thereupon they may be advertised agayn of His Gracious full resolucyon and pleasure in that behalf accordingly.

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### CCCCXXVIII. CARDINAL GHINUCCI *to CRUMWELL.*

MAGNIFICE Domine, uti frater ca[rissime, licet] non verear Magnificentiam vestram jam intellexisse, quod placuit Sanctissimo Domino nostro me in collegium Reverendissimorum Dominorum Cardinalium ascribere: attamen, suadente nostra veteri benevolentia, judicavi amici officium esse hoc idem amico significare, ut potius superfluus, quam amicitie oblitus, videar; quippe qui magis quodammodo quam antea memor sim, decrevi ad Magnificentiam vestram de hujusmodi mea assumptione pauca hec scribere. Cum autem, prout Magnificentia vestra pro illius experientia nosse scio, ob hanc assumptionem longe majora onera et expensa quam antea necessario perferre cogar, et mei redditus, licet exiles, exiliores et fere nulli facti existant, fit ut si aliquo tempore liberalitate et munificentia Serenissime Regie Majestatis indigui, hoc tempore plurimum et supra quod dici queat indigeam, et propterea compellor esse molestie Magnificentie vestre, quam quantum valeo rogo, ut subsidium, quod eadem Regia Majestas mihi (ut vestra Magnificentia novit) subministrari mandavit, mihi et pro me Domino Antonio de Bonvis tradere velit, ut cum eo me ab innumeris necessitatibus meis me paulisper sublevare valeam. Sciens autem quod Magnificentia vestra semper fuit ad subveniendum mihi pro sua humanitate procliva, nunc eam ad hoc, ita aucta indigentia mea, procliviorem esse censeo. Ideo longioribus exortationibus vel precibus instandum esse potius superfluum, quam necessarium, judicavi. Ceterum Magnificentia Vestra sibi suadeat velim, me esse illum suum amicum, qui semper fui, quique cupio ut illa de me periculum faciat, ad quod faciendum eam vehementer hortor, que fœliciter valeat. Ex Urbe, die 28 Junij, 1535.

(*Signatur*) V. M<sup>ti</sup> Deditiss<sup>o</sup> HIE. CAR<sup>LIS</sup> dGHINUCCJS.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thome Cromwell, Serenissimi  
Regis Anglie Secretario, uti fratri honorando.  
In Londra.

## CCCCXXIX. G. DA CASALE TO CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem. Superioribus diebus Pontifex me ad Se vocari jussit, et mecum conquestus est quibusdam de rebus quas ex Cæsarianis Venetisque cognoverat, necnon ex aliquibus Italis qui sunt in aula Regis Christianissimi. Quæ audiverat hujusmodi sunt; Admiratum Galliæ istinc rebus infectis et parum concordem discessisse, et Regem Christianissimum Serenissimi Regis nostri Oratori animi alienati signa quædam dedisse, negociumque Domini de Anglem esse penitus disclusum; id accidisse ex Regis Angliæ indignatione, propterea quod Rex Galliæ eo Se deduci non permiserit, ut Ipse quoque Pontifici obedientiam præstare nolit, et reliqua facere quæ in Anglia facta sunt. Ex Anglia vero Cæsariani illud se habere retulerunt, quod cum de Roffensis promotione esset nuntiatum, universum Regnum ingenti lætitia exultavit, ac Pauli Pontificis bonitatem commendavit; et quod ipse Serenissimus Rex statim ad Roffensem misit, qui diligenter ab eo quærerent, num sibi ipse id procurasset? et quod cum eum rei penitus ignarum invenissent, ei dies mortis fuit indicta, nisi prius se ipsum in ijs redarguerit, quæ hactenus asseruit. Quæ ego omnia visu sum prosecutus, dicens nolle rebus ejusmodi respondere, nisi literas ex Anglia vel ex Gallia videam; me certe scire qui talia nunc dicant nunquam solere vera loqui, tum quia ea est ipsorum natura, tum etiam quod mihi pro comperto sit falsum omnino esse, quod de populi lætitia propter Roffensis creationem divulgar conantur, neque verum esse quod ea creatio laudata vel comprobata fuerit, sed hoc genus esse adulatio[n]is ad id confirmandum, in quo Pontificem deceperunt. Et re vera neque Christianissimi Orator, nec aliis quisquam Gallus, literas his de rebus acceperunt. De Roffensis quidem creatione dolus inventus est. Fuit id inventum Archiepiscopi Capuani, qui Pontificem hoc pacto delusit, cum ostenderet rem sempiterna gloria dignam effecturum, si Contarenum et Roffensem Cardinales nominaret, nec ea de re cum aliquo prius loqueretur; ideo ut omnibus persuaderi posset id a suo ipsius, non autem ab alterius, consilio profectum. Atque ita ipse Archiepiscopus Capuanus suum negocium egit, simul enim cum reliquis quam summopere optabat dignitatem est consecutus. Pontificem quidem existimo nunc, quam stulte fecerit, animadvertere.

His ego de causis statui omnino hinc per aliquot dies abesse, et eo magis quod quædam ægritudinis præteritæ reliquiæ mihi sunt balneis salubribus curandæ. Si Cardinalis Parisiensis, qui brevi Romæ futurus dicitur, aliquid mecum

mecum erit communicaturus, a meis confestim revocabor; sin nihil erit ejusmodi, procul ab urbe Roma aliquandiu morabor. Interim Dominatio vestra poterit mihi mandare, quid me facere velit, vel huc redire, vel Venetias potius proficisci. Archiepiscopus Colociensis, Regis Joannis Consiliarius, quandam ex suis familiaribus ad me misit, qui mihi retulit summam esse opinionem res Joannis Regis in optimo statu futuras, et Turcarum Principem binas ei literas scripsisse, quibus se accipere dicit ejus excusationes super morte Ludovici Gritti, simulque ad suum Hungariæ regnum conservandum adhortatur, affirmans regnum Ipsi omnino remansurum, Seque ad suos præfectos, qui Hungariae sunt propinqui, scripsisse, et imperasse ut, Rege Joanne jubente, parati sint ipsum et Ejus regnum defendendum suspicere. Certioreme me insuper Archiepiscopus facit, quemadmodum ipse et Episcopus Sirmiensis, et Magnus Cancellarius Viennæ, sunt ejusdem Johannis Oratores cum magno et honorifico comitatū, causa pacis tractandæ una cum Turcarum Principis Oratore, qui ipse quoque Viennæ est, super quo negocio nihil adhuc erat confectum. Rex autem Joannes lente agere videtur, propterea quod intelligere vellet quæ afferantur a Protonotario Casilio, Serenissimi Regis nostri Oratore, qui adhuc in carcere est in oppido Neostothia; cumque Colociensis Regem Romanorum rogaverit ut eum sibi visere permittat, id obtinere minime potuit. Et Nuntius Pontificis, qui, tanquam consilium fidele Ferdinando datus, suasit eundem liberari debere, nihil omnino profecit; quanvis autem Ferdinandus saepè dixerit velle hunc Oratorem ingenuè tractari, nihilominus neque Pontificis Nuntium neque alium quenquam cum eo loqui permisit, nec eum liberatus est, nisi negocio pacis confecto inter Se ac Joannem: quæ omnibus certe insolens videtur arrogantia, Ferdinandum non dissimulanter sub custodia habere tanti Principis Oratorem absque ulla causa, nullam enim aliam causam novit adducere, nisi quod per suas terras transibat; omnes præterea et Cæsaris et Christianissimi Oratores affirmant se scire Cæsarem suasisse Ferdinando, ut Casalium dimitteret. Bene valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 16 Julij 1535.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis Vestræ<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is no signature to this letter now remaining; but there is every appearance of it's being obliterated by damp.

Another of the same date gives an account of the Emperor's sailing with a fleet from Sardinia on the 14th of June, and of his operations before Tunis to the end of that month.

## CCCCXXX. G. DA CASALE to CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICO Signor mio. Questa sara per fare intendere a vostra Signoria, como essendo io capitato a Fiorenza per andare alli bagni de Lucca, dove secondo scrissi a Messer Pietro Vanni, ero consigliato dalli medici de andare per liberarme dalla mala dispositione, che me ha lassato la longa malitia che ho havuta. In Fiorenza recevvi littere de Lione, per le quale ero avisato che Monsignor Reverendissimo de Parisi era partito de Lione alli 15 di questo mese, et che andava a Ferrara in poste, et da Ferrara a Pesaro per acqua. Per tanto con la meglior diligentia che ho posuto io venni qui in Ferrara, dove ditto Monsignore de Parisi e stato quattro giorni. Per quanto ho potuto comprendere lui haveva alcune cose da trattare con questo Duca, quale lui le ha trattate; et per quanto io posso comprendere, il Duca non ha fatto resolutione alcuna con lui, apparente ne secreta, per che questo Duca non ha altro consiglio che quello che haveva suo patre, et tiene de quel stile. Per tanto el vora veder che fine havera questa impresa del Imperatore, et il Re Christianissimo forte in Italia avanti se scopra a far nulla per esso. Io ho ditto a Monsignore de Parisi como ero venuto a trovare sua Signoria per intender da essa se lh'aveva commissione de tractare cosa alcuna particolare per il Re nostro, o vero cose de comune interesso, et della Maesta del Re nostro, et della Maesta del Re Christianissimo, dove pensasse de revalerse del opera mia, et che pensasse che io in cio potesse fare servitio, io ero venuto per fare compagnia a sua Signoria a Roma, et in tal caso lassare star lacque delli bagni. Sua Signoria me respuse che le cose della Maesta del Re nostro erano in tal termino, che per qualche giorno non bisognava parlarne, et che ella non era per parlarne senza altra commissione, et che io pigliassi li bagni a posta mia, che si accascaria l'opera mia che me lo faria intendere. Poi se dolse con me de la promotione che haveva fatto il Papa de Rofensis, et disse che la Maesta del Re nostro haveva promesso alla Maesta del Re Christianissimo de non lo fare morire, tamen in una matina fu resoluto et exequito il contrario. Et quanto a questa sciochezza, chel Papa ha fatto de promovere Rofensis, io gli mustrai che questo era venuto per una giuntaria, che haveva fatto il Cardinale di Capua quale sono sei anni che è drieto a questa pista, et ne fece instantia con Papa Clemente, et lo conferi con alcuni cardinali, li quali l'hanno ditto a me. Et al presente ne faranno testimonianza ma alhora le rase del ditto Capuano furno cognosciute, et hora ha gabato Papa Paulo con il demonstrarli che

che questa cosa non se hayeva da conferire con persona perche aparesse che fusse sua inventione, et consequenter tutta tornasse in sua gloria. Et in effetto hora il Papa et tutta la corte ha cognosciuto che e stato mera patia a fare tale promotione. Et in quanto alle exequutione, che la Maesta del Re haveva fatto de Rofensis, io credeva che la Maesta Christianissima ancora lei in le cose che toccasseno l'honore suo, et lo interesso del stato l'havorebbe fare a modo suo, anzi che io teneva per ferma opinione, chel Re nostro in simile cosa mai non recercaria la Maesta Christianissima, et che io non cognosco la Maesta del Re nostro punto crudele anzi mite et tardo in simile exequutione de vita de homini, talche si non fusse stato piu che necessario non haverebbe fatto quel che ha fatto. Apresso dicendomi ditto Monsignor di Parisi della buona unione, che persevera tra la Maesta del Re Christianissimo et il Re nostro, io gli dissi essere necessario che sua Signoria declarasse molto bene questa cosa, et al Papa et a tutta la corte, se pensava che tornasse aproposito delle Maesta de doi Re, ch'el Papa havesse tale opinione, per che li Imperiali et Venetiani havevano di sorte predicato il contrario, che tutta la corte insieme con il Papa, tenevano per cosa cierta che fra ditti doi principi fusse poca unione. Ho poi dato notitia a sua Signoria secondo quel poco judicio mi trovo del animo del Papa et dell'i altri potentati de Italia, quali tutti dependeno dal fine di questa impresa di Cesare. Et che andando ditta impresa sinistrosa como manifestamente si vede è per andare, et che da l'altro canto se veda doi Re uniti et preparati da fare qualche cosa, io credo che tutto il mondo cercara de accordarsi con loro per piu respecti, li quali per non essere troppo lungo li taccio. Il moversi mentre che lo Imperatore è in Affrica per certo seria imputato alla Maesta Christianissima, per cosa molto impia, ma il prepararsi et mettere le cose in tale ordine che alla retirata del Imperatore se potesse fare qualche cosa, credo saria molto al proposito et reputato prudente, perche in caso che questo Imperatore in questa impresa perdesse la vita, o verò una gran parte del exercito, o che se retiri, certo le forze sue saranno poco extimate, et de poca reputatione, et la Maesta Christianissima poi potria licitamente venire in Italia con dire io voglio venire alla defensione de Italia, dove non solamente sara desiderato ma chiamato in tal caso per la paura se havera de Barbaroscia, quale subito che l'Imperatore se retirara sara con la sua armata in Italia per infestare la reviera de Genoua, di Toscana, di Roma, de Napoli, et de Scicilia, dove non sara presidio alcuno, perche li Spagnoli voranno le loro nave et galere per guardia de Spagna, et ne resta tanta revera da guardare che non bastaria tutte le galere del mondo a deffenderla.

Et in confirmation de cio gli ho detto quello che ho inteso in Fiorenza dove è il Cardinale Cibo, quale sta li in Fiorenza apresso il Duca, et fa professione de governare, et certo è molto amato et estimato dal Duca, al quale de tutti li parenti de Medici non gli e remasto altro che questo Cardinale, et tutti li altri parenti gli sono nemici. Et questo Cardinale per sua gratia me venne a trovare credo per volere intendere, qualche cosa da me perche certo stanno in gran suspitione, et non sanno si el Papa è amico o nemico al Duca. Ditto Cardinale me mustro una lettera, che li scrive Andrea Doria, dove narra che la Goletta la pigliaranno, ma che la cosa andara al quanto alla longa, perche l'Imperatore vole fare ogni opera per conservare il suo exercito, quale pensa adoperare a magiore impresa. Piu dice che non possono stare li piu lungamente che fino a settembro, perche como venga il settembre quella spiaggia di Barbaria è tanto pernitiosa, che non osaria fermarsi li con larmata, ne sarebbe possibile poserla suvenire de vitouaglia.

Apresso ultimamente de Livorno se havuto nova de doe fregate che venivano de Sardegna, como l'Imperatore era ancora inanti la Goletta, et in effetto fate conto che fino a mezzo questo mese non haveva fatto niente ne anche fine alli 19, perche havendola conquestata, in 4 di se haveria lo nova in Livorno et consequenter in Fiorenza, dove io fui quattro giorni sonno, et sonno disposte le poste si fattamente de bergantini et de cavalli per la Sardegna, che in breve tempo al sicuro possono haver nova a Livorno o a Genoua. Si che scriva Andrea Doria quel che se voglia che io me confermo in la mia opinione che non siano per haver la Goletta.

Io andaro alli bagni volontieri per doi respetti, l'uno per sanarmi, l'altro che io mal volontieri staria in Roma adesso senza havere lume da vostra Signoria del modo che ho da tenere, et delle parole che ho da respondere circa questa cosa, et circa le altre, con il Papa et con tutta la Corte, fino a mo como per altre mie ho scritto a vostra Signoria. Io ho biasmato quanto se deve biasmare questa patia, che ha fatto il Papa, et lui et tutta la Corte lo cognoscano et confessano che e stato patia et e noto lastutia de Capua. Et quanto alla morte de Rofensis, laquale e piu de uno mese che se diceva per cierto in Roma, io ho sempre ditto che piu tempo fa lui et il Moro per ordine del parlamento furno condanati alla morte, contra lordine del quale la Maesta del Re non vole ne sole contravenire, ma per molta bonta et clementia che era in Sua Maesta haveva fatto et faceva ogni opera per camparlo però andava differendo la cosa in longo, perche se havessero a revedere et desdire delle patie loro, ma che non volendo loro desdirse che la Maesta del Re poteva bene differire in longo, ma non evitare che la justitia non havesse loco.

loco. Et al presente chi me nha parlato dopoi la nova certa della morte, io gli ho detto che non è vero chel Re lo habbia fatto morire per esser stato creato C'ardinale commo loro dicono, perche Sua Maesta fara poco conto de cio che fara il Papa in Inghilterra in creare vescovi o cardinali, o fare altro, perche con tutto suo fare non sara bastante de movere una paglia senza licenza de Sua Maesta per tanto che questa justitia de Rofensis è seguita secondo lordine del parlamento.<sup>1</sup>

Supplico vostra Signoria, per lamore de Dio, che se degni de darmi resposta commo io me habbia de governare. Io ho lassato tal ordine, che tutte le nove, tanto de Affrica como de altre, che veniranno a Roma, a Fiorenza, et a Venetia, che io ne saro subito avisato et havero via de avisarne con diligentia vostra Signoria, alla quale bascio le mani, et la supplico me voglia raccomandar alla Maesta del Re.

Io ho havuto nova da Vienna, commo il Re de Romani ha fatto dar di molta corda a Mastro Andrea Corsini, quale fu preso in compagnio de Monsignore, et haveva lettere di credenza della Maesta del Re Christianissimo, et gli hanno fatto confessare commo lui andava per romper la pace, tal che le cose de Monsignore Prothonotario andavano male. Et il nuntio del Papa, quale ha instantia de molti cardinali che gli hanno scritto, che debbia pigliar protetione di Monsignore, et defenderlo che non li sia fatto dispiacere, ha scritto a ditti cardinali che lui ha havuto molto che fare in defenderlo che non li fusse fatto dispiacere, et dice che tutto il consiglio de Ferdinando gli aveva molto mal animo adosso. Per certo è una grande arrogantia de questo principe in voler tener et trattare persone pubbliche di questa sorte. Et commo per altre ho ditto a vostra Signoria se la volunta della Maesta del Re è de non ne parlare, io non curo che se parli, mai de mio fratello

<sup>1</sup> The following passages on this subject occur in papers in the handwriting of Peter Vannes, stated to be extracted from letters of the 28th and 30th of July, the former from Rome, the latter from Sir Gregory at Bologna :

“ Ex literis allatis ex Gallia copiose hic intellecta est mors Roffensis et Mori, ex qua Pontifex concepit incredibilem indignationem, et super ea re habuerunt Consistorium. Ego ex bono loco intellexi, quod hic procedent contra nos in quantum poterunt: nec plura super hoc. Id quod pro certo habete, iste Pontifex videtur homo resolutus, et in hac re putat Se fuisse gravissime offendum, et ait, si videret ante Se occisos duos suos nepotes, non ita offenderetur. Nuncius Pontificis, qui est apud Regem Romanorum, strenue urget res Concilij, qui super ea re jam circum mittit capitula.”

“ Rome gravissime Pontifex et Curia conqueruntur de morte Roffensis, et inter cetera dicunt Romanam Curiam pluris facturam hujus hominis mortem, quam illam Sancti Thome. Dicunt etiam quod Cardinalis Turnonensis, suis literis Romam missis, hujus hominis mortem descripsit adeo pie, ut omnes commoverit ad lachrymas, que litere lecte fuerunt in Consistorio, quod ob hanc solam causam habitum fuit. Dicunt etiam alia multa, que quum non sint magni momenti nunc non scribo.”

commo se non fusse al mondo. Quando ancora fusse altramente, prego vostra Signoria vogli far opera che Sua Maesta ne parli secondo merita la cosa, et oltraggio fatto a un tanto Principe. Et de novo bascio le mani di vostra Signoria. Di Ferrara, adi 27 Luglio, 1535.

(*Soscritto*)      <sup>Stor</sup> GREGORIO CASALE.

(*Soprascritto*)

Magnifico Domino Domino Thomæ Cramvel,  
Serenissimi Regi Angliae Secretario [*Pri*]mati  
&c., Domino meo honorandissimo.

### CCCCXXXI. HEYNES and MONT to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

**P**LEASITH Your Highnes to be advertised that after we ones wer arrived at Calece, we never herde certainly wher the Frenche Kyng lay, unto we cam to Amiase, wher we wer acerteyned for trouth that His Grace was at Reynes, 34 leges from Parise, and as moche or more from Amiase. Wherupon we did with all sped possible ride thither, and spake with Your Grace his Ambassador, declaring unto hym your gracieuse pleasour and cause of our cummyng according to our instructions.<sup>2</sup> And after diligent serche and inquisition made of the cummyng of Philipp Melancton, finali we had certeyne knowlege, not only that he wàs not cum into Fraunce, but also that it is in doubt, whither he will, or if he will, whether he shall cum or noo.

Here is oon in the Frenche Courte called Gervasius, a Germayne borne, whose advise and cownsaile the Kyng usith in all his affaires with the Princes of Germani. He reportith for trouth that within these 8 daies Mons<sup>r</sup> Langeus and he shall go into Germani into the Dukedom of Wirtenberge, for this purpose spetialli among other affaires, to speke with Melancton ; and that a kynsman of the said Mouns<sup>r</sup> Langeus is sent from the Frenche Kyng 10 daies past into Germani, to bring the said Melancton into the Dukedom of Wirtenberge to reason upon certayne articles ; and if thei can agre, than, he saith, (perchaunce) Melancton may cum to the French Kynge.

<sup>1</sup> Written by Heynes.

<sup>2</sup> The substance of these instructions is to be found in a letter from Norfolk and Rochford to Crumwell, dated at Langley, on Monday (probably the 26th of July), which is in Cleopatra, E. 6. No. 324, and has been printed both by Strype, Vol. I. Appendix 163, and by Burnet, Vol. III. Collection, p. 97. It appears by Mont's letter of the 7th of September that they left England on the 1st of August.

Moreover

Moreover Gervasius affermith that the Princes of Germanie hath sent to the Frenche Kyng certeyne articles, whiche partly concernith the auctorite of the Bushop of Rome, desiring Hym to be arbitrar betwix the Bushop of Rome and them: whiche articles the Frenche Kyng hath sent to Parise by Mons<sup>r</sup> Langeus, to know the judgement of the lerned men ther concerning the same articles; and (as the fame is) the grett parte of them be approvied for trew. A copy of the said articles we trust that Master Walope do send to Your Highnes by this poste.<sup>1</sup>

Mani men here supposith that the Grand Master and the Admirall be not vere well content that Melancton shuld cum into Fraunce, lest that, whan he cum hither, and that the Frenche clergi and he do not agre upon his articles, it might be occasion to alienat sumwhat the myndes of the Princes of Germani from the Frenche Kynge; thinking it vere expedient therfore, before Melancton do cum into Fraunce, to send Mouns<sup>r</sup> Langeus to prove first whether thei can agre or noo.

The said Mouns<sup>r</sup> Langeus and Gervasius be appointed to mete with Melancton in Septembre next, so that as we think it wilbe in thend of October before Melancton cum hither, if he do cum. Afterwards, whan thei have resoned with Melancton of his articles, Gervasius saith, that Mouns<sup>r</sup> Langeus shall go to the Dukes of Bavari for certeyn affaires of the Frenche Kynge, and shall speke on the Kynges behalve with diverse other Princes of Germani.

Concerning Your Graces affaires and proceedinges within your Realme, the French Kyng affermith that He will have nothing to doo nor medle with them.

As towching the opinion of the Clergy here, we can nothing advertise Your Highness as zit, for we be in a rude contre, where as no lerned men be. Notwithstanding for so moche as we have or can lerne hiterto by communication with priestes by the way, and with other that be lerned after this contre maner, we perceive that thei be wholli dedicat to the Bushop of Rome, and highly estemith his auctorite. At Reynes, the 8<sup>th</sup> daie of August.

Your Highnes his most humble

subjectes and servantes,

(Signed) SIMON HEYNES.

CHRISTOFER MONT.

*(Superscribed)*  
To the Kynges Highnes.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

CCCCXXXII. MONT TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

QUA conditione et statu legatio nostra pendeat, colendissime Patrone, ad Majestatem Regiam perscripsimus<sup>2</sup>: cumque Melanthon hic non adsit, adfuturusque non sit, nisi prius inter dictum Melanthonem et Dominum Langium, qui propediem in Germaniam abiturus est, super certis articulis concordatum sit, qui Langius et Melanthon in Ducatu Virtenbergensi circa Septembrem convenient; optimum meo juditio fuerit, aliquem mitti ad Ducem Virtenbergensem, qui sub specie conciliande amicitie et gratulationis inter Serenissimum Regem nostrum et restitutum Ducem, in conventum Langij et Melanthonis mediis et tanquam fortuito casu incurrat; qui interim per occasionem Philippum dehortetur ab adventu in Galliam, et ut in doctrina pristina persistat persuadeat, ne dum ad humana consilia et auxilia confugiunt totum perdant. Deinde reliquos quoque Principes salutare Serenissimi Regis nostri nomine, litterisque amicabiliter scriptis ad eosdem amicitiam pristinam confirmare, ut in nulla re nocere potest, ita forte prodesse. Nam vetus proverbium est bona etiam nomina silentio, et mora mala, fieri. Gallus quoque, si ante hac unquam, modo maxime sibi Germanie Principes conciliat.

Non abs re quoque mihi futurum videtur Serenissimum Regem nostrum amicas litteras scribere, et propitijs animi testes ad Georgium Marchionem Brandenburgensem (fratrem germanum Ducis Prussiae), cuius ditio prope Nurnbergam est; qui per omnia consentit cum Nurnbergensibus in caussa Evangelij, Evangeliumque in Ducatu suo pia mente et bono zelo jam olim publicari fecit, qui tum dignitate et opibus non extremo loco inter Germanie proceres habetur.

Ego, colendissime Patrone, (si scribere licet quod sentio) non nihil nocere puto amicitie ineunde et confirmandæ inter Serenissimum Regem nostrum et Principes Germanos, nimiam Serenissimi Regis nostri prudentiam; qui omnia, que cum Germanis agere visum fuerit, per Gallie Regem agit et perficit; qui interim has caussas ita adornat, ut Ipse omnem gratiam et fructum solus ferat, Rege nostro impensas communiter faciente. Germanorum animi tales sunt, ut apertam et simplicem amicitiam colant et expetant. Ego quoque Germanos Principes super hac caussa sepius expostulantes audivi, ut qui suspensam hanc et caussariam amicitiam non satis probarent; dixerunt enim hac re fieri

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.<sup>2</sup> Not found.

ut plerique alij fedus secum inire detrectarent ac refugerent; qui id ultro facturi fuerant, si Serenissimum Anglie Regem secum ex aperto stare cernerent.

Hec, colendissime Patrone, magis ex simplicissimo affectu (cujus tua erga me humanitas origo est) quam ex officio, ad te scripsi, adeoque ea in bonam partem accipi rogo.

De adventu Melanthonis ut nihil certi scribere possum, ita adfirmare ausim eum ante duos aut tres menses omnino non adfuturum, nam prius quam Langius eo perveniat, cum Melanthone conferat, ac retro redeat, menses aliquot intercedent. Bene valeat tua Celsitudo, Patrone colendissime, cui me humillime commendo. Datum in Reenes, 8 Augusti.

CHRISTOPHORUS MONT,  
tuum mancipium.

(*Superscribitur*)

Clarissimo viro, Domino Thome Crumwello,  
Primario Serenissimi Regis Angliae Secretario,  
Patrono meo colendissimo.

### CCCCXXXIII. MONT TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SERENISSIME Rex. Ego conveni Dominum Langium, ex quo, quam potui maxima diligentia, omnia, que conformia instructionis nostre visa sunt, didici.

Primum de Melanthone hec mihi narravit; se premisisse quendam cognatum suum ad Melanthonem, qui eum adducat ad se una cum sex alijs ex primi nominis doctis inter Lutheranos, eumque missum a Langio habere pecuniam, ut tum equos tum alia omnia necessaria eis comparet; Melanthonenque jam ternis litteris recepisse, se adventurum in Galliam, sed Langius vult admonuitque Melanthonem per precursem ut non adeat Galliam, nisi prius ab eo conventus fuerit, ac hoc in Galliam perductus; de loco vero ubi convenient nondum statutum est, sed quam primum Langius in Germaniam advenerit, convenient. Langius vero jam in aulam proficiscitur, ut ibi responso accepto theologorum Parisiensium ad articulos Germanorum in Germaniam abeat; iturum vero se mihi confessus est ad Ducem Virtenbergensem, inter quem et Ulmenses controversiam quandam compositurus est super comitatu quodam, dixitque Regem Christianissimum malle aliquid de suo Ulmensibus

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

tribuere, quam patiatur eos inter se armis concertare ; tum quoque compositurum inter Virtenbergensem et Bavarie Duces nonnullas controversias. Dixitque Langius litteras fidei publice Regem Christianissimum premisisse ad Melanthonem, maximeque Eum Melanthonis adventum desyderare.

Langius dixit mihi Cesarem per multos Oratores missos tum ad Principes Lutheranos, tum ad eos qui doctissimi habentur inter eos, omnibus modis laborasse, ut eos in fedus secum adducat ; multaque illis obtulisse, et permisurum pollicitum esse ea que hactenus nullo modo permittere voluit ; maximeque cum illis agere pro habendo Concilio Generali. Sed Langius dixit mihi se omnibus modis, tum litteris tum adhortationibus, egisso apud Germanos, acturumque ne ullo modo in Generale Concilium consentiat : quia, si consilium hoc tempore haberi contigerit per Imperatorem et Pontificem, actum esse de caussa Lutheranorum, cum in Concilio celebrando omnia agi soleant vocum et suffragiorum pluralitate, longeque pluresque provincias hoc tempore consentire cum Cesare et Pontifice ; ut, si contingat hoc tempore Consilium celebrari, ibi omnia statutum iri pro Imperatoris et Pontificis voto et desiderio. Tamen ut interim Germanorum animi placentur, et in spe bona retineantur, detineanturque ne fedus ullum cum Imperatore ineant, se hoc tempore id maxime conaturum, ut tanquam per synodum tum Gallie, tum Anglie, tum Germanie, nationale Concilium celebretur, quod ille stabiliendum sperat per Episcopum Romanum. Hoc ut evenire possit quantum ad Angliam, putat rationem iniri posse cum summo Pontifice, si Lutherani omnino in nihil consentire velint, nisi caussam Serenissimi Regis nostri per omnia approbet, et se summa injuria adfecisse Regem nostrum aperte confiteatur Romanus Episcopus.

Si vera sunt que Langius mihi dicit, hoc solum credo eos querere et efficere, ut tempus trahant, ne Lutherani Principes ullum fedus interim cum Imperatore ineant, et Germanis interim spe concordie egregie imponant.

Langius dicit mihi amplius triginta Lutheranis doctioribus ad se articulos scripsisse ; se vero ex omnibus eorum articulis aliquot delegisse, eosque Regem tradidisse facultati Parisiensi, ut super his sententiam suam dicant, que eorum censura adferetur Regi intra quinque dies. Langiusque ideo in aulam modo it, ut eorum juditium Regi oblatum accipiat, secumque in Germaniam ad Lutheranos deferat, ut siquo modo inter eos et Lutheranos convenire possit. Articulos cum a Langio rogassem, dixit se modo eorum copiam non habere, sed missurum se ad fratrem suum, quem Lutetie reliquit, ut eos sibi mittat, traditurumque se eos mihi. Censuram et juditium Parisiensium ipse nondum vidit, quia ad Regem nondum allatum est.

Langius

Langius dixit mihi se unum articulum Germanicis addidisse, qui talis sit, nimiam licentiam et tyrannidem Episcopi Romani esse cohibendam, ut non arroget sibi autoritatem transferendi et statuendi de regnis pro sua libidine, et Principes excommunicandi, et similia; Germanosque vero huic articulo subscrispsisse. Sed de hoc Reges viderint.

Ego hic in Gallia omnia fermenti veteris plenissima video, nihilque novari in melius, ut qui sordent sordescant adhuc.

Fuit hic apud Regem Gallie in mense Julio quidam missus a Ducibus Bavarie, qui egit super pecunia deposita apud eosdem Duce, dixitque mihi Langius quoad pecuniam hec eum respondisse Principes Bavarie, paratissimos quidem esse ad restituendam pecuniam si exigatur; rogare eos tamen ut restitutio differatur adhuc in aliquot tempus, cum periculum eis ut antea immineat, &c. Dominus Langius recepit se omnia promptissime facturum, que Majestati Vestre grata fore noverit; dicitque Regem suum nihil cum Germanis tentare velle, nisi et Majestas Vestra in hoc consentiat; speratque se redditurum in Galliam ex Germania intra menses tres. Datum in Schallun, anno 1535, quinto die Septembris.

Vestre Majestatis  
humillimus Servitor,

CHRISTOPHORUS MONT.

(*Superscribitur*)  
Ad Regem Majestatem.

#### CCCCXXXIV. MONT to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

SERENISSIME Rex. Hesterno die, cum observarem Dominum Langium pro habendis articulis mihi promissis, ille me comitem secum adduxit ad Episcopum Cathalonensem<sup>2</sup> in prandium; quo perfecto Episcopus et Langius advocarunt me in colloquium, Episcopusque dicere cepit, quasi meditata oratione, quam egre et moleste Dominus suus Cardinalis Lotharingie Pontificis temerarios ausus et iniqua consilia erga Majestatem Vestram ferret; quos iracundos et furiosos affectus jampridem impudentissimo quodam brevi ad Regem Gallic scripto manifestaverit. Quare Dominum suum Cardinalem Lotharingie jam omnino statuisse quandam ex famulis suis Romam mittere, ut Romanum Episcopum Cardinalesque sibi amicitia junctos commonefaciat, admoneatque

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Robert de Lenonecourt, Cardinal in 1533.

ne quevis sibi licere putaretur statuendi et decernendi in Principes ; fore enim ut hec animorum impotentia et temeritate non solum nihil proficiant, sed etiam se ludibrium et fabulam universo orbi faciant, cum alienissima ab Episcopo hec sevitia et stultissima interminatio esse debeat. Dixit quoque Episcopus, quomodocunque res interim succedant, hunc Pontificem diu supervivere non posse ; quo mortuo, spem non nanam esse in manibus, ut aliquis successor magis propitius utrius Regi et Gallie et Anglie contingat, nam modo Cardinales Rome plus decem et octo stare et pendere a partibus tum Regis Gallie, tum Majestatis Vestre. Rogavit Episcopus ut Majestati Vestre persuaderem, eamque certiorem facerem Dominum suum Cardinalem Lotharingie esse Majestati Vestre deditissimum, nihilque non libertissimo animo eum subiturum, quo gratificari se Majestati Vestre se posse putet. Langius quoque idipsum constantissime adseveravit, qui hunc ipsum Episcopum quoque dixit esse intimum consiliarium et secretissimorum consiliorum concium. Langius dixit mihi fieri posse ut a Duce Geldrie in Angliam ad Majestatem Vestram trajiciat, nam spes est ut Oratores et Lubecensium et Ducis Holsatiae convenient apud Ducem Geldrie, tractaturi de pace : qui si advenerint, Langius quoque eo se profecturum putat Regis Christianissimi nomine, ut pacem persuadeat, et ex Geldria in Germaniam abeat. Dixit quoque se maxime cupere ut, priusquam in Germaniam abierit, Majestatem Vestram convenire possit, ut a Majestate Vestra vivo oraculo instructus, omnia ibi facere possit pro voluntate et arbitrio Majestatis Vestre. Hoc unum dixit se omnibus modis conaturum apud Germanos, nec dubitare quin obtineat ut nullo modo Concilium Generale admissuri sint hoc tempore : Germani interim tempus Consilia allaturum. Datum apud Jainvil, septimo die Septembbris, anno millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quinto.<sup>1</sup>

Majestatis Vestre humillimus  
Servitor,

(*Superscribitur*)  
Ad Majestatem Regiam.

CHRISTOPHORUS MONT.

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<sup>1</sup> In the State Paper Office is a copy of Francis's commission for De Langei to go to the Convention then assembled at Eslingen, dated from Joinville the 10th of September ; on which day He also wrote a letter to the Convention, of which a copy is in the Museum, Harleian, 4994. 42 b.

CCCCXXXV. Mont to Crumwell.<sup>1</sup>

**C**OLEDISSIME Domine Secretarie, misi ante biduum binas litteras in Angliam per Magistrum Barnabe; quem in itinere, cum ad Dominum Vallopum redirem, obviam habui, in quibus ea que ex Domino Langio didiceram, majori fide et simplicitate quam elegantia, Majestati Regie nota feci. Verum ubi ad Dominum Vallopum pervenissem, reperi allatas regias litteras<sup>2</sup> ad me, quarum prior pars hec est, ut cum Dominus Langius et Gervasius sint ordinati a Rege Gallie, ut in Germaniam, collaturi super quibusdam articulis cum Melanthonem, ire debeant, ut si inter eos convenire possit, tum deducendus ab eis forte in Galliam sit; quapropter Regiam Majestatem velle, ut ego itinere expeditissimo Melanthonis animum preoccupem, persuadeamque ut in Angliam ad Majestatem Regiam recipere se velit, ubi omnia longe majori successu et pro Dei verbo incremento simul cum Rege nostro tractaturus et perfecturus sit, quam apud Regem, nomine quidem Christianissimum, sed re longe secus habente &c.

Hoc regium mandatum utinam tam facile exequi possem, quam velle debo, sed vereor eventum animo meo non responsurum; et hoc ideo, quia adventus Melanthonis in Galliam non amplius pendet ex dubia conventione et consensu articulorum adferendorum a Langio, sed jamdudum articuli a Germanis ad Regem Christianissimum missi sunt, ab eoque (ut Langius mihi narravit) non nullis immutatis et mitigatis, ad Germanos remissi sunt, qui eas immutationes et correctiones in omnibus fere se laturos et ratas habituros

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> The object of this letter will be collected from Crumwell's letter to Wallop, dated at Thornbury (where the King was on a progress) on the 23d of August, to have been to endeavour to get Melanthon to come to England instead of France, and to direct Mont to proceed to the place where Melanthon was, and Heynes to go to Paris, and there discover the opinions of the learned men, and their affections towards Henry and the Pope. Strype, Mem. Vol. I. App. No. 68.

It appears by a separate letter, of the same date with that in the text, that Mont and Heynes were about to obey these orders on the same day, and that the former was going to Wirtemberg, and was in great want of money.

None of Mont's further correspondence of this period can be traced. There are found two letters from Heynes at Paris. In the first of the 2d of October he states, on the authority of private information, that Melanthon would not come into France, and that he had availed himself of a private messenger to write to Melanthon to persuade him to go into England. In the second letter of the 5th of October he acquaints Crumwell that he considered his business at an end. Miscellaneous Letters, 2d Series, Vol. XVII. leaves 241, 243.

dixerunt, modo spes concordie hinc accedere Ecclesie possit, adeoque nonnulla consensio utrinque, tam a Germanis quam Gallo, super articulis accessit. Hinc factum est ut Langius cognatum suum Monsieur De la Fos ad Germaniam premiserit una cum pecunia, ut Melanthonem una cum aliis quinque doctis in Galliam perducat, omnibusque necessarijs instruat. Litteras quoque fidei publice a Gallorum Rege super salvo adventu in Galliam ad Melanthonem pertulit, et catherenam quoque auream, et aliquam pecunie summam, Rex Gallus per hunc De la Fos misisse Melanthoni dicitur, qui Melanthon jam ternis litteris se adventurum in Galliam Langio promisit.

Tum omnes fere Lutherani Doctores et Rabini litteras et articulos ad Langium miserunt, instantes et orantes ut, si quas concordie rationes in medium adducere possit, modo non plane iniquas et impias, eas sese laturos; adeoque jampridem Melanthon advenisset in Galliam, nisi hec Langii sententia esset ut non prius accedat, nisi adductus per eum; ne Langio absente interpres forte aliquis inter Regem Christianissimum et Melanthonem non satis fidus contingat, vel commodus; tum quoque ut comitatu Langii et familiaritate tutior et securior Melanthon in Gallia acturus sit. Hoc Langij consilium ex ore ejus accepi. Hijs de causis quam difficile fuerit Melanthonis iter in Angliam convertere, ornatissime Domine, videtis. Verendum quoque est ne Dominus Foxus, quem in Germaniam concessurum audio, Melanthonem ibi non reperturus sit. Nam quamprimum Langius Germanie fines ingressus fuerit, quod brevi admodum futurum est, nuccio missso, de conventu et congressu cum Melanthone statuet.

Secunda pars legationis mee est, ut quandoquidem in dubio vertitur utrum articuli missi nuper a Domino Vallopo sint a Melanthone missi, an ab Universitate Parisiensi excogitati et commenti, copia ad me transmissa est, ut super his Melanthonis juditium et animum perquiram, easque illi exhibeam; ut, si ab eo editi fuerint, de unoquoque eorum cum eo conferam, juditiumque ejus super eisdem bene notatum et animadversum Regie Majestati indicare possim.

Ego, quid de articulis primo momento visis judicarim, dixi Oratori Veneto, quo dictante eos articulos excepi. Nam statim ad primum articulum, qui est “Admittitur potestas Pontificis Maximi absolute,” correctis quibusdam formulis, respondi, “Hoc Latinum magis sapit Sorbonam Parisiensem, quam “Vitenbergensem Minervam.” Litteris quoque ad Dominum Foxum missis, juditium meum aperui. Quam vero modo sententiam super his habeam, Dominatio tua brevibus accipere dignetur.

Cum ex Domino Langio rogarem, num quos articulos Lutherani ad Regem Christianissimum transmisissent super religione, respondit bis ter factum esse  
et

et a plus quam viginti, seque ex omnibus aliquos, et de quibus jam precipue controversia est inter Papistas et Lutheranos, delegisse, ac in his non nulla immutasse et mitigasse Regis Christianissimi mandato et consilio, eosque ita immutatos Lutheranis remisisse, rogitans num hanc immutationem, factam a Rege Christianissimo, ferre et approbare velint. Qui se eas mutationes ferre posse responderunt, modo spes concordie hinc accessura sit; ex hisque primum esse, se ferre posse primatum Episcopi Romani ad servandum doctrinæ consensum in Ecclesia, modo secundum Dei verbum omnia judicet. Hic quam apertior et simplicior sit altero, nemo non videt. Langius ipse quoque fassus est impossibile esse probare primatum Episcopi Romani ex Dei verbo; dixit quoque Clementem Pontificem consensisse, ut primatus hic positivo jure deferatur: tum doctiores quoque Rome Cardinales in ea esse sententia, et in primis Cardinalem Trivulcij, qui ut ceteros doctrina, ita iudicio quoque superare. Nec credo hos articulos, a Domino Vallopo missos, esse responsonem Parisiensium ad Lutheranorum articulos, nam articuli Lutherani traditi sunt regio mandato per Langium Facultati Theologiae Parisijs, ut super his iuditium suum et censuram ferant, eamque Facultatem delegisse ex omnibus Doctores viginti qui eos examinent, quam examinationem referre postea debeant ad totam Facultatem, que omnia facta esse Dominus Langius affirmat, cum ipse Lutetia discederet. Verum cum super censura eum rogarem, dixit sibi nondum eam esse visam, neque cuiquam sed his tantum qui de facultate habentur; eaque causa solum se modo advenire in aulam, ut allatam censuram ad Regem accipiat, secumque in Germaniam deferat; nam unum ex Doctoribus Facultatis omnium iudicio electum esse, qui eam censuram consignatam sigillo Universitatis ad Regem intra biduum aut triduum perlaturus sit. Hinc quoque verisimile est articulos missos non esse responsum Parisiensium. Langius quoque mihi adfirmavit Theologos Parisienses omnia potius concessuros, quam ut cum Germanis congregandi velint. Verum cujuscujus hij articuli sint, ego eos Philippo examinandos offeram, ut videat que de se et alijs hic iudicia circumferantur.

Rogavi ex Langio copiam articulorum eorum, quos Universitati exhibuisset; qui respondit mihi se eos penes se non habere, se reliquise Lutetie, missurum vero se clavem cubiculi ad fratrem suum, quem Lutetie reliquerit, ut articulos ad se mittat, missos vero se mihi traditurum; cumque de responso Parisiensium rogarem, dixit, hoc sibi nondum esse visum, sed certiorem me redditurum, ubi a Rege hoc accepit.

Ex consilio Domini Vallipi et Magistri Heyns ego substi apud Reens, convenique Dominum Langium, tanquam a Rege ad eum missus, accepta occasione

occasione ex quibusdam litteris, quas ille ad Dominum Vallosum miserat; nam hec ratio optima nobis visa est de veritate perquirenda, quia in instruacione nostra fidei et diligentie nostre commissum fuerat, ut vel conjunctim vel separatim quam possemus de omnibus, que Regem nosse interesse putaremus, anniteremur; orationemque talem apud eum habui.

Dominatio tua ornatissima Domino Langi misit unas litteras ad Dominum Vallosum Oratorem Regis nostri ex Villicutre, in quibus preter cetera nova continebatur Dominationem tuam brevi in quendam locum venturam, ubi factura esset Regi nostro bonum servitium. Quod tuum propositum animique grati officium Dominus Vallopus Regi omni diligentia significavit. Rex vero admodum cognoscens Dominationem tuam pro singulari prudentia et gravitate nihil temere solitum dicere, aut amicis promittere; sciens quoque te inter omnes Christianissimi Regis consiliarios maxime his temporibus laborare pro transigendis et componendis horum temporum dissensionibus, et hoc non solum apud Gallos verumetiam apud exteros homines; cumque ex plurimis argumentis jam olim precognoverit animi tui erga Majestatem Suam fidem et sedulitatem; huc me misit, ut jam olim tibi notum et multis nominibus devinctum, ut una cum Domino Vallopo simul et tibi gratias ageremus pro animi tui erga Regem nostrum pietate, tum ut tecum conferremus quoniam servitij genere te gratificaturum Regi nostro spem habeas, ut si quo consilio aut opera hoc tuum plium propositum provehere et adjuvare possimus, ut ex debito tenemur, ita promptissime facturi. Eaque causa Dominus Vallopus Reens commoratus est dies aliquot post Regis discessum, ut simul te conveniremus. Sed quoniam ille emergentibus negotijs in aulam coactus est abire, mihi hic subsistere visum est, ut qui Dominationem tuam convenirem, eamque regio mandato officiosissime salutarem.

Mihi vero quoniam necessum fuit hinc statim abire, constitui cum Domino Langio, ut articulorum copiam, mihi promissam Domino Vallopo, hic residenti tradere velit. Dominationi vestre humillime me commendabo. Datum in Jainvil, septimo die Septembbris, anno 1535.

CHRISTOPHOR<sup>O</sup> MONT.

(*Superscribitur*)

Ornatissimo viro Domino Crumvello, Serenissimi  
Regis Anglie Primo Secretario et Consiliario,  
Patrono meo observandissimo.

CCCCXXXVI. CRUMWELL *to G. da Casale.*

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori, plurimam Salutem et Commendationem. Quæ tum ex Ferraria, tum ex Bononia, vestris literis nuper ad me scripsistis, sigillatim omnia (ut mei est officij) Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati significavi, in quibus ut multa erant publicarum rerum cognitionis gratia lectu non injucunda, et vestri cum Domino Parisiensi habiti sermones ipsi probabantur, ita non satis demirari potuit Episcopi Roffensis et Thomaæ Mori mortem Pontificis illiusque curiæ animum adeo graviter offendisse, ut ex hac re conceptam indignationem haud facile possint concequere: licetque eidem invictissimæ Regiæ Majestati mortalium nemini præterquam Deo, cum quo actiones consiliaque sua habet quam maxime conjuncta, ulla sit factorum suorum reddenda ratio; ne tamen malevolorum calumnijs ac veritatis obscuratione regium suum nomen istic traducatur, quid ea in re actum fuerit, succincte ad vos perscribam. Postquam igitur Regia Majestas, bene favente ac promovente Deo, causam suam publico eruditissimorum probatissimorumque totius Christianitatis virorum, qui nullis passionibus seu affectibus essent obnoxij, consensu et authoritate tandem terminasset, et ad ipsam veritatem omni ex parte firmasset, cœperunt isti boni viri, quibus res præter expectationem eeciderat, et spes moliendi nova ut jam animo agitarant præcisa fuerat, in alias cogitationes syncere parum animum intendere; quumque optimus Rex, ex vigilantissimi principis officio, quod a Deo acceptum sustinet in terris, sui regni quieti et commodo prospicere, hominumque mores multa jam parte collapsos in melius corrigere conaretur, istud etiam publicum bonum, quoad fieri per eos potuit, simulatae integratatis praetextu adnissi sunt, sed nullo cum fructu, impedire atque pravertere. Hujus eorum sceleris indicia Rex habebat perquam manifesta, sed ut vana semper floccifecit et nihil habuit, sperans aliquando futurum quod hac sua indulgentia hos viros, quos ut non penitus cognitos nomunquam antea in precio habuisset, ad aliquam frugem ac mentis sanitatem revocaret. At ipsi, quibus genuina ambitio, sui ipsius amor, et sapientia quædam singularis diversum persuaserat, optimi principis benignitate ac mansuetudine pertinaciter sunt abusi, et ubi publicum regni concilium, quod Parliamentum vocant, pro regni quiete stabilienda ut ad certa tempora haberetur indictum foret, cœperunt undecunque sollicita cum sedulitate clanculum exquirere, qua de re tractari, quidque in hoc Parlamento ut expediens reipublicæ agi, oporteret; quicquid vero aliorum delatu ex re præterita, rerum usu, vel conjectura, usquam collegissent, id statim communibus consilijs

trutinabant, omnia secus interpretantes quam regni quies ac utilitas exposcebat, eo quidem argumentorum et rationum apparatu, ut rudi plebeculæ non multo cum labore potuisset imponi. Quumque ex conscientia parum sana Regis animum sibi offensum suspicarentur, veriti ne parum commode audacterque quod tacite animo moliebantur tractare possent, ex hijs nonnullos delegerunt, quos audaculos aut linguæ velocitate promptiores aut sui studiosos existimarent, cum his antiquioris amicitiae occasione agebant, familiaribusque colloquijs excipiebant, ac si quos morbo animi laborantes suæ opinionis reperissent, in horum sinum jam antea conceptum pectore venenum evomebant, suæ erga clæmentissimum Regem fidei et observantiæ atque in ipsam patriam charitatis prorsus obliti. Hæc dum in vulgus haberentur, passimque sparsa promiscue essent, haud somnulenter solertissimus Princeps perscrutari cœpit, quibus fundamentis tam impia conjuratio niteretur, quibusque enutriretur authoribus, luce clarius perspexit. Ab hijs integerrimis viris tantam iniquitatem derivari, quam redarguebant non obscuri testes, ultiro citroque missa chyrographa, ipsorumque oris confessio. Hæc et alia quam multa justissimum Principem adegerunt, ut hos rebelles ac degeneres subditos, in patriam ingratos, communi bono adversos, publicæ pacis turbatores, tumultuosos, impios, seditionisque viros, in vincula carceresque conjecterit; nec id prætermittere poterat, nisi patetacta iniquitate, sui officij consulto immemor, permittere voluissest hujus sceleris contagionem, publica cum pernicie, in quam multos transferri. Carceribus autem mancipati tractabantur humanius atque mitius, quam par fuissest pro eorum demeritis, per Regem illis licebat proximorum colloquio et consuetudine frui, ij fuerant illis appositi præscriptique ministri, quos a vinclis immunes antea fidos charosque habebant, id cibi genus eaque condimenta et vestitus ei concedebantur, quæ eorum habitudini ac tuendæ sanitati ipsi consanguinei, nepotes, atque affines, et amici, judicabant esse magis accommoda. Cæterum tanta Regis mansuetudine fides, observantia, veritas, amore recti, apud rebelles istos proditoresque homines usque adeo exolevit, ut constanter inqui esse maluerint, quam sui sceleris poenitentia Regis bonitatem atque clæmentiam experiri; etenim postquam certæ leges statuta atque decreta, re prius multa deliberatione in omnem partem discussa, publica Parliamenti autoritate assensu atque consensu condita præscriptaque fuere, et ab omnibus, nullo discrimine, repugnante nullo, ut sancta, necessaria, toti regno utilia, et cum vera Christi religione potissimum consentientia, admissa atque recepta sunt, soli isti repugnabant, suæ impietatis præsidium semper aliquod fortuitum sibi ex tempore pollicentes; nonnunquam omissa rerum humanarum cogitatione se totos divinarum contemplationi egregie simulabant addictos.

addictos. Interim studia vigilias cogitatusque suos omnes, utcunque carceribus obnoxij, eo intendebant, ut quibuscumque possent fallacijs præstigiosisque argumentis tam sanctas regni leges, tantaque autoritate firmatas, ac rectissime stabilitas, soli ipsi perniciosissimæ seditionis principes in commune malum eluderent, refellerent, atque turbarent. Hujus autem tam impiæ perfidae ac iniquæ affectæ voluntatis extant manifestissima indicia, extant chyrographa ipsa eorum manu carbonibus et creta (si quando deerat atramentum) depicta, ultro citroque clam ab ipsis destinata, neque ipsi ibant inficias complures mutuo acceptas, missasque literas fuisse in ignem conjectas, ut tacitum tutumque suæ iniquitatis servatorem aliud nihil hijs literis conscriptum erat, quam quod ad publicam seditionem potissimum spectaret. Sustinere diutius non potuit mitissimus Rex istorum culpam tam atrocem, legumque examini publico foro et aperto judicio illos commisit. Læsæ majestatis ac rebellionis rei reperti sunt, atque damnati. Supplicium de eis sumptum est longe quidem mitius, quam leges ac judicia præscribant, aut eorum culpa exegisset, ex quorum exemplo ad sanitatem, ad fidem quam multi rediere. Quicunque sano defecatoque est judicio, non obscure hinc perspicere potest, quam præcipitanter Pontifex et curia Romana ullam ex hac re animi offensionem concæperit. Per Regiam Majestatem non stat, quominus Pontifex in suos cardinales, episcopos, eosque omnes in quos jus ullum Sibi vendicat, jure suo utatur, non eorum causam suam æstimat, nec offenditur, si Pontifex aut quivis alias Christianus Princeps ullum de male meritis subditis aut rebellibus supplicium exigat. Iterum igitur atque iterum miratur Pontificem ex hac re tantum indignationis animo concæpisse; sed hanc indignationem, quam tantopere exacerbare videtur Curia, tunc depositam iri putat, quum desierint malevoli suggerere quæ falsa sunt, quumque mentiendi via fuerit illis præclusa, quibus quum nil æque grave atque molestum sit, quam quod suorum consiliorum tam strenua fundamenta dejecta fuerint, id operæ precium non exiguum esse ducunt, ut hoc velamine suas technas callide contegant, privatamque offensionem, si quæ sit, Pontificis causam faciant. Non gravetur itaque Pontifex, si Regia Majestas suo regnique sui jure, si quando expedit, vicissim utatur. Hæc itaque omnia tum Pontifici, tum cæteris omnibus, qui ex horum rebellium suscepto suppicio quicquam offensionis concæperint, sedulo enarrabitis, ut quæ ex falsa auditione animi molestiam imbiberunt, hanc vera audiendo multa mentis tranquillitate quandoque deponant; nihilque omittetis in eorum quæ superius commemoravi enarratione. Etenim Regiæ Majestati gratissimum erit, ne ipsa veritas ut se habet malevalorum calumnijs obscuretur; quod si tantum increbuerit mendax paucorum delatio, ut nullus hac in re amplius

apud illos sit locus veritati relictus, falsas eorum calumnias, quantum cum Deo poterit, Regia Majestas sustinebit, quæ sic regni sui statum, resque omnes undequaque firmatas stabilitasque habet, sic suorum fidem pectora et observantiam compertam tenet, ut injuriam omnem, si qua alicunde inferatur, queat non multo cum labore, Deo bene juvante, refellere et propulsare. Et bene valete. Ex Aula Regia apud Brumham, die  
 Septembbris, 1535.

(*Signatur*) Vester bon<sup>o</sup> amicus,

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Equiti, Domino Gregorio Casalio, &c.

THOM<sup>S</sup> CRUMWELL.

## CCCCXXXVII. KING HENRY VIII. to G. DA CASALE.<sup>2</sup>

(*Signatur*) HENRY R.

*MAGNIFICE Gregori, Nobis &c Salutem. Intelleximus ad componendas res Christianas tractari nunc de congregando Concilio Generale; in qua re quanquam tot insint difficultates, ut aliquem inde effectum brevi sperare non liceat, tamen quoniam et caucius et prudecius ante tempus longius occurrere quam post causam vulneratam remedium querere fiducia illa, quam in vobis repositam habemus, efficit, ut quin alios isthic oratores, quibus plurimum fidimus, vobis tamen soli ista committamus, ut de hoc Concilio ea maturitate, vestra prudencia et dexteritate isthic provideatur, ut Nos et ij in superiores esse possimus, de qua re hic rationem ineuntes invenimus facile id fieri posse, si tempestive anima adverterimus, ut qui ad Consilium nomine Epicoporum et Prelatorum deputandi sunt, ejusmodi constituantur, qui sine ullo negocio nostris partibus favere velint. Quaniam autem vos in*

*et gracia et amicijs plurimum potestis, non dubitamus eciam posse modos et vias facillime reperire, ut in plurimis civitatibus tales constitui et ordinari, qui suffragia sua Nobis consentania sint daturi, de*

<sup>1</sup> Probably the 30th, as on that day the King accredited Bishop Foxe to the Elector of Mentz by a letter which is dated from Brumham.

<sup>2</sup> The parts printed in Italics are in the original in cypher. One word cannot be decyphered, and there occur several literal errors. This letter is here placed according to the date, which has been assigned to it among the official papers for at least a century. But the year, in which it was written, is not shown either in the original, or by any contemporary indorsement. And it may be doubted, whether it was not written in a previous year.

prudencia fide et voluntate vestra nihil dubitamus. Itaque quid possit rogatus ut per proximas literas velit significare, et bene valeatis. Ex regia nostra de Hamptoncourte, die 6 Decembris.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico viro Domino Gregorio de Cassalis, Equiti  
Aurato, nostro apud Sanctissimum Dominum  
nostrum Oratori; Nobis quam plurimum dilecto.

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### CCCCXXXVIII. FRANCIS DA CASALE to GARDYNER.

REVERENDISSIMO Signor mio. Havendo dal Cavalier Casale commissione di scrivere a vostra Signoria le occorrentie, di qua per la presente le fo sapere, come in un Concistoro, che si fece otto giorni sono, non si parlò d'altro che d'una bolla<sup>1</sup>, che si fa contra la Maesta del Re, laquale come sia totalmente espedita, manderanno a publicare et affigere ne i luochi vicini ad Inghilterra; et con essa in forma di monitorio, la Maesta del Re sara citata et monita di comparire, o mandar procuradore fra termine di doi mesi, dapo' che sara fatta l'intimatione a purgare et defendere quanto gli è apposto. Il che non facendo si dichiara la privatione del regno, lo adjudicarlo alloccupante. Hanno fondata questa bolla sopra la causa del matrimonio, et sopra la morte di Roffense, et altre cose nelle quali judicano essersi contrafatto alla chiesa di Roma. Non mando la copia della bulla a vostra Signoria, perche non lhanno anchora formata del tutto. Tendona a farla piu terribile che per loro si potra, et in essa prohibiscono il commercio a tutte altre nationi. Tra Cardinali si è disputato assai sopra a tal materia, et per quanto mi dice, il Cardinale di Parigi esso ha usato grande arte per allungar la cosa, et perche non si venisse alla conclusione, onde ne ha acquistato odio appresso il Papa. Et in verita io so che Monsignor di Parigi ha fatto grandi officij et usate gran parole. Sua Signoria mi dice chel Papa non proponera piu questa bolla in Concistoro per non metterla piu in disputa, temendo forse di qualche pratica desso Parigi, et è di parere che sel Papa la spedisce da sua posta, potra mostrare esser nulla per la clausula che dice "de consensu fratrum." Sopra cio io ho cercato cautamente dintendere l'opinione dalcuni altri Cardinali, cosi domandando se hoggi in C'oncistoro sera

<sup>1</sup> There is a letter from Gregory da Casale to Crumwell on the subject of this bull, written from Bologna on the 27th of December.

parlato piu di questa materia, mhanno detto di no, et che havendo il Papa la loro deliberatione circa la sustancia della bolla, porra spedirla da se senza proporla piu in Concistoro. Io non ho cercato piu minutamente per non scoprir quello, che mha detto Parigi, perche puo esser cosa che porrebbe giovare a qualche tempo. A me pare chel Papa, o da se, o da altri stimulato, habbia grandemente accelerato il procedere contra la Maesta del Re, et non ha voluto dar orecchie a gli officij et ricordi che io ho dati di commisione del Cavaliere mio fratello, contrario di quello che faceva a giorni passati, che tutto pigliava in buona parte. Vostra Signoria sara avisata di quel che seguira.

Dellaltre nuove per brevita di tempo mi rimetterò alla letera che scrivo a Monsignor Valop<sup>1</sup>, dalquale vostra Signoria le sapera. In fino a chi non si vede che tra il Papa et lo Imperadore vadano pratiche strette. Mi raccomando in buona gratia di vostra Signoria, pregandola che occorrendo non resti servirsi di me come daffettinato suo servidore. In Roma, a 20 di Dicembre, 1535.

Di vostra Signoria reverendissima

(*Soscritto*) Servitor FRANCESCO CASALE.

(*Soprascritto*)

Reverendissimo Domino, Episcopo Wintoniensi,  
Serenissimi Regis Angliae &c. Oratori, Domino  
meo colendissimo.

#### CCCCXXXIX. JOHN ELECTOR OF SAXONY and PHILIP LANDGRAVE OF HESSE to KING HENRY VIII.

SALUTEM plurimam dicimus. Non dubitamus, Serenissime Rex, Domine, cognate, et amice charissime, Regiam Dignitatem Vestram hactenus rescivisse, Serenissimo Christierno, Danorum Regi, Duci Holsatiae, &c., domino, cognato, et amico nostro charissimo, a Senatu Populoque Lubicensi sic bellum indictum esse, ut nisi Deus Optimus Maximus, Pater omnis gratiae et misericordiarum, singulari quodam beneficio, praeter multorum expectationem atque opinionem Regi Christierno, adfuisset, rem magis ad seditionem quam ad æquum bellum prolapsuram fuisse. Quum vero Rex Christiernus verbo Dei sanctissimo et doctrinæ Christianæ non solum ex animo faveat, sed etiam in regni sui finibus fideliter predicandum atque adnunciandum, non modo patiatur, verum etiam

Still Ambassador in France.

pie,

pie, diligenter, et religiose curet, constitutis qui Dei gloriam et Christi gratiam pure evangelizent, nosque non secus intelligere possumus, quam Regem erga Lubicens et bonam et justam causam habere, ut eam partem quæ non ultro arma induit, sed coacta bellum suscepit. Nos quoque propter eam quæ nobis cum eo intercedit necessitudinem et veterem et arctam, studio, amore, et benevolentia peculiari eo nomine favemus, et rebus ejus ut et amici et cognati charissimi haud vulgariter adficiuntur. Quamobrem Regiam Dignitatem Vestram vehementer etiam atque etiam rogamus, ne gravetur Regem Christiernum, ut studio et consilio, ita etiam, si res et necessitas sic tulerit, opibus quoque et auxilio juvare. Id quod itidem et nos, Deo autore, ejus tam periculis et incommodis quam causæ meritis haud vulgariter provocati, facere propensi sumus. Quo magis speramus ne Regiam quidem Dignitatem Vestram Regi Christierno defuturam.

Hoc enim a Regia Dignitate tam gratum erit, ut Regi Christierno Danorum, ita utrique nostrum, quam quod gratissimum, Dei benignitate vicissim oblata occasione pari et studio et beneficentia compensandum. Bene et feliciter valeat Regia Dignitas Vestra, una cum suis omnibus. Datum Smalcaldiæ, sub utriusque nostrum annulis signatorijs, die 23 mensis Decembris, anno Domini 1535.

(*Signatur*) Jo: FRIDRICH: Chur Furst: PHILIPS L.V. HESSEN m. ss:<sup>1</sup>  
m: pp: ss<sup>t</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi, Heinrico  
Octavo, Regi Angliæ et Franciæ, Hiberniæ  
Domino, cognato, amico, et Domino suo  
charissimo.

<sup>1</sup> There remain in the State Paper Office copies of the Petition from these Princes to Henry VIII. and of the King's answer, which are printed by Burnet, Vol. III. Collections, pp. 103–106; but they do not appear to be the identical copies which Burnet used.

The Petition is in the handwriting of Sir Ralph Sadleyr, and, though agreeing in substance with the printed copy, differs from it in so many minute particulars, that it seems to be a different translation. It differs also in the number of articles, limiting it to 13, which seems to be the correct number, as it corresponds with the number answered. The difference arises from Burnet's dividing the 10th article into two, whereby the total is increased to 14. Both the M.S. and printed copies agree in giving Christmas day, Anno Domini 1536, as the date of the petition, which, according to the German practice of that period, being reckoned the first of the year, corresponds with Christmas Day 1535 of our calendar, and is therefore coeval with the date of the letter in the text.

The copy of the answer, which is in the State Paper Office, corresponds almost verbatim with the printed one, but cannot be that used by Burnet, because, though it has a hiatus at the commencement of the last paragraph, it does not extend to two lines as the latter is stated to do.

CCCCXL. F. DA CASALE *to* CRUMWELL.

MOLTO magnifico et excellente Signor mio. Dal Cavalier Casale, mio fratello, ho havuto commissione a giorni passati di far opra appresso il Papa, che soprasedesse di publicare la bolla formata contra la Maesta del Re. Et questo perche esso mio fratello appettava Messer Gurone dInghilterra, alquale come havesse parlato, subito verrebbe a Roma, et haverebbe fatto capace il Papa, essere stato suo servitio lhavere in questa cosà sopraseduto. Io ho fatto fare questo officio col Papa dal secretario et da Messer Latino Juvenale, i quali anchora che mhabbiano mostrato chel Papa è totalmente risoluto fare in questa causa, quanto per lui si puo, contra la Maesta del Re, nondimeno infino a qui non ha fatto altro: et il secretario et Messer Latino piu volte mhanno domandato, quando sara tornato Messer Gurone, et che se ne intende, et quando verra il Cavaliero? Il che dimostra che harieno piacere dhavere occasione di soprasedere. Il Papa si fece dare la bolla dalli Cardinali Ghimucci et Simonetta, il che ha causato, che io non ho potuto haverne copia da mandare a vostra Signoria. Et questo mha fatto temere, che non volendo piu proponerla in Concistoro, fosse per spedirla da sua posta, et mandare ad affigerla a luochi propinqui avanti che io ne potessi dar notitia a vostra Signoria. Nondimeno il Datario<sup>1</sup> mha quasi accertato la bolla non essere anchora spedita, laquale come per unaltra mia letera scrissi a vostra Signoria contiene che se fra certo tempo terminato Sua Maesta non comparira personalmente, o per suo legitimo procuradore in Roma, a defendersi et purgarsi degli judicij che gli sono contra, et delle cose che ha fatte circa la morte di Roffense, et circa lheresia, che cosi la chiamano; et che se non havera levate le constitutioni fatte contra la Sede Apostolica, s'intendera essere incorso nella privatione del regno, ilquale si concede a chi loccupara: et si permette a ciascuno andare alli danni desso regno come contra infideli, interdicendo il commercio a qualunque Christiano, et assolvendo dal perjurio li vasalli se faranno contra il giuramento che hanno dato a Sua Maesta.

Dello Imperadore non s'intende altro, salvo che come havera posto fine al parlamento che tiene in Napoli con quei signori, che vi sono, verra a Roma, il che potra essere al fine di Genaro. Niente di manco non sene sa certezza di bocca d'esso Imperadore.

Al Duca di Firenze IImperdore fece gran carezze, quando fu arrivato la, et gli disse che andasse a vedere sua mogliere, laquale è la figliuola bastarda

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomew Guidiccioni, who in 1539 became a Cardinal.

dello Imperadore. Queste parole sono contrarie ad altre buone parole, che ha date alli doi Cardinali, et a molti altri fuorusciti Fiorentini, che sono andati a Sua Maesta.

Io non posso comprendere, che fra il Papa et Cesare sieno pratiche di molta importantia.

D'Alamagna è tornato il Nuntio del Papa, ilquale mha dato nuova del Protonotario mio fratello, ilquale fu ritenuto la : et mha assecurato della vita sua, della qual cosa mai haveva havuto vera certezza. Dice bene, che pensa, che Messer Andrea Corsino sia morto. A mio fratello non hanno mai voluto, che persona alcuna parli. Ben dicono che come sia seguita la pace fra il Re de Romani et il Re Giovanni lo liberaranno ; la qual pace è a strette pratiche, anchora, che io ne dal Re Giovanni, ne da suoi non ne habbia havuto, ne possa haverne, notitia alcuna. Dubito bene che stringendo il Re Giovanni la pace non sia desperato delle cose del Turco, overo che per la morte del Gritti il Re tema tornando il Turco in Hungaria di non venirli nelle mano. A Vienna erano venuti doi Vescovi Hungari delli primi, et servidori del Re Giovanni, luno per venire al Papa, laltro allo Imperadore. Il Re de Romani non vuole per conto alcuno che passino. Certamente è cosa degna di molta compassione, che quel povero principe in mezzo de suoi nemici non possa havere ne ajuto ne favore da nissuno. Io non manco qui di dolermi, ma non sono inteso. Nova non m'occorre altro, se non humilmente raccommandarmi in buona gratia di vostra Signoria, pregandola che si ricordi ; che le sono deditissimo servidore. In Roma, alli 10 di Genaro, 1536.

Di vostra Signoria

(*Soscritto*) Servitor FRANCESCO CASALE.

(*Soprascritto*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumvel, Serenissimi  
Regis Angliæ &c. Secretario, &c. Domino meo  
observando.

#### CCCCXLI. G. DA CASALE to CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem. Superioribus literis, quas direxi in manus Domini Vallop<sup>1</sup>, scripsi ad Dominationem vestram quicquid erat hic novi de ijs, quæ Cæsar ad bellum parabat, deque ejus adventu, de quo nihil plane certi habebatur. Alium deinde super alium discessus diem

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

divulgarunt. Adhuc tamen nihil certi de die. Pro certo tamen habetur Romam venturum omnino esse Cæsarem. Illud insuper affirmant coram plerisque principibus viris Cæsarem jurasse hoc bellum Se non prius dimissurum, quam aut Ipse, aut Rex Gallorum, ad privatam conditionem fuerit redactus. Sed tamen Cæsariani Pontifici et Cardinalibus persuadere volunt Cæsarem scripsisse ad Regem Gallorum, vel per Oratorem postulasse, ut Ammiratum Galliæ Romam mittat: quod an verum sit, ignoro. Mirabor potius Imperatorem post tot minas ita cito humilem futurum. Quod si fortasse id fecit, ideo fecisse credi potest ut alicui suspicionem injiciat, utque bellum moretur, Christianissimo Rege interim sumptus faciente. Ut autem intelligi potest, Antonius Leyva probaret rem a Cæsare aliquantum protrahi, ideo ut possit milites quos vellet interea cogere, Taurinumque et Vercellum munire, quæ nunc oppida parum firma sunt. Sciat autem Dominatio vestra omnes tam Cæsarianos quam alios, quicunque harum rerum sunt periti, sine ulla dubitatione censere quod, si Galli bellum magnis viribus susceperint, illudque in longum protraxerint, nec sese præliandi necessitatí commiserint, victoriam ipsorum fore. Non enim Cæsari facultates sunt bellum diutius sustinendi, si maximis viribus sit resistendum. Unde omnes credunt Regem Christianissimum acturum lente ac mature, exercitumque in Sabauidia et Pedemontana regione continente satis habiturum. Quod si effecerit, Cæsari nulla erit alia spes, nisi ultima conari. Cumque alium in Franciam irrumpendi aditum non sit inventurus, cogetur classem instruere, illa majorem quam habuit anno superiore, et magnum exercitum in Provinciam vel in Linguadocam mittere, eo consilio quod in illis regionibus nulla sint oppida satis firma. Quanvis autem hujusmodi conditio temeritatis et desperationis plena videatur, sciendum est Cæsarianos nullam meliorem existimare, si Galli, quod dixi, fecerint; idest, si exercitum validum in Pedemontanis habuerint, et Genuam regnumque Neapolitanum infestari fecerint. Hinc igitur intelligi potest, quanti intererit hoc uti consilio. Cæterum Cæsariani in eo summam spem collocarunt, quod putant Gallos moram non esse laturos, neque diutius in hac sententia permansuros. Sperant enim aliquo stratagemate se consequi posse, ut eos ab instituta ratione divertere cogant. Quod Cæsar longo tempore bellum tolerare nequeat, mihi quidem non dubium videtur. Hoc autem ex illis colligo, quæ alias observavi. Nam quoties Cæsariani vicerunt, ita erant attriti et exhausti, ut victoriam adepturi nequaquam fuerint, si hostes eorum bellum in longum duxissent. Papiæ vero animadvertis, capto etiam Rege, et bello profligato, multum negotiij cum ipsis Cæsarianis fuisse. Debebat enim militibus Cæsar plus quadringentis millibus aureorum, nec habebat unde solveret. Quod si eo tempore bellum permanisset, itemque post Lautrechi mortem et tantam cladem acceptam, si Galli

Appuliæ

Appuliæ oppida retinuissent, quod noluit Rex Christianissimus filiorum recuperandorum cupidus, ipsi Cæsariani fatentur Gallos superiores futuros fuisse. Ex his animadverti potest, quid sit futurum, si Galli prælij committendi aut quicquam temere faciendi necessitatem, quod antehac minime fecerunt, subterfugerint. Si apud Regem Christianissimum locus esset meis consilijs, qualiacunque illa sunt, suaderem, nollet Ipse cum exercitu venire, quemadmodum venturus dicitur. Vereor enim ne honoris et gloriæ causa contra recte gerendi belli rationem sit facturus, quemadmodum Papiæ fecit, unde, ne forte honoris maculam acciperet, noluit exercitum recipere, quod illius clavis causa fuit. Id autem Cæsariani facere non solent. Memini Marchionem Pescariæ dicere, cum a Massilia exercitum reduceret, exercitus persæpe victores propterea extitisse, quod se prudenter recepissent; et quod ipse in eo genere, et ad Vicentiam, et in alijs quoque locis fecit, recensebat: honoremque in fine belli esse dicebat, qua ratione tandem victoram est adeptus. Audio Antonium Leyvam ejusdem esse sententiæ, et illud in primis Cæsari suadere, ne Ipse in Lombardiam ire velit.

Barbarussa ante suum ex Africa discessum Turcarum præsidia locis aliquot imposuit, quæ Rex Tunetij expugnaturus cum aliquot milibus hominum exivit. Turcæ autem, Arabum quoque adjuncto auxilio, Regem fuderunt, compluresque interfecerunt, et Tunetum sunt ingressi. Rex vero se in arce Tunetij inclusit, ad eosque, qui Guletam retinent, subsidium petitum misit, qui responderunt, satis superque sibi negotij fore ad Guletam defendendam, nanque sexcenti tantummodo pedites sunt.

Post illa quæ alijs literis scripsi ad Dominationem vestram, Pontificem, et Cardinalem Palmerium<sup>1</sup> mihi dixisse, idem Palmerius postea in eandem sententiam mecum locutus est. Preterea Petrus Ludovicus, Pontificis filius, sæpe mihi ostendit se quidem optare ut inter Pontificem et Serenissimum Regem nostrum res componeretur, et pristina rediret amicitia, idque ut Pontifex tutius fidei Regis Christianissimi et Serenissimi Regis nostri Se committere posset. Hi certe ea re maxime commoventur, quod animadvertis bellum, quod Christianissimus Pontifici Se gesturum significavit, eo pertinere, ut et Pontifex et hæc Sedes a servitute liberetur, nec ipsi melius quicquam scirent optare. Vident insuper Cæsarem non posse diutius bellum tolerare, nisi aliam pecuniæ facultatem nactus fuerit, aut Se ad res ecclesiasticas suorum regnum convertat, idest, a clero exigat. Quare non verentur quin Cæsar decimas et subsidia aliaque generis ejusdem sit a Pontifice flagitaturus, sine quo neque ex Hispania, neque ex Regno Neapolitano, neque aliunde, poterit numum harum rerum

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Matthew Palmer, Archbishop of Matera, made a Cardinal in 1527.

accipere. Per Pontificem vero quod vult, consequetur. Cæsariani quidem ad hunc certe finem dicunt hoc bellum contra infideles gerendum esse; Barbarus nanque cum classe venturum a Rege Gallorum vocatum. Qua de causa ægre poterit Pontifex Cæsaris postulata rejicere. Quod si sua cum Rege Christianissimo, cumque Serenissimo Rege nostro, stabiliverit, et bellum recte procedere cognoverit, audebit Cæsari omnia denegare, et Se excusare, rebusque sic se habentibus Eum parvifaciet. Proculdubio hi vellent hujusmodi amicitiam inire, meque facere quod superioribus literis scripsi. Ego tamen, rem in longum ducere nullam meam esse istic autoritatem dicens, ob ea quæ ab hac Sede sunt commissa, ac velle expectare aliquid ex Anglia literarum, ut quo in statu res sint cognoscam: quamobrem Dominationem vestram rogo, velit me statim certiore facere, num velit Regia Majestas me Pontifici satisfacere, vel mittendo patruellem meum, vel aliud aliquid agendo; an potius placeat me huic rei silentium imponere. Optime valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 24 Martij, 1536.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*)      S<sup>9</sup> GREGORI<sup>9</sup> CASALI<sup>9</sup>

*(Superscribitur)*

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumvel, Serenissimi  
Regis Angliæ Secretario, [*Consilia*]rio, &c.  
Domino meo observando.

#### CCCCXLII. G. DA CASALE to CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem. Superioribus diebus ad Dominationem Vestram, et per Galliam, et per Germaniam, literas misi, omnibus de rebus quas scribendas habui, in primis quo animo esset Pontifex. Puto literas in manus vestras pervenisse, nullum enim adhuc tabellarijs impedimentum fuit. Venetijs deinde ad me venit unus ex fratribus mei familiaribus, ex quo singillatim omnia cognovi, quæ acta sunt super conditionibus foederis inter Cæsarem Venetosque initi. Quæ res ita se habet. Venetorum Respublica, quemadmodum alias scripsi, in duas factiones disjuncta est. Factio autem Venetiarum Duci adversa potentior primum fuit, cum Oratoribus mandatum fuit, ut res quo pacto fecerunt componerent. Deinde cum Venetijs rata habenda essent, quæ fecissent Oratores; jamque certo scirent, Gallos in Italiam omnino venturos. Dicas factio prevaluit, adeo ut Senatus universus consenserit male in eo factum fuisse, quod cum Cæsare ejusmodi conditionibus convenisset, illasque ratas habendas non esse. Nihilominus et princeps et ipsius factio sic

sic decreverunt, cum errorem unum in admittendis conventionibus fecissent, stultum fore altero errore illum emendare velle; ideo accipiendum potius quam irritum faciendum, quod ipsorum jussu transactum fuisse. Idque decernentes illo animo fuerunt, ut sex millia peditum, quae Cæsari promiserunt, minime sint daturi, nisi prius Cæsar Ducem Mediolani dederit, qui eis probetur. Quanvis autem in conditionibus scriptum non sit, Ducem Mediolani hoc tempore potissimum eligendum esse; dicunt tamen Cæsarem Oratoribus idipsum verbis promisisse. Accidit postea, ut Cæsar Venetis obtulerit, nominent ipsi quem optant Mediolani Ducem. At Veneti responderunt, sese eam nominationem Majestati Suæ relinquere. Sic ergo responderunt, vel quia non habent quem sibi nominandum censeant, vel quia causam aliquam volunt habere, ut de Cæsare queri possint. Nec certe in Italia aliquis est ad Ducatum illum obtainendum idoneus. Florentini exules, quanvis eos spem decepturam puto, sperant tamen sese in patriam reducendos esse, ea conditione ut aliquem statum et dominium Duci Alexandro emant. Cæsar suum adventum admodum festinavit. Dies urbem ingrediendi dictus erat 8 Aprilis, et ut properant die quinto ingredietur, unde vix perfici possunt quæ sunt ad ipsius honorem parata. Cæsariani quoque uno ore dicunt non esse usque ad festum Pascatis Romæ mansurum, et magnopere cupere ostendunt cito Mantuam pervenire, ubi statuit residere ex Ducis Urbini consilio, quod a multis reprehenditur. Dicunt enim Ducem commodi sui causa id suasisse, meliusque et honestius Imperatorem Neapoli in regno suo fuisse mansurum, quo ex loco classis Turcarum conatus melius opportuniusque impedire potuisset. Credunt enim Turcas quantum classe valeant ostensuros, idque terrestri quoque exercitu, nisi pax inter Ferdinandum Joannemque Reges constitueretur. Oratores Regis Joannis Romam redierunt re infecta, sed certa spe de pace obtainenda bonis et honestis conditionibus. Cæsar rem hanc Romam rejicit, ut Ei Pontifex suam autoritatem interponat. Ipsi Oratores a nobis quotidie certiores facti fuerunt, et Neapoli et hic, de Gallorum expeditione. Ostendimus optimam occasionem eos habere, pacem non admittere, nisi cum maxima utilitate Regis sui. Ipsi quidem mihi dixerunt non esse pacem accepturos, nisi Regi Joanni regnum Hungariæ integrum relinquatur. Fortasse ita convenient, ut alias bis regnum Hungariæ cum familia Austriæ convenit, ut Rege decadente absque virili prole regni jus in familiam Austriæ deveniat: quæ tamen conventiones semper frustra fuerunt. Dicunt se ab Imperatore perhumane fuisse tractatos, Eumque sibi dixisse, non abituros, nisi ex ipsorum sententia re composita, ægre quoque tulisse fratrem Ferdinandum adversus eos durum admodum ac difficilem fuisse, et in eo præsertim quod eos ad Se transire non facile permiserit. Inter reliqua Cæsar eis dixit Sibi quidem gratum fore, si Rex Joannes aliquam ex mulieribus

mulieribus ipsi Cæsari propinquis uxorem duceret; Se tamen Ei permettere, ut quancunque voluerit uxorem ducat.

Orator Serenissimi Regis nostri, qui apud Cæsarem est, fasciculum literarum Neapoli ad me misit, quem una cum his literis mitto. Optime valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 3 Aprilis, 1536.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*) S<sup>o</sup> GREGORI<sup>o</sup> CASALI<sup>o</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumvel, Serenissimi  
Angliae et Francie Regis Secretario, Consiliario,  
&c. Domino meo observando.

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### CCCCXLIII. PROCEEDINGS IN THE CONSISTORY, 18 APRIL 1536.<sup>1</sup>

SERMO publice in Consistorio habitus per Carolum Quintum Imperatorem.

Aaudio multos perperam accepisse verba quæ heri dixi, interpretando Me ea dixisse, ut pacem excluderem, durioresque, quam sint, animos redderem; id quod a Me longe abest, mallem enim linguam Mihi abscindi, quam quicquam contra pacem dixisse, quæ tam utilis est toti Christianitati. Ego ea verba feci, ut cognosceretur bonus animus meus, non ut læderem Regem Gallorum. Nam, quum Pontifex sit utriusque nostrum communis parens et patronus, non essem ausus in hujusmodi verba prorumpere absque Ejus licentia; et ante quam reciperem Eucharistiam, habebam in animo dicere ea quæ dixi, siue fuissem animo alieno adversus Christianissimum, non recepissem Eucharistiam; nam licet in Me sint imperfectiones, et peccata, non sum tamen adeo malus Christianus, ut in peccato mortali constitutus ad tantum sacramentum ausus fuissem accedere. Conquestus sum tamen Regem Gallorum non uti erga Me

<sup>1</sup> From an extract of a letter in Vitellius, B. XIV. No. 192, it appears that the Emperor reached Rome on the 5th of April, whither he was attended by Richard Pate, Archdeacon of Lincoln, who had been sent by Henry to Spain some time previous; but of the objects of the mission, or of the time when it commenced, there is no trace. The first notice we have of Pate's being at Madrid is in an unimportant letter of the 11th of December; and there is no other information of his proceedings until his arrival at Rome. On the 12th of April Pate had his first audience of the Emperor at that city, and reported to the King the substance of it in cypher at great length on the 14th. (*Ibid.* 177–189.) On the 17th the Emperor attended the Consistory, and made a long speech, in which he inveighed strongly against the French King. The substance of this speech is given in the Harl.ian, 4994. p. 52. It gave great offence to the French Ambassadors, the Bishop of Mâcon, and De Veilly, as appears by their letter of the 19th (Vitellius, B. XIV. No. 196.); and in consequence the Emperor on the 18th made the speech given in the text, and left Rome on the same day, *Ibid.* No. 189.

ijs honorabilibus terminis, quibus Ego usus fuisse erga Illum, et si Ille de Me eam caperet fiduciam, quam convenit, cognosceret quantum Ei satisfacere cupiam.

Primus articulus mei sermonis fuit, ut ostenderem, bella præterita non fuisse exorta causa meorum majorum, aut mea.

Secundus, ut Rex Christianissimus intelligeret, quod, quum bellum moverit, meumque vassallum afflixerit, cogebat eum defendere; quod non solum facere tenebat pro eo, qui tam arcte mihi conjunctus est, ut est Dux Sabaudiæ, sed etiam pro quolibet meo vassallo: nam si mei vassali tenentur vitam pro Me exponere, id quod faciunt, debeo Ego vicissim pro eis vitam exponere.

Conquestus sum præterea de cessione, quam Eum habuisse dicitur a Duce Gheldriæ meo vassallo, deque multis alijs rebus similibus, Eique præfixi tempus viginti dierum ad Se resolvendum, an vellet pacem, quam Ego summopere cupio. Quod Egomet personam meam obtulerim, non id feci malignitate ulla motus adversus Illum, aut desiderio pugnandi, neque ut animositatem ostenderem, etenim quilibet vir probus in primis vitare debet periculum singularis certaminis, eoque magis cum res sit cum tali viro agenda, qualis est Rex Christianissimus; qui, præterquam quod est animosus, exercitatus, bene dispositus, ac strenuus, habet etiam ingentem vim magnæ personæ conjunctam, adeo quod tantum esset periculum, quanta spes vincendi. Verum id Ego hac de causa obtuli, ut casu quo pax, quam Ego in primis tantopere procuro, stabiliri nequiret, hac una via obviaretur tot ruinis orituris in Christianitatis causa belli hujus. Sum etenim non solum personam meam periculo expositurus, verum etiam Me ipsum in sacrificium oblatus pro salute Christianitatis, ut bonum principem decet.

Nolle aliquem putare Me aliquo metu moveri ad pacem tantopere procurandam. Evidem mallem quicquid possideo, et vitam quoque amittere, quam ad aliquid timiditate condescendere. Verum est quod pacem desidero pro salute Christianitatis. Nam præterquam quod septa Lutherana, aliæque septæ hæreticorum, ita augentur, ut eis prospicere nequibit, neque principes, quum inter se sint discordes, in ea re authoritatem habebunt, imo erunt vassalli vassallorum, hoc est malorum hominum, loquor de malis principibus, nam bonus princeps debet esse vassallus suorum bonorum vassallorum, in primisque eos tutari, eorumque commodis providere. Ad hæc veniet Turca, siue inter Nos bellum sequatur, is qui vicerit, remanebit adeo debilis, ut sit ipsi Turcae præda futurus. Quod ad Me attinet, si erit bellum, omni studio conabor vires meas in Regem Gallorum, ut incepi, intendere; siue Turca Me molestaverit, omittam provisionem adversus illum, quum nequeam duobus in locis esse, et Me tutari, bellumque contra Gallos perseguar. Spero tamen, contitus

mea

mea optima dispositione, et bona mente, quam Regem Gallorum habere dicunt, interveniente etiam authoritate Pontificis Pauli, qui vere vocari potest vir probus, et verus pastor, verusque Italus, et Romanus, quod pax succedet, et quod quemadmodum Rex Christianissimus et Ego fuimus in causa infinitorum malorum, ita etiam a Nobis tot bona procedent, ut inconvenientia secuta compensare valeant. Et Ego talem navabo operam, ut perspiciatur, per Me non stetisse, quominus pax succederet, servareturque inter Me et. Regem Gallorum affinitas, quem loco boni fratri, si Ipse voluerit, sum habiturus.

Pontifex tunc respondit. Nos sermonem hesternum Vestrae Majestatis in bonam partem accepimus, et credimus quod processerit ab eodem bono animo, quem Ipsa dicit, de quo multum illam laudamus, et commendamus. Verum tamen charum habuimus, quod hodie, ad resolvendas quasdam falsas opiniones, Majestas Vestra animum suum super præfato sermone declaraverit, ac etiam ut obviaret [n]e qua Regi scriberentur, quæ majorem duritiem causare possent. Utriusque Vestrum Majestates inter alias gratias a Deo Sibi concessas, hanc particularem habent, quæ multum refert, videlicet, quod Divina Majestas ambobus Vobis Christianitatem commisit ; quantoque majori laudi Vestris Majestatibus erit bene uti divinis gratiis, tanto majori crimi et vituperio Illis daretur, si Majestates Vestrae in causa forent ruinæ Christianitatis, quæ earum curæ commissa est. Ex sermonibus habitis cum Majestate Vestra percepimus optimum suum animum erga pacem, et ex ijs, quæ scribuntur, credimus Regem Christianissimum esse conformem, beneque speramus.

Quod Majestas Vestra Personam suam obtulerit, eo animo interpretamur, quo ab ea factum est, faxit Deus ne sit opus hoc inconvenienti.

Dominus de Vigly, Orator Regius apud Cæsarem, de hoc singulari certamine dixit, præterquam quod esset damnosum Christianitati, quod etiam prohibetur lege divina.

Subjunxit postea Pontifex Se non deesse, neque defuturum, omnemque navare operam ut pax succedat, Seque orare Deum, et oraturum cum Sacro Collegio totoque clero, ut taliter mentes horum duorum Principum inspiret, ut simul convenient, pacemque amplectantur.

Respondit Dominus de Vigly. Ego certus sum mentem Vestrae Majestatis dispositam esse ad pacem, idemque de Rege suo fratre et Domino meo sentio ; sed hanc video difficultatem, videlicet, talem ineundi formam, ut sit confidentia inter partes.

Ad hæc ait Cæsar. Ego, quod ad Me attinet, nunquam sum omissurus, quicquid per Me fieri poterit pro pace obtainenda, ut ostendam per Me non stetisse, licetque oporteat dare statum Mediolani, dabo. Verum tamen persona Ducis Aureliacensis non est idonea, nullumque est remedium, quod Ego cum meis

meis confederatis id tuto concedere possim causa rerum Florentinarum et Ducatus Urbini, quibus rebus nulla alia via prospici posset nisi dissensione, quæ nihil operaretur. Licetque Rex Christianissimus in tractatu Madrieensi et Cameracensi cesserit juribus status Mediolani, rerumque Italiae, idque cum juramento, et in verbo Regio (quod pluris refert), necnon et Dominus Admiraldus mihi dixerit Placentiae, Regem non esse amplius Se intermissurum in rebus Italiae, eamque devovisse diabolo, quia fuerat Galliae Gallorumque ruina; tamen video, his non obstantibus, Regem denuo rebus Italiae intendere. Verum hoc non obstante, sum contentus dare statum Mediolani Duci Angulemensi, Regis Christianissimi tertio genito.

Dominus de Vigly respondit, quod quum Sua Majestas superioribus mensibus ad suum Oratorem in Galliam scripserit literas, quas dictus Orator legit Regi, quibus scribebat se contentari dare Ducatum Mediolani Duci Aureliacensi, dummodo secura redderetur de observatione capitulationis, videretur nunc difficile Regi removeri a proposito.

Cæsar respondit. Si recte consideraveritis conditiones quas Ego scripsi, videbitis, quod non teneor servare id, quod in illis literis continetur; nam primum volebam, quod Rex cessaret ab infestando Duce Sabaudiae, utque hoc fieri posset consensu meorum confederatorum; quumque Ipse jam bonam partem Pedemontanae regionis Ducis Sabaudiae abstulerit, manifeste apparet, Eum noluisse acceptare quæ obtuli. Quæ quum Rex non acceptaverit, non amplius Illi teneor, et via cautionis ob res Urbini et Florentiae est impossibilis. Quibus de causis mei confederati [*nunquam*] consentient, et nisi illi consenserint, quo pacto possum Ego id præstare sine eorum consensu?

Respondit Dominus de Vigly. Ego nolo alicui rei repugnare, quam Majestas Vestra dixit; tamen, si Ei placet, cum Ejus satisfactione, non omittam replicare hoc, quod, si Majestas Vestra persenserat ad id nullam esse viam securitatis, superfluum fuit offerre Regi impossibilia.

Cæsar ait. Mihi evenit id, quod hominibus synceris et liberis evenire solet, quibus interdum nimis libere offerre nocet. Vos nunc insistitis in eo quod proposuram; sed, si recte consideretis quicquid dixi, non amplius tenear id servare: utque syncere vobiscum loquar, Dux Aureliacensis uxorem habet, eamque neptem Clementis Septimi; si illi darem statum Mediolani, quum ipse a nullo alio dependeat nisi a Rege ejus patre, esset totus Gallus; neque Ego, neque alii mei confederati, de eo unquam fidere possemus. Sed si detur status Mediolani Duci Angulemensi, accipiet in uxorem meam neptem, eritque partim Gallus, partimque Imperialis, adeo quod omnes possent contentari de

eo. Teneor forsitan Ego contrahere affinitatem cum filiis Regis Gallorum; id quod, si essent filii sororis meæ<sup>1</sup> videretur verisimile. Verum nulla mihi cum illis intercedit sanguinis conjunctio; ad idque quod facio, moveor solum ob quietem Christianitatis, et quis erit, qui (auditis hijs differentijs) non adscribat culpam Regi?

Postea Pontifex visus est acquiescere, et approbare opinionem Cæsaris; Qui tandem inquit, rem nunquam vidi pulchriorem: ad me attinet rogare Regem Galliæ, ut accipiat statum Mediolani pro uno ex suis filiis.

Postremo dum descenderet in scalis, dixit Pontifici hæc verba. Pater Sancte, Sanctitas Vestra pro certo habeat, quod si Christianissimus de Me fiduciam cœperit, rebusque honestis adhæserit. Ei ostendam quantum et pacem, et Ipsi satisfacere cupiam, &c<sup>a</sup>.

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#### CCCCXLIV. G. DA CASALE to CRUMWELL.<sup>2</sup>

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem. Cardinalis Lothringius cum summa festinatione hinc discessit. Quod ex eo alijsque qui cum eo locuti sunt accepi, Pontifex multis sane rationibus ei persuasit Regem Christianissimum malo, uti consilio, nisi pacem accipiat hac ipsa conditione, ut Angolem Dux Mediolani fiat, præsertim cum Cæsaris res in optimo statu nunc sint constitutæ, multique ei amici sint, pauci vero inimici, qui Christianissimo auxilio sint futuri. Pontifex hanc ita obfirmatam Regis sententiam æquo animo ferre non potest, videns pacem Sibi ex manibus labi, quam omnino Se compositurum confidebat. Itaque dicit Regem Gallorum fatis trahi ad Se suaque perdenda. Hinc autem viam [*parat*] Cæsari ad omnia suæ ditioni subjicienda. Omnes e[*tenim*], quorum ingenij est talia judicare, quique Cæsaris et Christianissimi opes norunt, insaniam existimant hanc ob causam Regem pacis occasionem prætermittere. Revera, quod alias quoque scripsi, vires Gallorum Regis nunc multo minores sunt quam fuerunt ante duos annos, adeo ut vix tertiam partem earum virium reliquam esse nunc dici possit. Jam poterit Christianissimus cognoscere consilium bonum a Serenissimo Rege nostro annis superioribus Sibi datum fuisse.

Eleanor, second wife of Francis I.

<sup>2</sup> Injured by damp and slightly mutilated.

Ex ijs, que Constantinopoli afferuntur, appetet hoc anno Turcas minime futuros Cæsari molestos. Barbarussa Rhodum cum non magna classe trajecit, non tam ut bellum inferat, quam ut oras maritimas tueatur. Turcis Persæ non intermittunt molesti esse. Cæsar exercitum validissimum comparavit, magnamque in eo impensam facit. Vereor ne Galli male fecerint, quod Cæsari tantum temporis dederunt ad exercitum parandum, nisi pax sequatur. Lothoringius, inter reliqua quæ Pontifici narravit de viribus Christianissimi, dixit Serenissimum Regem nostrum cum eo facere in rebus omnibus. Idem Lothoringius et Orator Gallus mecum sunt conquesti, quod aliquot Cardinales ipsis dixerunt me collegamque meum dixisse Serenissimum Regem nostrum et Cæsarem amicos esse, et aliquibus conditionibus pacem inter Ipsos pactam fuisse. Ita autem id dicebant, ut ostenderent sese cupere non modo talia a nobis non dici, verum etiam contrarium affirmari. Respondi, non modo si Cardinalis quispiam, sed etiam si Pontifex dicat nos talia fuisse locutos, quod scilicet inter Serenissimum Regem nostrum et Cæsarem conditions ullæ intervenerint, dicturum eum mendacia loqui, nec fuisse nos ista locutos, nec pacis conditiones cum eo intervenire potuisse, quocum bellum nondum fuerit. Haud equidem ignoro quid velint a nobis dici. Id tamen ego dicturus non sum. Foret enim ijs contrarium, quæ Regia Majestas, ut Imperatori diceremus, mandavit; ideo tale responsum dedi, nec aliud quod dem habeo, nisi quid fortasse in hoc genere jusserit Regia Majestas. Lothoringius discedens iterum me rogavit, scriberem se pro pacis negotio ad Christianissimum redire, et quicquid super eo agetur Serenissimum Regem nostrum certiore factum iri.

Quoad conditionem illam, de qua in alteris literis script[um est,] Delphinem a patre cum exercitu mittendum, P[ontifex] nunc secus loquitur. Dicit enim non videri fieri posse ut Delphin mittatur, sed potius Aureliensis mitti posse.

Ex Pontificis Secretario cognovi Anglum quendam, Philippum nomine, ad Pontificis familiaritatem aspirare opera Cardinalis Caraccioli, qui cum ut virum doctum nobilemque commendat, atque Thomæ Moro consanguineum et necessarium fuisse, nuncque Serenissimum Regem eum persequi, propterea quod Sedis Apostolice autoritatem asseruisset. Dixerat mihi meus collega<sup>1</sup> se Regiae Majestatis literas habere, quibus mandatum erat ut de hoc homine cum Cæsare loqueretur. Ideo Secretario dixi irridens, hunc humili loco natum esse hominem nequam, et nebulonem magnum, qui sibi per dolos et fallacias victum soleat

<sup>1</sup> This may be Richard Pate, who wrote to Henry from Rome on the 12th of April (Vitellius, B. XIV. leaf 177.), and joined G. da Casale in another letter of the 18th. Ibid. leaf 189.

quærere. Qui si per dolum hoc pacto irrepserit, séque in hac aula insinuaverit, quicunque ex Anglia latrones exulabunt, Romam venturos, dicturosque se hujus sedis causa ejectos esse. Caveant igitur ne stolidi videantur, derideanturque, nec propterea quod ridiculi futuri sunt, si hunc acceperint, minus creditum iri, Pontificem malo animo id fecisse, quanvis mihi longe alio animo Se erga Regiam Majestatem esse ostenderit. Hanc ego rem irridendo elusi, ostendique levitatem et stultitiam fore, si hunc Philippum acceperint, ut eos pudeat talem habere familiarem. Secretarius Pontificis gratum sibi esse dixit, quod talia monuissem. Super hac re loquar etiam cum Cardinale Caracciolo, qui olim mihi amicus fuit: loquar præterea cum nonnullis alijs Cardinalibus, hujus fraudem eodem pacto irridens.

Una cum his erit literarum exemplum, quas calendis Maij scripsi<sup>1</sup>, et per tabellarium Gallorum misi. Optime valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 3 Maij, 1536.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*) S<sup>9</sup> GREGORI<sup>9</sup> CASALI<sup>9</sup>.

#### CCCCXLV. MONT to CRUMWELL.<sup>2</sup>

ETSI Oratorum nostrorum litteris, colendissime Patrone, facile omnia intelliges que hic apud nos geruntur, quoquo loco et conditione singula queque posita sunt, tamen observantia et amor quo tibi parenti et domino meo devinctus sum, ferre nequaquam potuit ut hunc nuncium ad Dominationem tuam absque meis litteris accedere sinerem, cum hoc uno et solo officij genere animi mei gratitudinem erga te testari possim. Que inter Cesarem et Gallum gerantur in Italia, queque utriusque belli fortuna et successus sit, vos longe certius nobis tenere credo. Hoc unum hic coram videmus Cesarem maximas conscribere tum equitum tum peditum copias, quas in Italianam recta ad se vocat. Quinta enim hujus mensis ego ipse Maguntie fui, ubi Dominum de Iselstein et Dominum de Buren vidi comitatus quadringentis equitibus rectam Spiram proficisci; ubi mostra fieri debebat 9 hujus mensis; ab eorumque familiaribus didici equites mille et quadringentos ex Inferiori Germania esse conscriptos. Heri quoque quendam conveni, qui Maguntia advenit, qui singulis diebus crebras equitum turmas illac Italianam versus proficisci asseverabat. Illos quos

<sup>1</sup> This letter is not found.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph.

ego ipse conspicatus sum equites non satis probabam, nam nec corpora satis mihi placebant, utpote nimium juvenilia et laborisim patientia. Omnes enim fere infra annum vicesimum agabant, et tam insueti erant bello et armis, ut armaturam universam et hastas quoque per Rhenum ferri facerent. Equos in toto eo numero rarissimos vidi bonos, sed parvos veternosos et bello ineptos. In hac quoque Germanie parte Cesar octingentos equites conscripsit, quos Hartmannus a Croenberg et Hans Hilgen ducent, qui ad quintamdecimam hujus mensis in mostram prodire debent in Norlingen. Eos novi optime esse instructos tum equis pulcherrimis tum armis, tum ipsos viros in flore etatis constitutos, maximos quosque sibi successus polliceri. Heæ prefate copie recto itinere in Italiam contendunt. Wolfgangus quoque Comes Palatinus subsecuturus dicitur cum equitibus quingentis, quos jam bono numero Heidelbergæ secum habet. Peditum vexilla jam dimissa sunt in Italiam viginti duo, pluraque coguntur et conscribuntur. Ego cum quibusdam Constantiensibus collocutus sum, qui fieri posse putabant ut omnes Helvetiorum Cantones adducerentur, ut in hoc bello militent Regi Gallorum Evangelici; ne Cesar gravibus eis et molestis conditionibus Sabaudie Ducem restituat, ac Genevam rursus eidem subjiciat. Papistici jam olim cupierunt Gallica castra sequi, sed non audent militem in externa bella emittere, quia vicinos Evangelicos timent, utpote fortiores et potentiores. Cesarem fama est velle expectare et speculari belli hujus eventum in Tridento, ut in loco medio inter Italiam et Germaniam, ut quomodocum quesors ceciderit, salvum Se quo velit recipere possit. Ferdinandum in Isbruck subsistere certum est. Ego maxime cuperem esse in aliquo loco Italie viciniori, unde ad Dominationem tuam subinde nova scribere possem; hic locus extra nundinas infrequens est, et ab Italico itinere remotus.

Colendissime Patrone, ego Dominationem tuam supplex rogito, ut mei memor esse velis, caussamque meam agere, nam preter te unum habeo plane neminem ad quem confugiam. Et ut verum tibi fatear, jam modo pudor et solicitude me preoccupat mee tenuitatis, nam ubi hos Oratores Germanicos mihi familiarissimos et amicissimos in Angliam advenire contigerit, palam videbunt nostram miseriam et tenuitatem, adeoque et fides quoque et existimatio labefactabitur et evanescet; nam hec externa ornamenta aulis et aulicis adesse ex vulgi opinione oportet. Ego plane nescio quo divertam, aut hospitio excipiar, nisi apud veterem hospitem Nicolaum Astronomum, eque inopem et miserum. Jam quoque Reverendissimi mandato redire cogor ad Saxonie Ducem, ut civitatum (que in hoc conventu mandatum non habuerunt demittenda legatione) responsa adferam, itinere certo longissimo et gravissimo; nam

centum

centum Germanica miliaria habet, adeoque parum aberit, quin intra hos paucissimos annos assiduis equitationibus et excursionibus conficiar et exhaustiar. Quapropter, Clementissime Domine, rogo ut mei meminisce digneris, ut qui tuo auspicio primum in aulam perductus sum, tuo patrocinio aulam non sentiam tandem gravem et exitalem. Bene valeat tua Dominatio. Datum Francfordie, 12 Maij, anno 1536.

CHRISTOPHERUS MONT,  
tuum mancipiū.

(*Superscribitur*)  
Ornatissimo nostro Domino Crumwello,  
Secretario et Consiliario Primo,  
Patrono meo observandissimo.

#### CCCCXLVI. G. DA CASALE to CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem. Superioribus diebus ad vestram Dominationem scripsi, Cardinalem Lothoringium hinc discessisse a Pontifice, ceterisque persuasum esse Regi Christianissimo suadendum pacem ita accipiendam, ut assentiat Mediolanum tertio genito suo dari; ipsumque Lothoringium dierum 20 spatium sumpsisse, intra quod tempus Pontifici significaret, posset ne sub hac conditione pax tractari; Pontificem vero usque ad Lothoringij responsum Bononiam proficisci distulisse, meque cum res magni momenti esse videretur, hic exitum expectare decrevisse, ita tamen, ut ad meum collegam scripserim, si quid accideret in quo mea præsentia requireretur, me statim certiore faceret, ut ad ipsum per dispositos equos currerem.

Quoad pacem, nihil boni hucusque allatum est, quin pacis spes minor facta est, ob id in primis, quod, ut ex multis collegi, Galli cœperunt de Pontifice suspicionem habere, eique non tantum confidere. Hanc vero suspicionem aluisse videtur is, qui apud Cæsarem Orator est Christianissimi, quod quæsierit se Regi purgare in quo reprehendebatur, quod in scribendo veritatis fines transgressus esset, cum scripsisset Cæsarem de Aureliense quoque, ut Mediolanum in pacis conditionibus haberet, assentire. Cæsar quoque suspicionem adjuvit, ostendens placuisse confederatis suis, ac etiam Pontifici, non esse Mediolani Ducatum Aureliensi conferendum. Accesserunt præterea quædam inter Pontificem et Cæsarem paeta, quæ quanvis ne Orator quidem Christianissimi possit reprehendere, Cæsari tamen sunt conducibilia. Promisit Cæsari Pontifex Se bellum Urbini Duci non illaturum ante sex menses, Duci Ferrariae ante annum clapsum. Quod autem majus est, Pontifex Helvetijs Catholicis easdem

easdem pensiones tribuit, quas Leo Decimus tribuebat. Hoc autem, ut Galli dicunt, dissentionem inter ipsos Helvetios facturum est, proptereaque conqueruntur id Cæsaris causa esse factum. Adhæc Cæsar non modo omnia, cum hic fuit, benevolentiae signa dedit erga Petrum Ludovicum Farnesium, ejusque familiam omnem, verum etiam Cardinali Farnesio episcopatum opulentum Montis Regalis dedit, quod in superiore Concistorio transactum fuit. Præterea pollicitus Cæsar est Petro Ludovico Farnesio Novariam in Marchionatum dare. Quæ omnia quanvis animadverterem id effectura, ut minus fides Pontifici haberetur à Gallis, nondum tamen scribenda videbantur, cum adhuc eorum exitus non cerneretur. Hæc quidem mihi videntur ejusmodi esse, ut desperandum sit pacem amplius Pontificis opera confici posse: quam tamen ipse adhuc se sperare ostendit, nec de profectione hanc ob causam consilium dimittit. Vulgo creditur Gallorum exercitus conditionem modo deteriorem esse, propterea quod pedem retulit. Hispani vero fluvium Doram, qui medius inter duos exercitus erat, trajecerunt, ad Gallosque proprius accedunt. Galli tamen nunquam loco tutiore res suas habuerunt, quam nunc habent, si quemadmodum opus est se gesserint. Cum enim Taurinum muniverint, quod oppidum Stephanus Columna præsidio peditum quinque millium retinet, munierint etiam Carigianum et Fossanum, exercitum vero in vallem Susæ receperint, qui locus est angustus<sup>4</sup> neque Cæsariani illuc ire possunt, nisi Taurino a tergo relieto, alijsque locis munitis, in satis opportuno loco sunt, ex quo ultra Susam quoque se possunt recipere, Susamque et illos montium aditus præsidijs retinere, et moram diutius trahere. Quod si fecerint, proculdubio cogetur Cæsar et mari et terra exercitus in Galliam mittere. Id vero sine maximis impensis efficere minime poterit, remque in discrimen adducet. Hucusque hic sciri non potest, an Galli Helvetios secum habeant. Cæsariani quidem affirmant Helvetios cum Cæsare facere; non videtur tamen credendum eos nunc Regem Christianissimum reliquisse. Cæsar Placentiam transgressus est, Mediolanum contendit. Cæsariani dicunt Eum ad exercitum ire.

Bulla indicendi Concilij<sup>1</sup> perfecta est, et in Concistorio probata. Ei tamen verba quædam addunt, quod cum erit factum, ejus exemplum mittam.

Collega meus nihil adhuc ad me literarum dedit. Ego tamen quamprimum video hanc Pontificis de pace spem ad nihilum recidisse, hinc ad Cæsarem avolabo, nisi aliud mihi acciderit. Nequeo Gallis persuadere Regiam Majestatem non aliquam cum Cæsare confœderationem fecisse, nihilque proficio dicens quod, si quid ejusmodi agendum fuisset, hic ego non mansissem.

<sup>1</sup> The Council of Mantua, held in May 1537.

Pluribus deinde ex locis allatum est de confoederatione et affinitate inter Regiam Majestatem et Cæsarem contrahenda. Bene valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 18 Maij, 1536.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(*Signatur*)      S<sup>3</sup> GREGORI<sup>9</sup> CASALI<sup>9</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumvel, Serenissimi  
Regis Angliae Secretario, et Consiliario.  
[Domino m]eo observando.

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### CCCCXLVII. G. DA CASALE TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MAGNIFICE Domine, plurimum observande, Salutem. Quoniam foret duplicum Dominationi vestræ legendi laborem dare, ea non repetam que ad Regiam Majestatem prescripsi.<sup>2</sup> Res quidem mihi ejus videtur ponderis esse, ut hijs per presentem tabellarium Regiam Majestatem certiore faciendam esse duxerim. Valeat Dominatio vestra, cui me humiliter commendo. Romæ, die 27 Maij.

20 ujus mensis decreveram discedere, ut at curiam Cæsarist irem, cum jam frustrata spem de pace componenda per Pontificem viderem, sed Pontifex rogavit me ut expectarem, quoisque haberet nuntium, cui fides certa haberi possit de Regina, &c.

Magnificentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

S<sup>3</sup> GREGORI<sup>9</sup> CASALI<sup>9</sup>.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumvel, Serenissimi  
Regis Angliae Secretario, [Consilia]rio, &c.  
Domino meo observando.

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<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> In Vitellius, B. XIV. leaf 215, is a letter from Casale to King Henry VIII., dated on the 27th of May, which is the one referred to by Herbert (p. 451.) and by Turner (Vol. I. p. 653). It has suffered much by fire.

## CCCCXLVIII. CAMPEGGIO TO SUFFOLK.

ILLUSTRISSE et excellentissime Domine, mi observandissime &c. Cum mittam isthuc in presentia reverendum Dominum Marcum Antonium fratrem meum pro quibusdam negotijs<sup>1</sup> pro mea erga Excellentiam vestram perpetua obseruantia, sibi injunxi ut eam in primis adiret, et salutaret, ac quædam meo nomine sibi exponeret. Quare ipsam enixe rogo et obsecro, ut, quæ sua fuit semper erga me singularis benignitas, dignetur eidem Domino Marco Antonio fratri meo in omnibus quæ sibi meo nomine dixerit indubiam fidem habere, perinde ac si ea ex me coram audiret, eumque ac res meas omnes suscipiat commendatas: quod mihi ab ea semper gratissimum fuerit, gratiasque immortales eidem Excellentiae vestrae ea de causa tanquam de singulari in me collato beneficio perpetuo habebo et agam. Diu felicissima valeat Excellentia vestra, cui me plurimum commendo. Romæ, 5 Junij 1536.

Excellentiae vestrae

(*Signatur*) Ut fr. dedit<sup>mus</sup>

L. CAR. CAMPEGGI.

(*Superscribitur*)

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Principi, Domino  
Duci Sufolciæ, Domino meo observando, &c.

## CCCCXLIX. G. DA CASALE TO CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, salutem. Per tabellarium in Flandriam missum die Julij septimo, quæ scribenda tunc erant ad Dominationem vestram, perscripsi.<sup>2</sup> Postea aliud nihil accidit. Per tabellarium a Principe Pisignani ad Cardinalem Sanseverinatem missum illud cognitum est, Fossanum in Cæsaris potestatem non venisse die secundo Julij mensis, quemadmodum ipse Cæsar futurum hue scripserat, sed oppidum illud Gallos adhuc retinere.

<sup>1</sup> The original instructions from Cardinal Campeggio to his brother Mark Antony are in Vitellius, B. XIV. leaf 222. They are in Italian, and have suffered much injury by fire. A contemporary translation into Latin by Vannes is in the State Paper Office. The Cardinal's object was to obtain his restitution to the See of Salisbury, of which he was deprived in 1534.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

Imperator quidem non admodum nunc videtur festinare transitum in Galliam, ut antea faciebat, utque ei necessarium foret, si transiturus est. Idem Pisignani Princeps die 7 Julij Genuæ triremes concendit cum quatuor millibus peditum. Mandatum ei est ut Niceam contendat. Ipsum Andreas Auria subsequetur, qui classi imponebat duo millia Italorum, totidemque Germanorum, qui ad Mirandulam agrum devastarunt. Rumor est Dominum Joannem Paulum de Cere Taurinum venisse, et pecunias secum tulisse. Hoc si verum est, Casarem aliquid suspicari coget. Ei nanque duxor Itali pedites plurimum tribuunt. Posset autem magnam militum manum cogere, atque inde exire, et multum Cæsaris rebus obesse, ijs sibi adjunctis quos Rex in Italia suarum partium habet. Aiunt etiam Gallos Grassam oppidum Provinciæ munire. Id si non falsum est, quod quidem est verisimillimum, cum Cæsar in Provincia fuerit, aut ad Massiliam devenerit, nullum ex Italia subsidium expectare, nec ullum nuntium mittere terra quidem poterit.

Episcopus Bellunensis frater meus<sup>1</sup> ad Regiam Majestatem officij causa venturus est. Ex eo Dominatio vestra cognoscere poterit, quicquid ego colligere hinc potui, dum Dominationis vestræ literis pareo die 25 Aprilis ad me datis.<sup>2</sup>

Episcopus quidem Dalmata, qui Clementem Pontificem de Turcarum rebus certiorem facere solebat, mihi dixit se ex Bossina accepisse, Barbarusam ad Salonicum esse cum magna classe; quando autem aut quorsum abiturus sit, ignorari: ad Vallonam quoque magnum esse peditum equitumque numerum, navesque ad trajiciendum paratas, et e regione cujuſdam insulæ, Sophi nuncupatae, in continente esse magnum equitum Turcarum numerum; nec quid acturi sint intelligi.

His scriptis verum esse cognovi Dominum Joannem Paulum cum pecunijs Taurinum venisse. Bene valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 12 Julij, 1536.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ

(Signatur) S<sup>o</sup> GREGORI<sup>o</sup> CASALI<sup>o</sup>.

(Superscribitur)

Magnifico Domino Thomæ Crumvel, Serenissimi  
Regis Angliae Secretario, &c. [Domino m]eo  
præcipuo.

<sup>1</sup> John da Casale.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

CCCCL. G. DA CASALE *to* CRUMWELL.

MAGNIFICE Domine, mi plurimum observande, Salutem &c. Post meas dierum superiorum ad Dominationem vestram literas, illud de Cæsare cognitum habemus ex literis Marchionis Vasti, Ascanij Columnæ, et Nuntij Pontificis, Cæsarem, dissuadentibus omnibus ejus consiliarijs et rei militaris peritis, decrevisse exercitum in Galliam ducere: ideo autem illos hoc consilium improbasse, quod multa difficillima, et maxime ardua, quæque ipsorum conatibus impedimento sint, futura appareant. Que quidem hujusmodi ferme sunt, Gallorum Regem commeatus omnes ex Provincia asportari curasse, Grassæ nonnullisque alijs locis præsidia imposuisse, unde iter illud ex Italia obstructum a tergo sit Cæsari relinquendum, Massiliam optime munisse, et rebus omnibus ad trahendum bellum necessarijs instruxisse, eodemque postea misisse Stephanum Columnam et Principem Melfis, qui omnia quæ ad illius urbis custodiam faciant procurent: item Franciæ Regem statuisse in opportuno loco castrametari, adeo ut, cum Cæsar ad Massiliam accesserit, hinc exercitu inde urbe claudatur, Taurinum præterea in Italia in Gallorum potestate relinquiri, quod sane haud parvi faciendum est, et quod longe majus est pecunias tantis copijs non suppeterere. Haec quanvis Cæsari objecta fuerunt, Ipse tamen (ut scribunt) in eo perstitit, ut diceret Se melius quid possit valeatque intelligere; atque ita suam potissimum sententiam sequutus est. Exercitum igitur sic movisse fertur. Equites omnes sub Duce Albæ Hispano, et sub Ferdinando Gonzaga, per oram Lyguriæ maritimam misit, quod iter olim Marchio Pescariae et Dux Borbonius, dum redirent a Massilia, invitatis hostibus tenuerunt. Ipse Cæsar cum Hispanis per comitatum Tendæ iter arripuit, quo itinere ijdem Marchio Pescariae et Dux Borbonius Massiliam contenderunt. Germanos vero atque Italos per superiora juga montium misit. Die festo Divi Jacobi Cæsarem Niceæ futurum, et omnes copias ad eundem locum eodemque die conventuras fuisse, scribunt. Milites illi Cæsariani, quos alijs literis classi impositos scripsi, Antibum ceperunt, et reliqua loca maritima Provinciae. Id Cæsariani affirmant, et verisimile quidem est, in illa enim ora locus nullus est munitus. Ad Taurinum sex Germanorum et quatuor Italorum millia Cæsar reliquit sub Lopes Gottieri, Hispano ductore, et Marchione Mussi, Italo; imperatumque est, ut Ducissæ Sabaudiæ in rebus omnibus pareant. Vicelegatus Placentiæ seribit intra Taurinum 12 millia peditum esse, numerumque in dies augeri. Possunt inde Galli magna moliri, et tumultum in Italia contra Cæsarem excitare, quam occasionem bene gerendæ rei dimissuros illos nemo putat, et Florentiam tentaturos, quemadmodum alijs literis scripsi. Ascanius Columna,

ab Imperatore missus, huc per equos dispositos festinat. Hujus literas ad Marchionissam Pescariæ, sororem suam, scriptas legi, quibus ait se a Cæsare mitti ad Pontificem pacis causa, et propter nuntium de Turcarum classe acceptum. Mensis quidem jam elapsus est, ex quo nuntiatum fuit Barbarussam cum classe esse ad Necropontum, quod etiam Orator Cæsaris Pontifici dixerat. Veneti quoque scripserunt 20 millia equitum ex Bossina adventare, eorumque partem Venetorum finibus appropinquare, partem vero in Regis Romanorum fines descendisse. Sed Venetis hac in re haud sane multum fidei habetur, nunc enim a Pontifice flagitant facultatem cujusdam pecuniæ a clero exigendæ.

Quod ad pacem pertinet, duo illi Cardinales Legati pervenerunt ad Cæsarem, et mandata exposuerunt. Cæsarem respondisse ferunt ejusmodi verba, non Secum, sed cum Rege Gallo habenda, quod quidem frustra futurum existimaret, propterea quod Rex non in Italia modo, sed etiam in Flandria bellum movisset. Se quidem testatum apud omnes esse voluisse, quantopere pacem desideraret, cum æquissimas conditiones et libenter accipendas ei obtulerit, quas tamen amplius oblatus minime sit. Ideo Regem adhortarentur, ut quæ habet satis esse Sibi putet. Nihilominus Pontifex adhuc in aliqua spe pacis esse videtur. Si quid amplius Ascanius Columna attulerit, me non latebit; diligenter enim perquiram omnia.

His diebus Joannes Paulus Ursinus de Cere, qui intra Taurinum est, turmam ducentorum equitum Græcorum, qui Cæsaris stipendia merebant, aggressus, omnes ad unum captivos fecit.

Cæsar terra secum dicit Germanorum 20, et Hispanorum octo millia, Italorum vero exiguum numerum. Omnes, qui solerti judicio ista pensitare solent, ita statuunt, aliquid prodigionis in Gallia esse paratum, non dissimile Ducis Borbonij prodigiō: non enim aliud vident quod Cæsarem illuc trahere possit. Ego cum videam neminem in Gallia esse tantæ autoritatis, ut Regi tam graviter nocere possit, Imperatorem puto tribus potissimum rebus confisum esse. Primum, Massiliam expugnari posse putat ex ea parte in qua sunt navalia et portus, quæ debilis admodum est. Marchio Pescariæ, si maris arbiter fuisset, quemadmodum Cæsar Se nunc futurum credit, oppidum illud ab ea potissimum parte oppugnasset. Deinde Imperatorem existimo plurimum Sibi de levitate Gallorum policei, ac sperare aliqua tandem arte et fallacia eos in æquum campum ad prælium deduci posse. Præterea Illum puto suæ fortunæ in primis fidere. His de causis si Serenissimo Regi nostro consilium dandum sit Gallis, ita suadendum censerem, ut eo in loco exercitum Galli collocarent, unde commode trans Durentiam, transque Rhodanum, recipi posset cum id fieri oporteret. Interim vero sinerent Cæsarem ad Massiliam oppugnationis labores exhaustire in Provinciae sterilitate. Quod si fecerit, Rex

Christia-

Christianissimus suis Se viribus ac nullo periculo tutabitur, amicorum vero suorum opes ad alia tempora conservabit. Quod si Christianissimus bellum inferre cupit, copias Taurini augeat, et Mirandulæ milites conscribi faciat, qua ratione haud ita magnis sumptibus contra Cæsarem bellum geret in Lombardia, in Hetruria, in Regno Neapolitano, et ubique fautores, quiue auxilio Sibi sint, habebit nullo aut minimo suarum rerum discrimine. Imperatorique omne ex Italia subsidium auferet, et fortasse majorem partem ejus quod in Italia retinet Ei adimet, cum Ipse nulla ex parte auxilio suis esse possit.

Dominus Franciscus Casalius, frater meus, literas accepit ex Hungaria ab Episcopo Agriense calendis Julij datas, quibus certior fit pacem illam nondum esse compositam, et aliquid superesse difficultatis. Ut colligere videmur, per Regem Joannem stat, quominus negotium hoc confectum sit. Non enim vult omnia Regi Romanorum concedere, quæ Imperator postulavit. Si Galli nunc, quod alias fecerunt, Regi Joanni stipendia quatuor millium peditum offerrent, magnum Rex ille bellum concitaret.

Episcopus Bellunensis, frater meus<sup>1</sup>, quem scripseram venturum esse ad Regiam Majestatem visendam, per me quidem erat optime de rebus omnibus edoctus; sed cum in eo esset ut iter ingrederetur, incidit in febrem sane gravem.

Ego ad meas complures ad Dominationem vestram literas responsum jam diu expecto summo cum desiderio, quo intelligere possim quid mihi omnino agendum sit. Bene valeat Dominatio vestra. Romæ, die 28 Julij, 1536.<sup>2</sup>

Excellenthissimæ Dominationis vestræ  
(Signatur) S<sup>r</sup> GREGORI<sup>r</sup> CASALI<sup>r</sup>.

Amicus meus quidam Neapoli adveniens, mihi retulit, ad Viceregem Neapolis nuntium fuisse allatum, classem Barbarussæ per fretum Siciliæ transisse, et procul a terra provectam: ideo existimari litora Italiæ relicturam, potiusque ad litora Galliæ, Provinciæ, vel Tunetum, appulsuram.

(*Superscribitur*)

Magnifico Domino Thoma Crunvel, Serenissimi  
[Regis] Angliae Secretario, &c. [Domino] meo  
principio.

<sup>1</sup> There is a letter to Crumwell from John da Casale, signing himself "Electus Bellunen.", dated at Bologna the 29th of July, in which he states his release from prison, and his having been attacked at Bologna by a disease in the back, caused, as he imagined, by the dampness of his prison. He expresses his readiness to go to England, and details some general news.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Gregory wrote again the next day that the Emperor was said not to have arrived at Nice, and that the Imperialists at Turin had fallen back. *Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series, Vol. V. leaf 177.*

CCCCLI. QUEEN MARY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

TRES Hault, Tres Excellent, et Tres Puissant Prince, tres chier, et tres ame, bel Oncle, et Cousin. Nous Nous recommandons humblement, et de bon cuer, a Votre bonne Grace. Nous avons receu voz lettres escriptes a Dover le 23<sup>e</sup> de ce mois<sup>1</sup>, par lesquelles entendons la bonne et sincere affection que avez au bien de paix, desirant pour eviter les inconveniens et effusion de sang et autres maulx execrables procedans de la guerre, Vous employer a lappaisement des differends estans entre l'Empereur Monseigneur et le Roy de France, requerant a ceste fin que Nous feissions abstenir de faire invasion, et que le semblable par voz lettres avez requis audit Seigneur Empereur.

Surquoy, tres hault, tres excellent, et tres puissant Prince, notre tres chier et tres ame bel oncle et cousin, Nous veons que, par l'Ambassadeur de mondit Seigneur resident vers Vous, estes plainement adverty des devoirs esquelz l'Empereur, comme Prince vertueulx, aymant sur toutes choses la paix, et detestant la guerre, S'est mis pour demourer et tenir bonne amytie alliance et intelligence avec ledit Seigneur Roy de France, tant pour la proximite de lignaige, que pour ledit bien universel de la Chretiente, ayant a cest fin fait offres grandement a lavantaige dudit Seigneur Roy, et plus que raisonnables. Mais quelles quelles soient este, Il ny a volu entendre, ains ayant ses forches prestes a hostillement envahy le Duc de Savoie, Prince d'Empire, vassal et subiect dudit Seigneur Empereur, et occupe une grande partie de sa Duche de Savoie et de son pays de Piemont, continuant son emprinse vers la Duche de Milan, et en pluseurs autres manieres, dont Nous Nous deportons Vous en escrire plusavant, directement au prejudice des traitez de Madril et de Cambray; tellement, que l'Empereur a son tres grand regret a este forche de prendre les armes, et, pour ny trouver nulle seurte damytie et de ferme paix, S'est approche du Royaulme de France en termes de deffension, veu que ledict Seigneur Roy de France a este et est provocateur de la guerre, mesmement du coste de pardeca a fait publier icelle fait invasions, courses, pilleries, boute les feux, et prins prisonniers, sans advertance, et avant que de ce coste lon Luy ait donne occasion. Parquoy ne sauryons croire, veu les grandes et anciennes amitez immemorables dentre Vous et les Roys voz predecesseurs et

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<sup>1</sup> Strype states that the King and Queen Jane (Seymour) went on the 21st of July to Canterbury, and from thence to Dover.

les Princes de pardeca, avec la bonne volente que congnoissez, que ledict Seigneur Empereur porte en vostre endroit, que voulssiez faire chose en la faveur dudit Seigneur Roy de France contre l'Empereur ses pays et subiectz, et sommes asseuree que en son endroit Il ne vouldroit aussi faire. Et pour autant que la chose touche a Nous, et ausdicts pays dont avons la gouvernance, ne delaisserons dy tenir la main, et Vous complaire en ce que sera en notre povoer; mesmement, comme desirant sur toutes choses la paix, Nous employer envers l'Empereur, ainsi que tousjours avons fait, a fin que les hostillitez de guerre puissent cesser: et vouldrions estre si heureuse de povoir trouver moyen de pervenir. Et Vous mercions tres affectueusement de la bonne affection que avez pour la bonne union et concorde desdits Seigneurs, Empereur et Roy, leurs pays et subiects. Et ne faisons doute, que l'Empereur sera tousjours tres content et enclin dentendre a ladicta paix pour le bien publicque de la Chrestiente, quietude, et transquillite dicelle, avec moyens requis condicions et assurances convenables.

Tres Hault, Tres Excellent, et Tres Puissant, Prince, treschier et tresame, bel Oncle, et Cousin, Nous prions nostre Seigneur Vous donner bonne vie et longue. De Bruxelles, le dernier jour de Juillet, anno 1536.

(Signé) V're humble et boñe Seur et Cousine,  
MARIE.

(*Suscrit*)

A Tres Hault Tres Excellent et Tres Puissant  
Prince, notre tres chier et tres ame bel Oncle  
et Cousin, le Roy d'Angleterre.

### CCCCLII. CHARLES V. to KING HENRY VIII.

Treshault, Tresexcellent, et Trespuissant Prince, tres chier et tres ame bon Frere, Cousin, et bel Oncle. A Vous tant cordialement et affectueusement que faire pouvons Nous recommandons. Nous avons puis deux jours receu vos lettres du 22<sup>e</sup> du mois passe par votre Ambassadeur Resident devers Nous, par lesquelles Nous persuadez a la paix avec le Roy de France et y ouffrez vostre intervencion comme commun amy et allie des deux parties, avec ce que Nous en a dit votre Ambassadeur, duquoy faictes l'office convenable a vostre royale dignite. Mais Nous supposons que depuis aurez entendu de nostre Ambassadeur devers Vous, (suyvant ce que lui avons escript et encharge Vous en dire et declarer de notre part) comme les choses sont passees entre ledit Roy

Roy de France et Nous, et que en maintes manieres Il Nous a provocue et constraint rentrer en ceste guerre, et de fait Nous a aggresse et icelle recommence en plusieurs lieux ; et aussi Vous aura dit nostredit Ambassadeur les continuels devoirs, ou Nous sommes mis jusques au boult de leviter et pour resercher ladicte paix. Et avec tresgrandes honnoraibles et prouffitables condicions, que volontairement Luy avons ouffert, lesquelles Il na voulu accepter, mais persister a choses non faisables et du tout entierement insupportables, comment Il fait encoires maintenant. Et par ce, treshault, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, treschier et tresame bon frere, cousin, et bel oncle, confions entierement, que voyant lextreme desraison et obstinacion dudit Roy de France a ladite guerre, et qu'Il Nous y a provocue, icelle indict et recommence (comme dit est), et pour lexigence des traictez dentre Nous, plus favorables et que doivent surmonter par tout bon droit raison equite et honestete tous ceulx que pourriez avoir avec ledit Roy de France, Vous declairerez a nostre assistance pour le reduire et renger a la raison, comme Il convient au bien publicque de la Christiente et tranquilité dicelle ; et de ce Vous requerons tres affectueusement et instamment. Quoy faisant sera le vray chemin par ou Vous pourrez emploier a moyenner ladite paix, a laquelle comme ledit Roy de France demonstre par tous ses propoz et euvres Il na nulle volonte de condescendre, synon a faulte de non plus pouvoir. Et en bien commemorant toutes les choses passees selon votre tresgrande prudence, et apres avoir entendu ce que en a de charge nostredit Ambassadeur, le pourrez plainement veoir et congnoistre. Vous priant de rechief vouloir avoir regard a ce que dessus, et ausurplus que presentement escripvons a notredit Ambassadeur, et le croire comme Nous mesmes. A tant, Treshault, Tresexcellent, et Trespuissant Prince, treschier et tresame bon Frere, Cousin, et bel Oncle, Notre Seigneur Vous ait en Sa tressainte garde. Escript en notre Camp, pres de Tourves en Provence, le 11<sup>e</sup> d'Aoust, 1536.

(*Signé*)      V're bon Frere, Cousin, et Neveu,  
CHARLES.

(*Contresigné*)      A. PERZENIN.

(*Suscrit*)

A Tres Hault, Tres Excellent, et Tres Puissant  
Prince, notre tres chier et tres ame bon Frere,  
Cousin, et bel Oncle, le Roy d'Angleterre et de  
France, Defenseur de la Foy, et Seigneur  
d'Irlande.

CCCCIII. JOHN HUTTON TO LORD CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

RIGHT honorable Sir, Aftar myn umble commendacions. Soo it is that as the 10<sup>th</sup> day of this present, the Procurar Generall, wiche is the Emprours Attorney for theis parteis, dynyd withe me here in the Ynglische howse, who sartyffied me that William Tyndale is digradid, and condemnyd in to the handes of the secular powar, soo that he is very like to suffar dethe this next weike<sup>2</sup>; and as to the artykilles apone which he is condemnyd I canot as yet obtayne, albe it I have agraunt; wiche onnys obtaynyd, shalbe sent your Lordshipe by the first. Ther was also another Ynglischeman with Tyndale, judgegid the same tyme to returne into his abbit of Saynt Frauncesis ordar, paynge the chargis of his inpresonment.

One Thursday last past acordynge to the ordenaunces of this Felishipe and Compeny of the Marchauntes Adventurars, one Owyne Aukyns of London, mercer, was by me judgid to bryng in to the tresore of the said Compeny, in money or pawnd, to the some one hundrithe and fivety powndes starlyng, for sarten clothis by hym mysshippid contrary to his othe and obeydiens. And for as myche as the Kynges Highenes is intitlid to a third part of all suche brokis as shalbe here defenyttively condemnyd, soo that uppone his submyssion I dowl not but the Compeny will reles him of the greatest porcion therof; and the sartenty onns knownen, I shall sartyfy your Lordshipe therof by wryttinge, till wiche thynge be onnys knownen, it may stand withe your Lordshippis pleasure to make a stey that ther be no gifft therof, for at all tymys you may further suche a one therunto as shall best shalbe by your Lordshipe thought good.

As ystarday ther came hether a Estarlyng, who reportid that your Lordshipe, with dyvers other of the Kynges moste honorable Councell, shuldbe cawse to assemble before yow the moste parte of all the cetysyns of London, movynge unto them what assystans the Kynge myght trust unto of ther behalfe, if His Highenes shuld make ware agaynst the Emprore.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> A letter from Vaughan to Crumwell, dated at Antwerp, Chier Thursday (13th April) 1536, which contains nothing material in its body, has the following postscript respecting Tindal:

“ If now you send me but your letter to the Pryvey Counsail, I could delyver Tyndall from “ the fyre, se it come by time; for elles it wylbe to late.”

Which tale was here myche noitid. As God knowithe, who presarve Your good Lordshipe in prossperus helthe and myche honor, longe to contene. At Andwarpe, this 12 day of August.

By yours moste bownd,

(*Superscribed*)

JOHN HUTTON.

To the right honorable and his syngular good Lord,  
my Lord Crumwell, Kepar of the Prevy Seale.

CCCCLIV. HUTTON to CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MY moste bounden duetie remembered unto Your good Lordship. Pleasithe the same to be advertissid, that the Lady Regent hathe receyvd letters frome Venys, that the Turke withe his armye is reterid, havyng spoken many injorios woordes to the Frenche Kynges Ambassador Resendent withe Hym, for that that the Kyng his master was not com into Ytalie acordyng to his promys. Wiche newis is here very myche rejoissid at, with trust to receive the confiracion of the said newis by the next poste. Upon comffort wherof, ther is a stey made that the Lord of Prat and the Lord of Liskirke shall not depart, till the sartenty of the said newis be knownen. And by anny thyng that I can perceve, yf thois newis folo to be trewe, and also the other owt Ytalye, wherof I wrot your Lordshipe by my last letters beryng date the 12<sup>th</sup> of this present, notwithstandingyng ther abstynens off warre lately concludid, yf it were not only for lake of money, ther stomakes never sarvid them better to invade Fraunce then at this present, estemyng the Frenche Kyng to be at a great afterdell, aswell by the Turkes returnyng bake, as by his over throwe in Ytalie. The cheiffe of the Councell here do not let to spek it openly. The Regent hathe byne theis two days moste part occupied in wrytting to thEmpror. Monsur de Lekis hathe obteynyd a salveconduct to passe thoro Fraunce, who as this day departithe towardes Spayn. Other newis I knowe not at this present. As God knowethe, who presarve Your Lordshipe in longe lyffe with myche honor. Frome Bregis, this 15 day of Septembar.

By Your Lordshippis moste bounden,

(*Superscribed*)

JOHN HUTTON.

To the right honorable and his syngular good  
Lord, My Lord Prevy Seal.  
Moortlake, in hast, hast, hast.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

CCCCLV. HUTTON to CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

PLESITHE Your Lordshipe to be advertissid, that the Kyng of Scottes aryvid in the roide of Deipe the 27 day of August<sup>2</sup>, accompenyd withe 5 sayllis of shippis, at two of the cloke in the after none, and ther remenyd at ankar till in the evynnyng, with owt suffryng anny to goo aland ; and then in the twy lightt He with 15 gentilmen cam aland. And wher He was apoynttid for his lodgyng, the ussid them selvis soo unyversally, that non cold judge wiche was the Kynge. And the next day in the mornynge He, accompenyd only with thre, did rid in post to Rowne, wher as He kept Hym selffe so secret, that very fewe knewe of his beyng ther ; dewryng wiche tyme the said shippis were still at ankar before the sayd towne of Deipe, and ther did discharge sarteyn horce coffars with other caryage, wiche onnys done fowre of them departid unto Habre Newiffe, wher as the yet remeyn, and the fyvefft is riggyng withe in the havyn of Deipe. I have seyne them all, the which I thynke to be the sklendrist fleit of shippis, that ever anny Kynge willyngly did adventwre his body withe ; for, resarvyng one of them, the wiche as I ame infurmyd was of England, and callid the Mary Willugheby, wiche is a comly shipp and well in ordar, the other in comparisone be but belyngars, and more lyke to be marchand shippis then of a Kynges conduct. The sartenty, whether He is gone, as yet I can not lerne, but frome hens He went to Paris, whether I intend, God willyng, to goo with delygens ; and soo as I shall have further knowlege, your Lordshipe shalnot fayle to be advertyssyd.

And as to suche newis as here be currant, albe it the trewthe of theme be dowtfull, yet accordyng to your commandement I will wrytt you what I here : and is, at my commyng to Deipe I mete with a marchand named Odenell Turke, who hathe a brother contenewall foloyng the Frenche Kynges Cowrt, who, as he sayd, had wryttyn hym a letter that was datid at Merselles the 25 day of the last monthe, wher as then the Frenche Kynge shuldbe, and prepayryng Hym selffe to com to Lyons ; and that the same day the Emprowre shuldbe at a place besides Nyee callid Monygo ; and that Mons<sup>r</sup> de Kanapillis had set uppone dyvers of the Emprors army, and had made a great slaughttar ; but some synge another noite, that Monsur de Kanapillis his takyn presonar,

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.<sup>2</sup> See Vol. V. pp. 59, 60.

and hathe lost 15000 men ; but my fyrst auctor is of the contrary openyon, and saythe that the Swissars ar cleirly come frome the Emprowre, offryng ther sarvis to the Frenche Kyng, promyssyng that yff He will ayde them with 400 men of armys, and 800 lightt horce, that the will delyver unto Hym the Dewche of Mylleyn ; and that Ytaly is clere for the Frenche Kynge : soo that I consedar well, eyther it is this, or this, the wold have it. Antony de Leva is ded. The Viscont of Deipe, who nowe is capteyn and soall Governor of that towne and bordars, inqwerid of me what newis in England ; and I said I knewe non. He answerid that he cold tell me some, wiche was that the Qweynnys Grace shuldbe with child ; and that the Kyng owre master did tary, to here who shuld prossper best, of the Emprore or the Frenche Kynge, and that onnys knownen, to take the strongest part ; withe other woordes after his fantasy.

The 5 day of this monthe the Borgonyons had a great boty, aswell of cattell as of presonars, betwixt Abfyld and Muttrell ; the sowdiars that were in preson be all set at lebarty, and fresche men put in ther places. The towne of Deipe have takyn many riche prissis and dyvers goodly shippis, and be daylly riggyng owt moo shippis. The Visconte hathe had 4 shippis abrode this 3 monthis, and never hard woorde from them, soo he lookithe dayly to be made riche, as bothe he and all the towne muste neid be, for the take but all the fynd, Ynglischemen, Portyngales ; none commythe amys. The towne of Deipe is sore vissetyd withe siknes, wiche the saye was broght frome Rye. As God knowithe, who preserve Your Lordshipe withe longe lyffe and myche honor. Wryttyn this 9 day of Octobre, in Rowen, by the hand of youres most bownden,

JOHN HUTTON.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right honorable and his syngular good lord,  
my Lord Crumwell, Lord Privy Seale.

### CCCCLVI. WALLOP to VISCOUNT LISLE.

My singulier good Lord. After my moste hertie recommendacions. Having receyved your last letters of the 20<sup>th</sup> of Decembre, for whiche your good news conteyned in the same I right hertely thanke you, as likewise my Lorde of Winchestre, whom according to your desier I have made participant ; and shall now

now recompence you with suche as be here at this tyme, wiche ys that the King of Scottes entrey and mariage was very tryumphant, thentrey on Newe Yeres even, and the mariage the day following; the same night a grete bancket at the Pallaice; assuering youe never seing the Ladis Princes of Fraunce in so riche apparrell, clothe of tishowes was least sett bye, by reason of brotheries, perles, and precious stones. I thinke the King of Scottes never sawe no suche sight, Who hath withe Hym an honnorable companey of his cuntreymen, right well apparrelled now after the Frenche facion; I promyse you, goodly gentilmen, and very propre men.

And where as by my fourmer letters I wrot unto you of the said King of Scottes using Hym self with beckes and dewgardes after the Norden facion; my Lord of Winchestre and I, lately speking with Hym, founde Hym in his wordes as sobre and discrete as might be, and very ferme in opynion, in somuche the Frenche King, the Grete Master, my Lord of Winchestre, and I cowld by no meanes perswade Hym in suche thinges as we spake to Hym of, alleaging dyvers reasones to the contrary, whie He owght not to be so perswaded. Muche honour I insuer hathe ben showed unto Hym here, whiche causeth Hym to sett the more by Hym self.

From Rome ys news cume that the Pope hathe made 9 Cardynalles, and 2 more for to make, wherof He kepithe thone secret in his brest, and thEmperour thother<sup>1</sup>; off whiche numbre of 9 maister Poole ys named; wherof I am right sorry, for I knowe well the King can not take yt well. Other news I have not, but of the dethe of Mons<sup>r</sup> Marshall de la Marke, one of the Frenche Kinges best capitaynes, and was cheif in Piron, at Mons<sup>r</sup> de Nassows being there. At Paris, the 9<sup>th</sup> day of January.

Yours most assueredly,

(Signed) JOHN WALLOP.

*(Superscribed)*

To the right honnorable Lord Lisle, the Kinges  
Deputie of his towne and Marches of Callais.

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According to Ciaconi eleven Cardinals were made on the 20th of December 1536, viz.  
John Mary da Monte (afterwards Pope Julius III.), John Peter Caraffa (afterwards Pope Paul IV.), Ennius Filonardi, Christopher Jacovaccio, Charles Hémard, James Sadolet, Rodolph Pius da Carpi, Jerome Aleander de la Mothe, Reginald Pole, Roderic Borgia, and Nicolas Cajetan.

## CCCCLVII. QUEEN MARY TO KING HENRY VIII.

TRESHAUT, Tresexcellant, et Trespuissant Prince, treschier et tresame bel Oncle, et Cousin. Je me recommande bien humblement et cordiallement a Votre bonne Grace.

Treshault tresexcellant et trespuissant Prince, Jay receu voz lettres escriptes a Grenewich le 23<sup>e</sup> de Decembre, contenant certaines doleances des prises daucunes navires personnes et biens, que auroient este faictes es portz et havenes de votre Royaulme par les subiectz depardeca, requerant que a l'observation des traitez et confederacions, que avez avec les pays et subiectz de l'Empereur, Monsieur et Frere, iceulx personnes et biens feussent renduz es franchises dudit Royaulme, et que des coupables aiant fait icelles prises pugnacion soit faicte a lexemple d'autres.

Surquoy desirant estre informee au vray desdites prises, ay mande et fait venir vers Moy les capitaines et marronniers, que en pevent estre chargez, lesquelz en soustenant lesdits prises avoir este deuement faictes, dient que les Francoys ont fait le semblable en vosdites havenes sur les subiectz navires et biens depardeca, dont encoires restitucion nen a este faicte. Neantmoins pour avoir meilleure informacion de tout, Jay ordonne ausdits capitaines de en briefz jours veriffier leur pretendu, et si Je ny trouve fondement, en feray faire la restitucion, ainsi que les bonnes amytez alliances et confederacions dune part et d'autre le requierent, comme Vous dira le tout plusaplain l'Ambassadeur dudit Seigneur Empereur Resident vers Vous. Vous priant le vouloir sur ce oyr et croire. Et a tant Treshault, Tresexcellant, et Trespuissant Prince, prie Notre Seigneur Vous donner bonne vie et longue. Escript a Bruxelles, le 3<sup>e</sup> jour de Fevrier, anno 1536.

(Signé) V're bien humble et boñe  
cousine et aliee,

MARIE.

(Suscrit)

A Treshault, Tresexcellent, et Trespuissant  
Prince, notre treschier et tresame bel Oncle  
et Cousin, le Roy d'Angleterre.

CCCCLVIII. HUTTON *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

**R**Ight honorable and my syngular good Lord. In most umblist wysse pleasithe your Lordship to be advertissid that synns my last letter<sup>2</sup> I have made sherche and inquiry to knowe what harneis or hother nessises for ware hathe byne providid here in theis parteis, so that I can com non other knowelege, but of splenttes and sculles, the wiche is redy laden in the shippis of Hull; and to make anny sherche for it here I thynke it in no wisse meit, for, yf it were knownen, the shippis and goodes were clerly forfeitid. Therfore your Lordshipe, yf it stand with your pleasure, may give ordar agaynst the commyng of the said shippis to Hull, that they ther may be arrestid, or otherweis, as your Lordshipe shall thynke meit, and the parteis exsamonyd, whois namys be as foloythe, Robard Smythe, Sethe Haryson, Anthony Idon, Rauff Beker, all fowre of Hull and of Yorke.

As to suche as be accurant in theis parteis, that the Signor Cosmo de Medisis was chossen Governor of Florens after the crewell murdar done to Dewke Alixsaudre<sup>3</sup> his nephew by ther kynsman Laurens de Medesis; the said Cosmo so admyttid had delyverd unto his charge and powar all the fortressis, who, by the intarsession of the Bisshope of Rome, hathe restorid the city of Florens unto the estat of ther old lebarteis and government. Theis newis be here puplishid by the Florentyns, that gladly wold have it this.

I receyvd a letter dattid the 19 day of the last monthe at Venice frome Edmund Harvell, who wrytithe that ther is arivid the Turkes Ambassador, who in the behalff of his master hathe delyverd them of the Senat dyvers artykillies, wherunto the have made andsware that the will entar in to no newe capettilles, but obsarve ther old acordyng to ther promys. He wrytthythe that Andro Dore is returynyd bake to Genys, with two thosand fotemen, and money to pay the men of ware, that the Emproure lefft behynd Hym in Ytaly. He wrytthyth that the Turke hathe assemblyd a great army, but yf the Venyssians consent not to the contrary, he canot passe therwithe. The Emproure, by his said letter, hathe gotten in to his handes myche tresure,

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> There are two previous letters from Hutton, dated the 10th of January and 7th of February, relative to the capture of ships and furniture of arms.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Duke of Florence was murdered by Lawrence de Medici, his cousin, on the 6th of January 1537; and, leaving no legitimate issue, Cosmo the First, Duke of Tuscany, was elected Duke of Florence.

to repay at tyme uppon intrest. All the Prynces of Almayn ar assemblyd, and make great provisyon to withstand the Turke. This I pray God prospere your good Lordshipe in long helthe and myche honor. Wryttyn at Barough, this 11 day of Feverill.

By the hand of your Lorshippis most bound,

(Superscribed)

JOHN HUTTON.

To the right honorable and his syngular good  
Lord, the Lord Crumwell, Lord Previ Seal.

At the Court.

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### CCCCLIX. POPE PAUL III. to FREDERICK DUKE OF MANTUA.<sup>1</sup>

Dilecto Filio, nobili viro Federico de Gonzaga, Duci Mantuæ,  
Paulus Papa III.

DILECTE Fili, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Superiore anno, sicut tuæ nobilitati notum esse non ambigimus, ad tollendas hæreses, mores reformatos, discordias componendas, armaque Christianorum in communem hostem convertenda, Generale Concilium in hunc annum indiximus. Cumque de loco in quo celebrandum esset deliberaremus, flexit statim cogitatio nostra ad tuam civitatem Mantuæ, quam non solum aptam et commodam tanto Conventui futuram videbamus, verum etiam ex nostra erga te tuumque fratrem Cardinalem Mantuanensem benevolentia, florentiorem et celebriorem ex hoc hominum concursu reddi, vosque ac vestram illustrissimam familiam ex hac celebrati Concilij memoria amplius illustrari, cupiebamus. Ea etiam Nos ratio ac spes impulit in tui animi magnitudine collata te pro tuo honore et gloria effecturum, ut loci securitas, hospitiorum commoditas, annonæ ubertas, ipsis convenientibus præstetur, ac dicta civitas tantis decorata hospitibus oportunam se omnium usui prebeat, quæ cæteris posthabitis una electa est, ad quam omnes convenienter. Nunc igitur, Fili, appropinquante jam celebrationis tempore, cuius initium 23 Maij proximi venturi futurum est, et si certa fiducia tenemur te pro tui ratione honoris, etiam Nobis nihil scribentibus, fuisse omnia diligenter provisurum, tamen tuam prudentiam et solertiam excitandam his nostris literis duximus; te studiose hortantes, ut ex nunc omni cura et studio præparare cures, et satagas cuncta quæ ad nostram fratrumque nostrorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium, cæterorumque prelatorum, totque ac tantorum

<sup>1</sup> From a contemporary copy.

vel principum vel oratorum, et denique omnium ad ipsum Concilium ventorum tutam et commodam receptionem pertineat. Sed, ut diximus, tua prudentia non monenda Nobis, verum hortanda tantum est. Expectabimus itaque firmiter id quod tua virtus Nobis pollicetur, Nos et alios omnia in dicto tempore per providentiam diligentiae tuae preparata et disposita reperturos, duranteque ipso Concilio continue habituros esse, sicut haec etiam ipsi Cardinali fratri tuo, ut ad te nostro nomine uberius scriberet, injunximus. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Anulo Piscatoris, die 15 Februarij, 1537, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.<sup>1</sup>

BLOSIUS.

<sup>1</sup> The following answer was given by the Duke of Mantua :

“ Beatissimo, &c.

“ Con quella reverentia che devo ho recevuto et letto un Breve di Vostra Santita di 15 dil  
 “ presente, nel quale La mi certifica di quello, che solo per universale voce havia prima inteso,  
 “ cio è che in questa citta di Vostra Santita et mia si havesse da celebrar' il Concilio, di che hò  
 “ preso quella consolatione che conviene à tanto honor', che si degna Vostra Santita di far' a me  
 “ e alle cose mie, et gli ne baso per mille volte gli santissimi piedi. Et con tutto el cuore mi  
 “ contento che cosi se exequisca, confidandomi nella infinita gratia et bonta di Nostro Signore  
 “ Dio, et nella suprema prudentia di Vostra Santita, che non la perpetua memoria delli frutti, che  
 “ usciscanno da tanto necessaria et perfetta opera, io anchora ricevero qualche nome et fama, tanto  
 “ piu che in quelle cose che saranno in mia mano di poter far' non mancaro con continua fatica  
 “ et vigilantia di monstrar', con quanto bon' animo venga in questo negotio. Cosi m'havesse  
 “ prestato Nostro Signore Dio le forze di poter supplir a tutto, perche come circa commodita de  
 “ gli allogiamenti, et circa la abundantia delle vituaglie, gli posso promettere tutto, quello che  
 “ honestamente si puo espettar' dalla capacita di questa citta, et dalla conditione del paese gli  
 “ farci anche libera oblatione dell' securita, che è necessaria in una persona tanto segnalata, quanto  
 “ è quella di Vostra Santita, et di tanti principi et signori, se io da me solo bastassi in pesi cosi  
 “ grave et in tempi tanto turbulenti à poterlo fare. Ma perche questa è cosa sopra tutte l'altre  
 “ necessaria et importante, ne io per la tenuita delle forze mie, senza quello aiuto che sera oportuno,  
 “ non la posso promettere, ne promettendola osservare; Vostra Santita si degnara fargli quelle  
 “ consideratione sopra che alla grandezza della materia convengono. Et perche alla importantia  
 “ di questa impresa, il tempo è molto angusto. Quanto prima Vostra Santita fara qualche  
 “ bona resolutione sera tanto piu à proposito, et se quella deputasse persona de authorita con che  
 “ si potesse negotiar' sopra tutto quello, che sera oppimo, et che la persona deputata venisse in  
 “ fatto, forsi seria espediente et a proposito perche in an tempo medisimo si discorrebbe universal-  
 “ mente sopra tutte le cose necessarie, et se darebbe in particolar qualche forma alle cose delli  
 “ allogiamenti et delle vituaglie, come piu a longo exporra a vostra Santita il reverendissimo  
 “ Monsignor mio fratello. Parcio me ne remitto alla summa prudentia di Vostra Santita. In  
 “ buona gratia della quale, basandole gli santissimi piedi, quanto piu devotamente posso mi  
 “ raccomando.”

The Duke on the 24th of March wrote to his brother the Cardinal, stating the insufficiency of his means for keeping order, when so large a number of persons should resort to Mantua. To this the Cardinal, on the 9th of April, answered, by the Pope's direction, that His Holiness would not send any military force to Mantua, unless the Duke positively required it.

CCCCLX. WALLOP *to* LISLE.

My singulier good Lord, after my moste hertie recommendacions. The best news that I have here now for me ys, that I trust shortly to see you at Callais. Secondarly, the Pope hathe sent a sworde unto the King of Scottes to encourraige Hym to defende the Faithe and the Churche ; with other farther declarations. I insuer you the Pope meneth schrodly ; and what other dothe, God knoweth. I praye God we knowe yt not.

Grete preparation ys made for the revictuling of Tourwen ; and, as yt ys said, shalbe in nombre of footemen legioners ten thousande, 4000 Almaignes being under the charge of the Counte Guillaume<sup>1</sup>, one thousande men of armes, a thousande light horse ; and, as yt ys brewted, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vadosme shalbe there, as also the Grete Maistre, or thone of them, and the Frenche King to be at Amyas for the better encourraiging of them.<sup>2</sup>

And thus moste hertely fare ye well, with my wyffes and myne recommendacions to youe and my good Lady accountumed, praying you to tell M<sup>r</sup> Porter his veryalles may be in good ordre, as also his hawkes, with whome I trust to take good pastyme. From Paris, the 16<sup>th</sup> of February.

Yours moste assueredly,

(Superscribed)

(Signed) JOHN WALLOP.

To the right honorable Lord Lisle, the  
Kinges Deputie of his towne and  
marches of Callais.

CCCCLXI. HARVEL *to* MORYSON.<sup>3</sup>

M<sup>R</sup> MORISON, By my last of the 9 present I answerid to you of the first of February, and sens I had not yours. I can not, for owr amitye, but advise yow off the newis her occorrent from time to time, and to witnes my singuler benivolence towarde yow for your ingenuous and frendly nature, wiche I stime not vulgarly. The 11 of this moneth the Turkes opressid and slew abowt

<sup>1</sup> Count William of Furstenburg.

<sup>2</sup> See Sadleyr's letter of the 28th of March from Amiens. State Papers, Vol. V. p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Holograph.

3000 sodiars, part Almains and part Italians, sent by Ferdinando and the Pope to socour Clissa, a fortresse off the said Ferdinando in Dalmatia, obsessid by the Turkes. Owr men at ther landing prospere pugnarunt, ac verterunt hostes in fugam, verum abusi victoria longius, quam decebat disciplinam militiæ, progressi sunt. Ita ut oppressi ab equitum Turcarum manu omnes pene occisione occisi sint. Ac præter militandi imperitiam, ob prædæ cupiditatem ac divisionem discordijs nostri se invicem dilacerabant, ac ita luerunt graveis penas temeritatis suæ. The said Clissa is also lost, wiche is off moment; for by strenght it was inexpugnable. The Turkes cessith not in re navali with gretenes and acceleration; they stime that by al the next monith folowing he shal have 300 sailis, wiche fillith al Italye ful of terrour, and specially Venecians, for the confins; who for ther presidye providith no lesse powar then the ware wer proclaymid betwen the Turke and them; for they arme 100 galeis, of the wiche a grete part is in water, and the rest dayly commeth forth. Also they have sent owt ther General with more solemnite then ever tofor. Cesari aperte student, for the Turkes powar and wil is to them formidable. I can not tel for what cawsis of late they are sore bent ayenst the Turkes, besides they ar perswadid, if the Turke dide occopye Puglia, quod actum esset de Venetis, wherfor they wil never see him amplifie his dominion. Owt of Spaigne camme no letters of long space, but by certain advises we undirstond of grete preparacions of monye, men, and navye, wiche thEmperour makith, and ther is voyce that his navye shalbe bigge off 100 galeis, and as many more sailis, and that by al April al shalbe in redynes, and wil comme in person to Italye; wiche Venecians desireth gretely.

By freshe letters from Rome they advise that the Pope wold depart from Rome to Bononye about 15 off the next, for feare off the Turkes motions. Also by land ther is no lesse preparacions of ware, then by water, aswel off the Turkes part as off Ferdinandos; as by the next yow shal know more particularye, for now the time of doinges aprochith. The State of Florence is without travail of ware. In Piemont the Frenche part is farre inferiour to thImperials, wiche are now in the feld with abowt 20000 men, assawting the French mens fortresses continually, to whome they have don many particular dommages; and lately the gatte a towne namid Saint George by expugnation, with slawghter off 150 men, and taking off 100, wiche they have sent to the galeis; a thing not usid. The Frenchmen are reducid in 3 townis, and habandonid al the rest. This is like to be a yere memorable off some greate actes, for ther is no smal matter of mutacions of things: that owr Lord

convert al to the best. It is not a litil pleasant to undirstond that owr contree is now uttirly pacified, wich God continew. When yow have any lasure, M' Morison, write hether; your letters are swete to me, and moche grateful. Thus most hartely fare yow wel. In Venice, the 28 Marche, 1537.

TUUS HARVELLUS.

(*Superscribed*)

Egregio ac erudito Domino, Ricardo Morisono,  
amico meo carissimo.

In Londino.

### CCCCLXII. HUTTON TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

My moste bounden dieutie rememberid to Your moste Excelent Hieghnes. Pleasith the same to be advertised that the Munday next aftar my departyng frome Your Majestie I arivid here in Breuselles, beyng the 8<sup>th</sup><sup>2</sup> day of this present munth of Aprill, in the mornyng at 9 of the cloke. In mediately I addressid my selff to the Court, and ther did to be sygniffied myn adrivall to the Lady Regent, frome Your Highnes, Who apoyntid me to make my repaire thether agayne in the affter noune at fouar of the cloke. Wiche owar I kept, and was brought to hir chambre by wone namyd Monsieur de Lekirke, havyng Your Graces letter of credence. After my deue reverence done and Your Graces moste effectwall recommendacions, I deliverid it unto Hir, the wiche She did not opene till She had demaundid of the good estate of Your Highnes, the Quennis, and of my Lady Mary Your Graces daughter; the wiche I sartified to be moste prossperus and helthfull. Wherat She semyd myche to rejois, and then openid and rede Your Graces letter; which done, She callid me unto Hir, sayng, “I am very glad that it hathe plaissid the Kynges Majestie to admit you His Graces Agent in theis parteis;” with other woordes off prais to me wardes, nothyng meit to trubbull Your Grace with by writting. Wherunto after humble thankes ydden, I said, I douttid not but that She knewe Your Grace had many myche more suffiscent to excicute the rome and offes, then I was; albeit no man shuld withe better will procwre the norischment and contenewans of thamytie betwen Your Grace and thEmperour, then I wold; soo that yff it myght plaise Hir frome tyme to

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> The 8th of April in 1537 was Sunday.

tyme

tyme to have suche regard to the affairres, that shuld consarne Your Grace and Your Graces subjectes, to be brought to good effect, it shuldbe myche hir honor, great benyffit to thEmproures countrey, and myche to my poore honestie. To the wiche She answarid, trustyng ther shuld no fawt be fownd one hir behalfe.

Then acordyng to the second part of my instruccions<sup>1</sup> I told Hir that I had syngnyfied unto Your Highnes all suche confferens, as She had commyttid unto me, beffore my last repaire into Yngland, the wiche I sartyffied Hir Your Grace tooke in good part, beyng glad to aparsuve hir good inclinacion to the presarvacion and nutriment off thamytie betwen Your Highnes and your good brother thEmproure, and that Your Grace woldbe no lesse towrdes therin, then She cold desiar; wiche as Your Grace had alwaies done hetherto the acttes shuld declare, yf She for hir part, as Your Grace dowtting not the contrary, wold do the semblable. Hir answare was, that She trustid Your Grace wold call to your good remembraunce, that a sewar and well aprovid frend, of auncient and longe conteneuaunce, wold not be cast of for anny newe; reherssyng howe longe thamytie had contenewid betwen the Howsse of Borgoyne and Your Graces moste noble progenitors, and now synns your moste gracios rayng, and that in all this tyme, yf it were well notid, ther had byne as good obsarvacion off every artikill of the tractat and entarcourcee one the behalff of the said Howsse of Borgoyne towrdes Your Graces Realme, as ever it was by the Frenche Kyng or his prodecessors; trusting the conteneuans of the same. And yet She found that the Frenche men had byne alwaies the auncient enymeis unto your said Realme; and albeit Your Grace had consevyd suche effectuall aymyte towrdes the French Kyng, that Your Grace wold not ayde nor assist thEmpror agaynst Hym, yet She dowttid not but that Your Grace wold doo bothe agaynst the Turke; and then pawsid, sayng, "Vous saveis que Je veulx deire."

To the third part of my instruccions I said, that as to suche shippis as by Your Grace was commaundid to the see, was, for that daily Your Graces subjectes complaynyd of spoillis and robbereis done unto them by suche shippis of ware as hadbyne armyd owt frome theis parteis; for deffence wheroff, Your Graces only intent was the sendyng forth of your said shippis. And wher the had apprehendid a man of ware, beyng a Flemynge, and callyng

<sup>1</sup> The original minute of Hutton's instructions is in the State Paper Office; but the whole substance of them, except the article respecting Cardinal Pole, may be so fully collected from this despatch, that it has not been thought necessary to print the other parts.

hym selffe the Admyrall of Scluse, uppon the grevos complayntes of Your Graces subjecttes, and for suche depredacions and spoillis as he and his complices had commyttid, wherby the myght be rather acomptid as pirattes and not men of ware; and albeit the said complayntes agaynst hym be of suche weight, as worthely requyre a sharpe and spedie excucion of justis uppon the same; yet to the intent Your Majestie woll shewe that clemency towarde斯 hym, that thamyty betwen Your Highnes and thEmproure requyrithe, Your Grace had not only commyttid hym to the custody of thEmproures Ambassador resident with Your Grace, but also Your Grace had detarmenyd that he shuldbe exsamonyd in his presens, that He myght the bettar aperseve howe he cold answar for hym selff, and soo to be abull to declar in what sort he shuldbe ussid; wiche shalbe rather myche better then anny thyng worse, as his facttes shall inforce; Youre Highnes not dowtting, but that thEmprour will, towardes Your Grace and your subjecttes, do the semblable. Hir answar was, that yf ther canbe aprovid agaynst hym anny suche crymlys as I unto Hir had rehearcesid, that albeit Your Grace of your moste gracieios clemency wold not suffar excucion to be done, that yff ever he cam in to theis parteis, wher She had charge and governe, She wold cause hym, in exsample of all other, to have ponyschment.

To the fourthe part of my instruccions that consarnyd the shipe laden withe brassell, taken owt of Your Graces port of Sothehampton, I said, that albeit the thyng of it selff did not myche import to Your Majestie, yet the violatyng of Your Graces port did toche your honor; wherffore Your Graces desire was to have it restorid, for other weis Your Grace myght have just cawsse to thynke that She did set more store by a littill lukre, then by the estymacion of Your Graces frendshipe, the wiche Your Grace in no maner of wysse cold take in good part. Hir answar was that it shuldbe eft onys movyd unto hir Councell, and that suche ordar shuld therin be taken, as shuldbe bothe to the acomplischemet of Your Graces desire, and to the obsarvacion of hir promys.

To the fivethe part of my instruccions, in the behalffe of Your Grace I yeldid thankes for that She had lysenssid sarten habelymenttes of ware, the wiche Your Grace had cawsid to be providid in Highe Douchland; lykewisse asartenyng unto Hir that She myght be as bold of Your Grace in anny suche commoditeis, as She of Your Grace can or may desire. Hir answar was, that ther was nothyng She more desyrid then to doo that thyng wiche myght apeire gratfull unto Your Highnes, desyryng Your Grace to inploy Hir frome tyme to tyme, to the uttermost of hir powar.

As to the last<sup>1</sup> of my charge, consarnyng the Cardynall Poall, I have lernyd that his commission exstendith only to France; wherfore I thought it not expedient to move, till I hard, or Your Graces plesar farther knownen in that behalffe.

Consarnyng the estat of theis parteis, is dayly preperacion for men of ware. The Grave of Bewre is admittid Kapteyn Generall, who makinthe great deligence towardes the bordars of Picardy; and as the bruyt goyt here in Court he shall have fenisshid within theis 8<sup>th</sup> dais, to the nombre of 40 thosand men. And soo havyng, he hathe made promys, by othe, to give the Frenche Kyng battell. He told me the same tale, wisshyng that he had tene thosand of Your Graces archars. Ther cam hether as ystarday two Commissioners frome the Dewke of Geldar, the wiche had byne sent thether by the Lady Regent, but as I here the have concludid nothyng withe hym, in suche wysse that George Kyng the Governor of Frisland, who was preparyng to have gone to the bordars of Picardy, is apoyntid to returne agayne in to his countrey. Her is as this day newis com from Venis that the Turkes have done great spoilles and murders in Sclavonya, and hathe taken a towne callid Disque, wher in was thre thosand in garison, and yet is army riall was not departid frome Constantinople the 28<sup>t</sup> day of Marche. The Venissions have gevyn ther seotor of deffence to wone Jeronimo de Pissoro, as Capteyn Generall over all ther domenyon. He was elect and admittid the 26 day of Marche.

<sup>1</sup> This is as follows:

" And whereas the Kinges Majestic hath wrytten certain letters at this tyme to the said Regent, " requiring Her by virtue of His Graces treates with thEmperour to inhibite A.B., being His " Hieghnes traitour and rebell, to entre in to any of the said Emperours domynyons, His Majesties " pleasure is, that the said John Hutton shall reteyne those letters in his handes, tyl he shal " receyve letters from my Lord of Winchester, wherby he shall perceyve that it shalbe mete to put " his commission in ure, and therupon he shall delyver the said letters accordingly. Nevertheles " the Kinges pleasure is, that in the meane tyme the said John Hutton shall at his arryval take " an occasion, as of himself, to declare to the Regent that there is a greate rumour, that suche a " man shuld come in to those parties who is the Kinges most heynous traitour and rebell, and " that it shuld, as he thinkethe be very well doon, and a meane to cause the Kinges Majestie to " accept her proceeding in most thankfull parte, that She shuld not permytt him to entre into " thEmperours domynions; uttering the same with suche an attemperance, as She perceyve not " in any wise that the same motion shuld procede from the King, but of himself only, by occasion " of other communication. And of her answer herin he shall also advertise the Kinges Majestie " with diligence."

It appears from the letter of Sir Ralph Sadleyn to Crumwell (Vol.V. p.72.) that Gardyner was directed to demand of Francis to deliver up Pole. And many details are given in Wiat's letters, printed in the Appendix to Nott's Works of Surrey and Wyat, Vol. II. pp. 311-524.

Other newis I knowe occurrant at this present neidfull to sartyffy Your Grace of; moste humbly besechyng Your Highnes to pardon this my rewde stille off wrytting, and prescribe it only to yngnorance, as wone void of knowelege, havevyng non other hope but only in Your Graces goodnes, for the contenevans wherof I shall alweis inploy my fetheffull trewthe and diligence, wherby in tyme to com I may be the more abull to do Your Grace better sarvis, wiche is the thyng my poore hart moste desyrithe. And thus I beseche Owre Lord to presarve Your most Excellent Majestie in prossperus helthe and perpetuall felecyte. From Breuselles, this 12 day of Aprill.

By the hand of Your Majesties moste

humble obedient sarvand and subject,

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

JOHN HUTTON.

### CCCCLXIII. KING HENRY VIII. *to Hutton.*<sup>1</sup>

TRUSTY and welbiloved, We grete you wel. And forasmuche as by letters, addressed unto Us from our Orators with the Frenche King, it appereth that our traitor Pole is nowe arryved at Parys, and that it is uncertain, whither he woll fromthens direcete his journey, Our pleasure is, that immediatly upon the sight herof, whither the Bishop of Winchestre have therin writhen to you or not, and whither the said Pole doo still remayn at Parys, or be removed from thens to any other place, you shall delyver unto the Regent our letters for the staye of his entre in to thEmperours domynions, and in all thinges procede, touching that matier, according to your former instructions. And if the Regent or any of the Counsail shall saye, that they cannot accomplishe the contentes therof, for that they shall alleage him to be entred allready, you shall nevertheles affirme and styk fast in this pointe, that you have certain advertisement it is not soo, but that he remaynethe styl in the Frenche Kinges cuntryes; pressing them temperately, asmoche as you may, to observe their treaties with Us in that parte. And if so be that you shall perceyve that he shuld in dede be secretly arryved in the cuntry, soo that they shalbe hable to justifie his entree in to thEmperors domynions befor the delyverey

<sup>1</sup> From an original Minute in the handwriting of Wriothesley, with a contemporary indorsement: "Mynute of M<sup>r</sup> Huttons lfe 15<sup>o</sup> Aprilis, anno R. & H. VIII. xxviii<sup>o</sup>."

of our letters of requisition for the steye therof; you shall theme presse them to give him monition to avoyde within the tyme lymited by the treaties aforsaid, and during his abode there neither to admytt him to her presence, ne to suffre unto him to have any other entreteynement, thenne besemethe the traitor and rebell of their freende and alye, and as by the said treaties maye be maynteyned. And furthermore our pleasure is that, in eace the said Pole be either entred already in to Flaunders, or shall, notwithstanding our letters, be receyved or suffred to reasorte thither, you shall in any wise cause good secret and substancial espial to be made uppon him from place to place where he shalbe, what entreteynement he shall have, who shall reasorte unto him, and, as nighe as you canne possibly atteyn, what he purposethe to compasse in those parties; advertising Us therof from tyme to tyme, as you shall have any matier worthy the same; the charges of whiche espial We shall see eftsones repaid unto you accordingly.

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CCCCXLIV. HUTTON *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASITH Your Highnes to be advertised, that on Wedensday last past I receyved Your Graces letter at two of the clock in the after noon, bering date the 15<sup>th</sup> day of this present; Youre Graces pleasure by the which well apperceyved, I, accordyng to the same, adressed my selfe to the Courte, the Regent beyng in Counsaill, procured to gyve Her knowleg that I had to speke with Her from Your Highnes. The whiche sertiffied, She sent for me inconstynently, and so was I brought into a chamber where She was, accompanied with the Cardnall of Leige, the Bushopp of Palermo, the Countie Van Nessot, the Marques of Baroughe, the Lord of Saynt Pie, the Lord Van Hoghstrat, the Lord Van Liskirke, and the Gouvernour of Frysland. In whiche presens I delyvered unto Her Your Graces letter, the whiche She opened and redd. And that done I sertiffied Her, by mouthe, the hoole effecte of my instructions contayned in Your Graces letters touching the same. Wherunto She aunswred, that as yet She had no knowleig that he intendyde to come into these parteis, “ but I shall further at large devise with my Counsell,” and so to make suche aunswere as She trusted shulde satisfie Your Highnes; appoynting me to repaire thither the next mornyng. At which tyme being there accordyng to her appoynment, I taried till She had herd masse, and then She called

me unto Her, saying “ there was oone with Me ysternyght late, that brought  
“ Me a letter from a servaunt of myn that liethe in Cambray, sertiffing that  
“ Pole is arrived there, but he writethe nothing what jornay he intendeth to  
“ take, soo that I knowe not, whither he will come into theis parteis or not,  
“ nor whither he have any legacion from the Popes Holynes” (calling Hym by  
those termes) “ to me or not; whiche if he have, I cannot aperceyve how to  
“ avoid hym not hering his message.” And with that She stayed, and after  
a pause, said, “ if he intende to come hither, it is only the procurement of  
“ the Frenche Kyng, that hathe suffred hym to passe thorough his hoole  
“ domynion, to dryve Me to thestremyte, either to displesse the Kyng myn  
“ uncle, or the Pope.” Oone thing She said Your Highnes myght be sure  
of, that if it shulde be her chaunce to speke with hym, if he declared any  
thing that shulde concerne Your Grace, You shall therof be advertised, and  
that he shall have neither favour recule nor assistance in any thing that may  
be hurtfull to Your Majestie. Wherunto I aunswered, that I doubted not  
but She wolde furste considre the treatie, and what that requyreth; for, as  
thEmperours Regent, She was bounde to the observacion therof, and if She  
shuld shewe any further gratuite to Your Majeste, it coulde not be unrecom-  
pensed. She said She trusted to do no thyng that shuld offend thamytie  
betwene Youe, but rather devyse as She myght for an encrease of it; and so  
required me to advertise Your Grace on her behaulfe, and therwith departed.  
Immedieatly that I was departed from her, perceyving that he was at Cambray,  
I dispached from hens Gynns<sup>1</sup>, oon of Your Graces pursyvauntes, so that  
Your Highnes shall from tyme to tyme be advertysed, what trayne he hathe,  
and what resort shalbe unto hym, and what recule he shall have in theis  
parteis; desiring most humbly to knowe Your Graces pleasur, how I shall  
use my selfe towardes hym, yf, this Your Graces advertisment notwithstandingyng,  
he perchaunce be suffred to come into these parteis; wheroft I have  
some doubt, bycause the Regentes wordes be doubtfull. The which knownen,  
I shall not faile to observe in all poyntes accordyng to my dieutie. And if  
Your Graces pleasur shalbe to have me to atempt any further the resistens  
of his commyng in to theis parties, I shall rest but only to knowe Your  
Graces further commaundment therin; for I wold have waded further with  
Her, but that Your Graces letters wolde not that I shulde handle the mateir  
soo, as She shulde thinke that You wolde by and by breake with thEmperour,  
if She did it not. And me thought I sawe that fayne She wold have certaynly

<sup>1</sup> Fulk ap Howell, Guisnes Pursuivant.

graunted to do, that She is bounde: but agayin She fearethe the Bushopp of Romes displeaser, that myght come therupon.

As to thestate of theis parties, thei tarye the comyng downe of ten thousand Almayns, and here is daily preparing of horsmen, so that thei intende to gyve the Frenche King bataill. Albeit I cannot perceyve that they can be at any redynes, till the latter end of the next monethe. They were in great doubt of the Lansgrave van Hese, the which doubt is now peacified, for ther was up in his countrey to the nomber of two thousand men, the whiche be gone thorough the land of Lawren, to serve the French King, as He saithe, without his consent. As knowethe God, who preserve Your most Excellent Majestie in healthe and perpetuall felicitie. From Brueselles, this 21<sup>th</sup> day of Aprill.

Your Majesties moste humble obeidient  
servant and subject,

(Signed) JOHN HUTTON.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

In hast. post hast.  
hast. post hast.

#### CCCCLXV. KING HENRY VIII. to PATE.<sup>1</sup>

By the King.

(Signed) HENRY R.

TRUSTY and right welbiloved, We grete youe well. Lating youe wit, that on Tuesdaye last passed repaired unto Us, thenne being at our manour of Grenewiche, thEmperours Ambassadour here resident; and on his masters behaulf, pretending a desire to renewe thold amytie, whiche hath been betwene Us, testefied nevertheles by letters of credence sent from the said Emperour to our trusty and right welbiloved Counsailour Thomas Crumwell, our

<sup>1</sup> From the Harleian Collection, No. 282, leaf 7. A draft of this letter in two parts is in the State Paper Office. One part consists of all except those passages which relate to the legitimation of Mary, and the other relates to that subject exclusively; so that it is evident the latter portion was not in the original draft, but was subsequently incorporated. Burnet has printed that part which formed the original draft, but not the rest (Vol. III. Collection, p. 114.); so that his print is defective in this point; and it is erroneous in another, viz. that he has represented it to have been addressed to Pace instead of Pate; into which error Lord Herbert has also fallen, pp. 454, 455.

Principall Secretarye, and yet of a long season hath been interrupted, made unto Us certain overtures for thadvancement of suche a renovation. The first was, that He wold be a meane to have a reconciliation betwene Us and the Bisshop of Rome. The seconde overtur and request was that, forasmuche as there is greate lightlywood and apparence that God wil sende unto Us heires masles to succede Us in the Crowne of this our Realme, We wolde vouche sauf, at his contemplation, to legitymate our doughter Marye, in suche degré, as in defaulte of yssue by our moost dere and most entirely beloved wief the Quene, she might not be reputed inhable to some place in our succession. The thirde overtur was, that We wolde ayde Him with some contribution in his entended voyage against the Turke. The fourth, that forasmuche as by a certain leage passed betwene Us it is convenaunted and agreed, that in cace eyther of Us shuld be invaded in any of our Realmes dominions or seigneories, whiche We have in possession, thother shulde ayde Him, in suche forme as in the said leage is specefied, at the costes and expenses of the Prince requiring the same; and that there is a greate apparence that the Frenche King will nowe invade Him in the duchie of Millan, We wolde graunte Him suche ayde for his defence against the said Frenche King, as in the same leage is lymited.

To the masse and substance of his credence tending to a renovation of amytie, ye shal undrestande our answer was, that albeit thinterruption and disturbance therof hath proceded holly on thEmperours behauulf, Who for our freendeship in suche wise hertofor shewed unto Him, whenne We made Him, first, King of Spayne, thenne Emperour, whenne thEmpire was at our disposition, and after lent Him our money; that He maye only thanke Us for the honour He is nowe advaunced unto; hath nevertheles, for his reciproque, shewed unto Us all the ingratitude He could devise, both in contempnyng, as it were, our freendeship, whenne We have doone more for his satisfaction in our procedinges thenne neded, and in the procuring what displeasure and injurye He could against Us at the Bishop of Romes hande, as by credible reaporthes We have knownen and lerned: yet suche is our zeale to untytie quiet and concorde amonges Christien Princes, and suche is our princely nature and inclynation, that, as no displeasure canne remayn in our stomake, the cause therof ones removed; soo if He, whiche is a Prince of honour, and a personage whom We ones chose and thought worthie for his vertue to be advaunced, wil by his expresse writing eyther desire Us to put his unkinde doinges towards Us in oblivion, or by the same purge Himself, and declare that suche thinges, as We have noted unkindnes in at his handes, have been injustly and without his

his deserte imputed unto Him, We shal gladly embrace his overture touching this renovation of our amyties. But We playnly said and affirmed that, seing We had susteyned the injurye, We could not be a suter for the reconciliation, ne treate with his maister of suche appendantes for aydes, as be befor expressed, or any suche like, onles our amyties shuld be first simplie, and without all maner of conditions, renovede; whiche parte yf He wil first accomplishe, He shuld not nede to doubte, but to all his reasonable desires, to be made afstre, He shall have as freendely and reasonable answers, as betwene freendes in the highest degré of frendeship canne be required.

Touching the Bisshop of Rome, We declared unto Him that, as We have not proceded uppon soo sleight or slender groundes, as We wold revoke altre or chaunge any pece of our doinges, having in al causes made our foundations upon the lawes of God nature and honestie, and established all our workes made upon the same, by the consentes of all the states of our Realme, in open and highe courte of Parliament; soo, considering there hathe been some meane, made unto Us by the said Bisshop Himself, for suche a reconsiliacion, whiche We have not yet embraced, it shulde not be expedient to have it compassed by any other meanes, ne We could take it in good parte, or thinke that thEmperour shuld earnestly mynde a reconsiliacion, and a renovation of our amyties, if for the satisfaction of the Bishop of Rome, our enemye, He shuld move Us to altre any oone thing, that We have here determyned, contrary to his purpose and pretended auctoritie.

To the overture and request touching the legitimation of our doughter Mary, We answered that forasmuche as she is our naturall doughter, in cace she shal in her doinges shewe her due obedience to Us, and humbly submyt herself to our grace without reluctance contention or wresteling against the determynation of our lawes, to thobservation wheroft she is also bounde bothe by Goddes lawes and civile ordres, We shal not only knowe her for our doughter, but use her besides in al thinges as to the degré of the doughter of soo greate a Prince, and the honour of her parentage, shalbe semely and convenient. Nevertheles We said unto Him, that We could not herin be directed or pressed, ne have any other prescription made unto Us, or any other ordre devised for her entretaynement, degré in honour, or contynuance, thenne shuld procede from the inclynation of our oune harte; whiche, by her humyltie, and the gentle procedinges towardes Us of suche as pretende to be her freendes, might be soo moved affected and tempered, as thEmperour shuld not have cause to take thought for her entreatie, thadvauncement of her astate,

astate, or the certaintie of her lyving in that degré of honour that shall appertayn. For We told him, that God, of His habundant goodnes, had not only made Us a King by inheritance, but also had therwithal given Us wisdom pollicye and other graces, in a most plentifull sorte, necessary for a Prince to directe his affaires bye, to His honour and glorie: and as We doubted not, but thEmperour doth thinke that it is as mete for Us to directe and ordre our thinges here, eyther touching our chil dern or the lawes of our Realme, without serche of forayn advise for the helpe and establishment of the same, as for Him, or any other Prince, to determyn their affaires without any our counsail or lymitation, other thenne they shall in the bonde of freendeship require of Us, to be ever used nevertheles at theire arbitrees; soo We trust We have in all thinges with suche circumspection proceded, and soo wayed all partes of suche thinges as We have entreprised, that no man that list with an indifferent eye to loke upon our foundation, whiche is Goddes lawe, shall have cause to be therewith myscontented or greved, but shall rather take therby good occasion to thinke and judge of Us, as is to be thought of a moost christien prudent victorious and politique Prince. And ye maye adde, that in case Princes, by the reason of forrayne mariages, shuld be in any thing, by the parentes or allies of their wyves, directed in thordering of their yssue; and as it were upon that grounde and respecte in their doinges comptrolled, as though they had by that meane transferred their powres and auctorities in to other men, and commytted themselfes, by suche mariages, to other Princes arbitres, whiche canne by no wayes knowe the truth of their procedinges, but by their oune only meanes and declarations; the servitute therof shuld appere soo greate and hevye, that wisedom wold permytt no Prince to mary out of his oune realme. But notwithstanding any suche mariages, howe little Princes have intromedled themselves with other forayn affaires in suche cace, onles the title of inheritance hath descended therby unto them, as it is soo apparant that it canne have no further dilation, soo We doubt not but thEmperour, ensuying thexemple of Princes of honour, wil not otherwise intricate Himself with our affaires, thenne He honorably maye; and as shuld be consonant and agreeable to the mutuel love amytie and concorde, whiche ought to be betwene christien Princes.

To his request for ayde against the Turke, We answered that We could therin give no certain resolution, bicause thaffayres of Christendom be not quiet; but in cace there maye ensue betwene christien Princes an universal reconciliacion concorde and agreement, We shal not fayle in that matier

matier to doo, for our parte, that to thoflice of a christien Prince shal appertayn.

Finally to his desire for ayde against the Frenche King, We said it shuld be convenient that our amytie shuld be first renewed and established, befor We shuld treate of any suche appendantes; and thenne, being an indifferent freende to both parties, We might frankly travayl to conserve peax and untyie, or elles freendely to staye Him that wold doo wrong; and that tyl suche tyme as that foundation were made, We could not treate of this appendant, nor of any suche like, or in any of the same make unto him any directe answer.

And forasmuche as not only for your instruction, but also *for that We be moch desyrous to knowe in what parte they take our answere there, We thought convenient to advertise you of the premisses*; our pleasure is that ye shall, aswell *in your conferences with the Emperor, pretending only a general knowlege of certayn of the overtures made by his Oratour there, both maynteyne our answere to the same, with such reasons as ye can devise for that purpose*; and of your self exhorte Him not to pretermytte this goodly occasion, so graciously begone commenced and entered; extolling our princely harte nature and courage, with our most gentil inclynacyon to the satisfaction of our frendes desires in al reasonable things; wherunto they shal not prese Us; which kinde of constraint doth for the most parte more hurte in the stay of good purposes, then can be eftsones aftre with repentawnce, when the time is past, redubbed; as in semblable maner move Mounsire Grandvile of your self, as a personage whom ye repute addicte to thadvauncement of our honour, to desire the Emperour to consider, what good may ensue to Him and to the hole state of Christendom, if We may joyne agayne in perfite amyte; and that it were great pitye, and percase greater losse then might be after recovered, to suffer this goodly meane and entre to passe without certayn frute and effecte, by the putting to it of such appendants and condycyons, as ye knowe, what so ever We wol after do at the contemplacyon of frendship, our nature and courage wol not bere to be now loden and charged withal; specyally considering that We have suffered the injurye. And with these, and suche lyke wordes, as We wol that ye shal endevour your self of your self to prycke them forwarde, and to move them symplye to procede to the renovacyon of our amyte, without adding therunto any condycyons, so ye shal repayre to the Courte, and to Grandvile, as ye may conveniently, to gyve them occasion by your being in theyr eyes to entre comunycacyon with you of these matyers. Wherby ye shal the better also perceyve, wherunto they wol bende,

which

*which our pleasure is ye shal from tyme to tyme signefye unto Us, as ye may have any certayn matier worthie our knowlege. Yeven undre our signet, at our Manour of Grenwiche, the 25<sup>th</sup> of April, the 28<sup>th</sup> yere of our Reign.<sup>1</sup>*

(*Superscribed*)

To our trusty and right welbeloved Counsailour,  
M<sup>r</sup> Pate, Archedeacon of Lincoln, and our  
Ambassadour Resident with thEmperour.

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### CCCCLXVI. HUTTON to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

MY moste bounden ducitie remembrid to Your moste Excellent Highnes. Plesith the same to be advertissid, that the 26 day of Aprill I recevid a letter from my Lord Prevy Seall<sup>3</sup>, by the wiche it apeirid to be Your Graces pleisur that I shuld further attempt the restraynt of entry in to thEmprours domenion of Your Graces traitor Reynold Pool; the wiche I have acordyng to my dueitie done.<sup>4</sup> So that fyndyng the Regent in a abbey, that is in the Forest of Breuselles, I had good oportunytie of tyme to taulke withe Hir, sayng, that I was advertissid from Your Graces Councell, that hir answer, made consarnyng the request of Your Graces letter for thbservacion of the treatis between Your Grace and thEmprour, was miche marvelid at, as impluyng in it selff a playn breche of the same, yff Your Grace wold so have acceptid it; for that the said treatis woll not that neither Prince shall receive the rebell of the other into his domynion, contrary to the wiche She had not only made stey as not to deny his entry, but also upon cawse to permit hym to com to hir

<sup>1</sup> The two last lines, containing the date, appear to have been added by Wriothesley after the passage in cypher, which was written by another hand. The mention in this letter of Crumwell (who was created a peer on the 9th of July 1536) by his name as a commoner creates a suspicion that Wriothesley was under a mistake as to the year. But the following indorsement by Wiat: "The Kyng<sup>r</sup> Gēe to my predecesso<sup>r</sup>, the last līe afore my comyng. Item, his eyfre there." whose embassy did not commence till the 10th of March 1537, and the reference to the Queen in terms, applying to Jane Seymour, and not to Anne Boleyn, prove that the true date of this letter must have been the 25th of April 1537.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph.

<sup>3</sup> Crumwell.

<sup>4</sup> Hutton on the 28th of April answered Crumwell's letter of the 23d, to the same effect as that in the text, and reported the interview with the Queen Regent on the 27th.

presens, yf he shuld desyre the same, and for that the leage symply speakith that no rebell shalbe admittid, what estate or degré he be off, with owt makynge anny excepcion. As to that, the which She had alegid, he was not com thether as Your Graces subject, but as the Bysshoppis of Romys Legat, I said it shuldbe to dangerus for all Princes, and give to myche corage to suche like traitors, that yff the might obtainy a Legacy frome Rome to be free to woorke mischeiff at lebartie with owt fear of apprehencion, by suche mean Your Grace and all other Princes might be to miche anoyed; and that it was contrary to the meanyng of the treatis, that be or shalbe made for thestablishement of the quyet of ther reallmys. Requyryng Hir to wey that matter in suche substanciall sort, as ther might apeir in Hir to have more regard to the presarvacion and contenuans of Your Graces aymytie, than to anny thynge that coldbe alegid by suche a rebell, or by his promotar, that for his treason had preffarrid hym to suche a glory. Desyryng Hir to declare whether She wold obsarve the treatis as tohyng his repair in to theis parteis or no, to thyntent I might sartyffy, uppon hir mouthe, wher unto Your Grace shuld trust. The wiche I said my desire was might be, that She, beyng bounden as thEmprors Regent, wold do that shuldbe moste to Your Graces contencion for the contenuans of thamytie. She answerid, sayng, “ I ame very  
 “ sory that the Kyng my unkill or his Councell shuld soo take my meaning,  
 “ for no fail me thynkes the shuld consedar that in a deficlt matter that  
 “ it is good to knowe thestremytie beffore it be committid, not for that I  
 “ intend eyther for Pope” (by that terme) “ or Cardynall to breake or  
 “ demenyngsche anny part of the treatis, that is betwen the Kyng my unkill  
 “ and thEmpror, but rather to the uttermost of my powar to augment it.  
 “ And albe it I consedrid to have denyed hym entry or audyens, if it had byne  
 “ demaundid, I knewe not what dangar I shuld have rone in agaynst the  
 “ Poppis Holynes” (with thois woordes); “ but yff wee had taken in theis  
 “ parteis suche ordar and derection as you have done in Yngland, this matter  
 “ were sone answerid.” Notwithstandyng She said She had hard no more  
 off hym then She had sartiffied me of at my last beyng withe Her, and that  
 ther was nor shuldbe nothyng done, but that wiche myght be leffully,  
 obsarvyng the treatis: sayng, that as She had told me beffore it was the  
 French Kynges dreift, wherffore hir Councell consedrid the matter to be of  
 great weight, soo that She wold the next day foloyng com to Breuselles, and  
 ther assembill hir Councell, to thyntent I shuld, beffore them, declare that  
 agayn in like maner as I had done to Hir. I shoid Hir that I had by my  
 letters sartiffied Your Grace of the towardnes and good will, that I had alweis

found in Hir in Your Graces effairres, albe it that hir Councell was some dell longe in deleyng thynges, wherby Your Grace might rather thynke it to be my negligens then otherweis ; desyryng Hir to avoid me of suche like blame, and to set in foat Hir selff in this matter. Wherunto She answerid, that, but only for that, She wold have taried still in the forrest fowar or five dais, for that She was not well at eas ; but if I thought it good in the mean tyme, She willed me to wryt unto Your Graces Councell, that the myght be owt of dowt that She wold not consent to his entry, contrary to the treatis ; and that, if I wold dispache a post, She wold wryt therof to thEmprors Ambassador resident with Your Grace.

This done, I departid to Breuselles, wher I found Gynns one of Your Graces pursuyvaunttes, whom I had sent to Cambray ; in wiche journey, as he reportithe, he was very evill intreatid, for betwixt Valencian and Cambray the Frenchmen tooke from hym all that he had. He saithe that the Cardynall Pool is lodgid in a abbey callid Mobbrey within the towne of Cambrey at the Suppriors lodgyng of the same place ; and that he can perceve never a Ynglischman withe hym in sarvis, but all Ytalyans and Frenchmen to the nombre of 21, and he hathe sixe moylettes. The bruyt goithe ther that his taryng is to have Your Graces salve conduct to com in to Yngland, and that his commyng hether shuldbe to speke withe the Cardynall of Leige, and that he hath setlid hym selff ther for sixe weikes. He saithe ther was thre of his sarvandes departid to come hether to Breuselles, but I can by no mean aperceve that anny suche hathe byne here as yet.

The next day com, acordyng to hir apoyment, She cam hether to Breuselles, but it was very late in the evyning, soo that ther cold nothyng be done till one the morro, wiche was the last day of Aprill. As I was in the Court taryng hyr commyng owt to goo to masse, She callid me unto Hir, sayng, it wold be two of the clok in the affter noun, or anny thyng cold be done. I kept that owar, and was cald in beffore the Councell, wher as was present the greattist assemble that ever I had seyn here together in Councell ; emong wiche were many that by ther aparell semyd to be speritwall men. I thynke ther was to the nombre of 27 or 28<sup>th</sup>. The Regent did sit at the upper end of a long tabull, and next Hir the Cardynall of Leig, and as many moo as ther was places for did sit at the same tabull ; the rest stude by. I declarid unto them the effect, woord by woord, as is before rehercesid. Which done, I was desyrid to goo apart, and taried the space of two owars, or I was cald for ; and beyng cald in, the Bisshope of Pallermo stood up, bare heddid, sayng, “ Mr Ambassador, the Quennys Majestie and wee here present of hir

“ Councell

" Councell do you to wit, that wee have byne, and alweis wilbe, redy to  
 " obsarve and accomplische all thynges conteynyd in the treatis betwen  
 " thEmprors Majestic and the Kynges, your master; and as to this matter  
 " that you her have declarid, the treuthe shall apeir that ther hathe  
 " nothyng byne done therin contrary to the same, for that as yet ther never  
 " cam anny woord by wrytting or otherweis, from hym to the Quene, that  
 " he intendithe to com hether, albeit that She, uppon the Kyng your masters  
 " letter, did send woord to the Dewke of Arskot and to other, beyng uppon  
 " the fronteires, not to suffar hym nor non off his to passe into thEmprors  
 " domenyon, till hir further pleisur knownen; so that ther hathe byne dyvers  
 " of his sarvandes that did attempt to com, the wiche by the Deuke were  
 " commaundid bake agayn to Cambrey. Uppon wiche greiff the Cardinall  
 " Leonardus Pool" (by that terme) " hathe writtin unto my Lord Cardinall  
 " here present, the wiche lettar hathe byne rede to the Queyns Majestic  
 " here in the presens of us all, and is by us all detarmynyd to wryt answare.  
 " Wiche answare you shalbe made prevy unto, to thyntent you may sartyffy  
 " the Kynges Majestic that wee have not, nor will do therin, otherweis then  
 " may alweis therin well be justifified by the treatis, and that thEmprors mynd  
 " is, that wee shuld, in all that in us lyethe, do that maybe to the Kynges  
 " contention." This I departid, taryng to have had a copie of the letter  
 that shuld be sent to the Cardynall Pool, the wiche was not dispachid<sup>1</sup>, so  
 that I thought it meit to advertis Your Grace of that was past, and to send  
 it by the next; the wiche shalbe done with all deligens. I have obtaynyd a  
 secret frend, wone of the Councell, who told me that ther was long debattynge,  
 to here every mans openyon, whether that yf he shuld make request to com  
 into thEmprors domenion, by vartewe that he is a Legat sent frome the Bisshope  
 of Rome, who in suche a cace presentith his estate, myght be denied or not.  
 Some were of openyon, that beyng Legat and presentyng that estate was  
 no Princes subject, wherby he cold not be taken as a rebell. Other were of  
 openion, that it was not to be suffrid, for that his legacy semyd to be a  
 pretenceid thyng to sowe devycion emong Prynnes; with other suche lyke  
 argumenttes. But in the end the did conclud, that uppon his demaund, the  
 shuld then se better wherapon to councell; for if he be com for anny porpos

<sup>1</sup> It appears by Hutton's next letter of the 9th of May that the Queen, by advice of the Council, did not write to Cardinal Pole, but that the Cardinal of Liege was instructed to advise Pole not to come into those parts, considering the many doubts made by the Council, and to depart before any bruit should arise, unless he had any commission, in which case he should write.

he will declar the cawse, and if it be anny thyng that shuld exstend to Your Grace, the were utterly detarmenyd to make answar that the wold not meddill in cawssis of other Prynces ; and yf he shuld aleige, that he were com to treat of anny peace, it shuld be answerid, howe that the had non suche commission from thEmpror, wher the cold not nor wold not meddill. And wher it was thought that his utter reffuge shuldbe to goo to Leige, the Cardynall, beyng ther present, said, “ Avoid you all other dowttis, and let me alone with “ that, for he shall not com ther.” Soo that I canot perceve the contrary, but that the be myche desyrus to contene new thamytie betwen Your Grace and thEmpror.

The estate of theis parteis is, ther is dayly sendyng bothe horcemen and footmen to the fronteyrs, in soo myche it is thought that ther wilbe assemblid for thEmperors partie, or this monthe be owt, about forty thosand men, and the commun bruyt goith here, that the will give the French Kyng battell, yf He will abid it. The Dewke of Geldar dothe assemble men of ware, and hathe of late cawsid newe gold gyldyrns to be coynnyd to a great som ; the coyne of them is his picture one the onesid, sittynge in a chayre slepyng, and one the othersid a scripture, the syngnyfacion wherof ys “ I am wakenyd,” but what his intent is, as yet ys to moste men unknownen.

Ther cam newis hether the last day of Aprill, that the Lord of Ystilsteyn had overthroen the conduct of vitayl that was goyng to the Frenche Kynges army, and that he had taken many presenars ; in which nombre ther was two Abbottes, that be lyke to pay a great ransom. As knowethe Owre Lord, who presarve Your Highnes in prossperus helthe and contene wall felecytie. From Breuselles, this thyrd day of May.

By Your Graces most humble  
sarvand and subject,

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

In hast, post hast,  
hast, post hast.

JOHN HUTTON.

CCCCLXVII. HUTTON *to* KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

**P**LAISITHE Your Majestie to be advertissid, that upon the answare sent by the Cardynall of Leige to the Cardynall Poole, he sent a man of Cambray to the Queyn withe a very sharpe message, as She Hir selffe made report unto me ystarday, sayng, that he did conjore Hir, upon the obeidiens that She owithe unto the Se Apostolyke, that She shuld not only permty his entry into thEmprors domenyon, but also awdiens, to declare his Legacie, for that it had never byne seyne anny Legate so ussid, wherof he wold not fail to make report; withe other, as She said, great thretenynges. The wiche message beyng debatid emonge the Councell, it was concludyd that wone of them, namyd M<sup>r</sup> Jois Aemson, shuld be sent unto hym; the effect of whois commyssion is, to sartyffy that the Queyn hathe not reffusid hym neyther entry nor awdyens, upon anny obstinacy or disobeydyens that She pretendithe agaynst the Se Apostolike, as well shuld have apeirid, yf he had not byne, as he is, a person suspect, soo that for the tryall therof, yff it shall pleis the Popis Holynes (by that terme) to send his ligacye by some other, She wold do therin as shuld becom Hir; and for that She neyther may nor will speke withe hym, She requyrithe to accept that hir lawfull excuse, and soo to returne the same way he cam. The wiche yf he eyther reffuse to do, for that he eyther canot or will not, the commission extendithe, that he shall have lebartie to be conductid, by suche as for the same shalbe apoyntid, the next way frome Cambray unto Leige, withe owt taryng above wone night in anny place. Wher unto I replied that it cold not stand withe the Quenys promys for the obsarvacion of the treatie betwen Your Highnes and thEmpror, but rather shuld bynd Hir that, if She did permty hym entrey, to do hym to be atachid, and soo to cause hym to be conveid unto Your Grace; for as myche as the very woordes of the treatie dothe playnly exspres the same withe owt anny exception. And wher it was aleigid that he was not mencionid in the treatie, beyng a Legate and presentyng the Bisschope of Romes estate, I said that albeit the preveleag of a Legate is sacrosanctum and inviolable, wher soo ever the be, (*de jure gentium*) it exstendid not but to honest men, suche as wer worthy to be committid to like offes; for, if traitors conspirators rebelles and other offendars myght, undar the shadowe of legacie, have sewre accesse

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

into

into all places, and therby to trubbull and espye all thynges, that were over myche dangerus ; but the lawe had providid that ther shuld non occasio[n] of evill be gevyn unto anny man undar the pretence of legacie. Soo that seyng this Legate to be a traitor fugitive and a forsaker of the commune welthe, canot exarcice the offis of a Legate, nor have anny deffence by the prevelegis of the same, havyng utterly loste them, for that he had committid a cryme of les majestie as to be a rebellion agaynst his Prince, and also that suche prevelegis ought not to be claymyd but only by thois that dothe exarcice the said offis ex bona fide, wher as he had forsaken his Prince and Soverayn, to whom he owethe the first obeidiens next God, also he hathe byne and is a traitor to his native countrey, and hathe adjoinid hymselff to the notorie adversareis of the same, helpyng ther matters withe his labor councell and ayde ; the wiche manifestly declarithe hym to be of malam fidem, wherby he ought not to enjoy anny prevelege of Legate. For, when soo ever ther be twoo qualiteis in anny man, the wone beyng profitable and of prevelegis, the other beyng hurtfull and prejudiciale, the last takithe away the effect of the fyrst ; for albeit that he hathe inclynyd hym selff to the Bisshope of Rome, beyng manyfestly knownen enymy of Your Grace, undar the shadowe of whom he claymythe preveleig, yet he hathe acurrid in the cryme afforesaid, and, that notwithstandingyng, he remaynithe still Your Graces subject. For the rebellion of the subject canot deprave the Princes of the right of ther subjeccion, soo that he ought to be taken as Your Graces subject, and not as a Legate, and soo to be renvoid accordyng to the treatie of peace made in that behalfe; and also a Legat, committynge a cryme in the tyme of his legacie, ought to be taken as a privat persone, and not as publique persons, by cawsse the offens takethe away thestate. And seyng that all realmes, beyng together confederat in aliaunce, shuld be taken as wone realme, therfore, yff the offendars of the wone realme do flie into the other, the ought to be taken and sent unto the place wher the have offendid ; desyryng them as myche for the obsarvacion of the treatie, as for that it tochid as well thEmpror as it did Your Grace, that the wold be well sircomspect before the admittid hym to anny preveleg exstendyng to a trewe Legat ; movyng them further to consedar that, yf like eace were of wone of thEmprors subjecttes, what the wold thynke were requisit to be done, and to do the same. It was answerid that the matter tochid the Bisshope of Romes auctoritie, and that the debatyng therof cold take no place, onles ther were Commisionars apoyntid by Hym to make answare therunto, and that the Councell thought ther was exstremetie ussid that he myght not be suffrid to declare his legacie, wiche was only done

to

to satisfy Your Highnes ; trustyng that Your Grace did soo myche tender the Emprors prossperitie, that You wold not procure a utter breche betwen Hym and the Bisshop of Rome, the wiche the thought to have deiply hasardid, in token that the desyrid nothyng so myche as the contenuans of thamtic bitwen Your Majestie and thEmpror. And, as I ame infurmyd, the Councell hathe had communication to send wone to the Bisshop of Rome to make the excuse, and to aleige the cawsis why the have reffusid awdiens off his Legate. The afore namyd Jois Aemsone dothe take his journey as this day towardes Cambray, who in my openyon dothe bere his trewe hart and sarvis towardes Your Grace. He is of my famyliar aquentans, so that I dowt not but he will do his diligence to avoyd his commyng in to theis parteis ; as he hathe promyssid me, sayng more over, that, yf he nedis wold take his journey to Leige, his advisse shuld be that he were atachid, in Your Graces name, to make answar to suche thynges as shuldbe leid unto his charge, and soo to folowe it by justis : wherin I shall stey uppon Your Graces further pleisar to be knownen.

The Cardynall of Leige and I talkid of this mattar alone, and he willed me to make his moste humble recommendacions unto Your Grace, promyssyng me by his honor that if he aforce wold com to Leige, as, if he by anny means can avoyd, shall not, Your Grace shalbe advertissid frome tyme to tyme what his intent and purpos shalbe ; and that, if it shuldbe anny mattar that myght be prejudisciall to Your Highnes, it shuld take non effect, yf it myght ly in hym to resist. And, as I ame credably infurmyd, that synns his fyrst commyng, he hathe alweis shoid hym selffe to favor all suche affayres, as he hathe knownen to consarde Your Grace, ernestly. I have wone of my sarvandes lyinge at Cambray, to whom I have gevyn charge to make good esspiall, soo that Your Highnes may be advertissid of all thynges that hathe or shall passe ther.

And as to thestate of theis parteis, here com downe dayly many men of ware, specially horce men. The Queyn told me that yf the Frenche Kyng wold tary but 15 days, She wold sho Hym what God may strenght a woman to do. She dothe wear upon hir kirtill a girkyn of blake lether, with ilot holis, to were harnis upon. Yf that the Frenche men reteire, the Dewke of Geldar is like to have a hote harvist, as I here by report. And this Owre Lord presarve Your Majestie in prossperus helthe and perpetuall felicitye. Frome Brewselles, this 16<sup>th</sup> day of May, late in the evynnyng.

As I had endid this my letter, I receyvd wone frome Your Grace, beryng date the 11<sup>th</sup> day of this present. And to thytent I thought it my dewtie to sartyff Your Highnes of the premessis, I wold not stey this berar, but

rather

rather chargid hym to depart withe all deligens ; and to morow I will ride to the Queyn, who is a huntyng in the forest of Hever besides Loveyn, and sartyffy Hir of Your Graces further pleisar.

Your Graces most humble and obedient

sarvand and subject,

JOHN HUTTON.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

In hast, post hast,  
hast,  
post for thy liffe hast.

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### CCCCLXVIII. HUTTON *to* CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MY moste bounden duitie remembered unto Your good Lordshipe. Plaisithe the same to be advertissid, that by Fraunces the curror I have receyvd wone of yours, beryng dat the 23 day of this present monthe, the effect wherof well apercevyd I have not faillid, synns the date of my last letteres, sent unto the Kynges Highnes and to your Lordshipe, to have solissitud that matter with all convenient diligence. Albe it, that notwithstandingyng, ther was permyttid unto that traitor passag oone Sonday last passed, at wiche tyme he, with owt anny lengar taryeng, departid frome Cambrey acompenyd with the Bisshope of the same Se<sup>2</sup>, till he was past the lemyttes belongyng therunto, and soo was conductid that nyght, by dyvers of the beforseid bishoppes band, unto a place called Bousshyn, and ther laye that nyght, and the next day to Bavey, and frome thence to the abbey of Awne, the wiche is aperteynyng to the domenyon of the Cardynall of Leige, wher he remeynyd one Friday last. Your Lordshippis letter, with that derectid to the Queyne, I receyvd ystarnyght in the evynyng, so late that I cold not delyver the Queyn hyr letter till this day in the mornyng, when I, after She had hard masse, adressid my selffe unto Hyr, delyveryng the said letter, sayng, “ Madam I perceve “ by suche letteres as I have receyvd frome the Kynges Majestie my master, “ that your letter is come to late, for it consarnyth the Cardynall Pool, to “ whom You have redy lisancesyd entry in to thEmprors domenyon, contrary “ to the treatis.” To the wiche She answerid, that yf the Kynges Majestie were advertissid of the treuthe, what She had done therin, She had no dowt

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Robert De Croy.

but

but that His Grace wold concedar that She had not only acomplisshid hir promys, but also for his sake done more then the treatis did byne Hyr unto. For wher in all treatis the Poppis Legattes (by that terme) be exempt and fre, yet She wold not permty his entry into thEmprors domenyon, till ther was none other sweifft; for the havyng had passage thoro Fraunce myght not that wey returne agayne, soo that She said it was the lest that myght be done to give hym the passage of two days journey, under conduct, withoutt permtyting hym to have his crosse or suche other pontyfike serymonyes, nor to have frequentacion with anny persone dewryng the said passage, but only his owne compeny, and suche as was admyttid to conduct hym; by cawse She wold not be had suspect. And She told me that he shall not tary longe ther in Leige, notwithstandingyng he makithe myche deficitie to passe thoro Almayn. My sarvand that came frome thence shall goo bake agayn, to remayn in thois parteis wher he repayrithe, to thyntent the Kynges Highnes may be from tyme to tyme advertissid of all his demenewre and ussage.

This day ther came unto me wone Vaughan, the wiche is fled owt of Yngland, as he saythe, for that he slew a man and therof was convict, to Beawdeley, frome whens he hathe conweid hym selffe in to theis parteis, so that I beyng at Baroughe he came unto me, declaryng his great nessessitie, for relyffe; wheroft I, with the assistans of the marchanttes resident ther, did gether a sarten some of money for hym, the wiche aperithe will not long sarve to furnysche hym in theis parteis, for he came unto me sayng, “Syr, “ albeit my povartie, yet I do and will bere my hart and sarvis to my Soverayn “ Lord the Kyng of Yngland; and knoweyng you to be here his Ambassador, “ I will declare unto you suche thynges as were requysight the Kynges “ Hignes were advertissid of; sayng, soo it is that wone Henry Phillipps, “ an Ynglysceman, resydent in Lovayn, to whom I did breke my mynd of “ my nessessitie, howe that for lake of money and langwage I cold not “ longer contenewe in this contrey, onles I myght obteyn some sarvis, the “ said Phillipps answerid, that he myght prove to get hym selff in sarvis with “ the Cardynall Pool, and the he had aquentans with wone of his gentilmen “ namyd Thrognton, who for his sake wold further hym the best he cold.” The said Vaughan gave hym thankes, and fell in to a further famylyeritie, soo that wone of them discoverid unto the other all ther myschancesis, and at the last Pillippis said, “ Well, and the worst fall, yf you wilbe sworne “ unto me to keipe cecret that I shall tell you, we will be in Yngland, or it “ be longe.” The wiche promys made by Vaughan, he said, “ So it is that

" Mychaell Trognorton shalbe sent into Yngland assone as the Cardynall  
 " Poole shalbe settlid in Leige, with letters to dyvers of M<sup>r</sup> Poolis frendes,  
 " and ther is great dowt howe to convey the sayd letters, but I have devysid  
 " to do, as I did by sarten letters that I sent to my father, wiche was, I  
 " cawssid them to be baken within a loffe of bred, and soo ar we apoyntid  
 " to do with thois, and yf wee may, we wilbe set aland in Cornwall; and  
 " you shall goo withe us yf you will." Wiche entarprice I have incoragyd  
 hym to accomplische, and I have gevyn hym 40<sup>s</sup>., for I dowt that a more  
 some myght eyther cawse hym to change his purpos, or elles that he myght  
 therby be susspect; and I have gevyn hym commyssion that from tyme to  
 tyme in moste cecrettes wisse he shall advertis me of all thynges dewryng  
 his beyng in theis parteis; and that this mattar takyng effect, he beyng  
 wonnys landid in Yngland in the fyrst towne or borough, wher ther shalbe  
 eyther mayr bayliffe or cunstabull or anny other the Kynges offissar, to do  
 them to be atachid; and as to suche crymrys as he hathe commyttid, I have  
 promyssid to be a sewtar unto your Lordshipe, by mean of whom he shall  
 not only obtayn the Kynges most gracieios pardon, but also a further reward.  
 Thus I have hassardid 40<sup>s</sup>.; and yf the partie dissymull not to myche, I  
 trust ther shall thynges come to light, that wolbe very nessisarie to be knownen.  
 Ther was oone Antoneye sent unto me by Syr Thomas Palmar, who saithe  
 that he, beyng one Thursday last past in the abbey of Awne, hard reportid  
 that Frogerton was gone in to Yngland with letters frome the Cardynall Pool.  
 I have found hym agre in the moste of hys report with that my sarvand hathe  
 infurmyd me of, the which cam from thens. My Lord, albeit that in this  
 matter of the traytor Pool all thyng hathe not foloyd acordyng to the Kynges  
 pleasure, yet I trust His Highnes and your good Lordship will consedar  
 that I have done my best, as I by dewtie ame bownd, and further will, as  
 I by instruccions shalbe infurmyd. But in my judgement, yf it had not  
 byne for the screpill of conciens, that the have in theis parteis, of the  
 Bysshoppis of Romes auctoritie, ther were nothyng possibull that the woold  
 not gladly do for the contenuans of thamytie betwyxt the Kynges Highnes  
 and thEmpror.

As to thestat of theis parteis is, the Queyn is preparid to goo towardses  
 the fronteyres one Fryday next, and, as She reportithe, with utter intent to  
 proffar to the Frenche men. No fail, ther is at this day in aredynes above  
 40 thosand, wheroft ther is many that be very well horssid.

My Lord, I have in dyvers of my letters wryttyn your Lordshipe con-  
 sarnyng the shipe that was taken laden withe brassell, wheroft I have not as yet  
 anny

anny mencion of your pleisur therin ; and here the make none other answar, but that the tary answare of thEmprors Ambassador that is resydent in Yngland ; and in this mean tyme, as I ame infurmyd, the shipp wilbe clerly lost.

Her is wone John Van den Dyque a procurar here in Breuselles, that hathe willid me to wryt unto your Lordshipe, for that he hathe in his custody sarten bookes and other wryttinges, that aperteynyd to M<sup>r</sup> John Hacket, to have your Lordshipis pleisur knownen, what shuldbe done withe them. I have not elles to wryt your Lordshipe at this present, but that I pray God presarve you in long and prosperus helthe, withe myche honor. Wryttyn at Breuxelles, this 26 day of May in the evynyng, by the hand of your Lordshippis most bound

JOHN HUTTON.<sup>1</sup>

(*Superscribed*)

To the right honorabull and his syngular good Lord,  
My Lord Crumwell, Lord Prevy Seal,  
in hast, hast, post hast.

### CCCCLXIX. HUTTON TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

My moste bounden duetic remembered unto Your moste Excellent Highnes. Pleasithe the same to be advertissid, that as this day the Lady Regent tooke hir gorney frome hens towardes the town of Lile. And, for that the Bisshop of Verona had byne with Hyr in the evennyng before, I did prepayre my selfe to accompeny Hir, to thyntent I wold be in sight, for that She had promyssid me that ther shuld no message be brought unto Hir frome Pole, but that I shuld have knowlege, to thyntent I myght advertis Your Highnes therof; soo that in mediatly after She was some what past the towne of Breuselles, She cald me unto Hir, sayng, “ Ystarday the Bisshop of Verona “ was withe Me, who after many solempre preposiscions said unto Me, that “ he was sent frome the Cardynall Pool ; who, yf it had byne my pleasure, “ wold gladly have done his owen message ; but, for that it apeirid the contrary, “ his charge was to declare unto Me his Legacie frome the Poppis Holynes,”

<sup>1</sup> A further despatch from Hutton to Crumwell of the 30th of May states that he has declared to the Regent the displeasure felt by the King at Pole's reception, and that She has written to the King on the subject ; and that the Cardinal of Liege has promised not to favour Pole.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph.

by that terme, "havyng ordonyd hym, as unworthy, to be sent in legacie to  
 " Me. Wherof as he said fyrst was to advertis Me the ocasions of the delay,  
 " wherby the Generall Councelles dothe not folo in effect acordyng as it was  
 " ordenyd, and also that he, beyng natwrally borne in Yngland, wher as ever  
 " till nowe of late was undar the obedyens of the Se Apostolyke, and redy  
 " to ayd and assist the same, and nowe beyng of contrary openyon; for  
 " reformacion wherof, he, as moste unworthy, was sent, assistid withe suche  
 " as were bothe varteos and well lernyd to dispute thois arrors, soo that, for as  
 " miche as bothe the recidens of this countrey and the presens of Me was  
 " to hym inhebitid, his desyre and request was, that the evill fortune, for as  
 " myche as tochid his owen person, myght be non ocacion that thois godly  
 " purpossis ment by the Popis Holines, shuld not com to effect; and that I  
 " shuld take no displesur, all be it that he, for his discharge, had wryttyn  
 " unto the Pope, of thyngatitued to hym showed, the wiche as he thought  
 " to be myche, in regard for that it had never beffore that tyme byne seyn  
 " that ever anny Legat, sent frome the Holy Fatherhed, had byne so ussid." Wherunto, as She said, was answerid, that when the tyme shuld come for the furtherans and breiffe expeditioun of the Generall Councelles, ther shuld not be lakynge in Hir anny duetie nor deligens. And as to thois thynges consarnyng Your Highnes, theis parties were not thought meit to usse anny disputacions therin, without Your Graces consent, aswell the apoynting of the place, as of the persons to make answere ther unto in Your Graces behalffe. And as to all that he had or cold wryt, She reffarrid that to his disreccsion, for that She had done nothyng but that She wold justifie; and that hir openyon was by the consent of hir Councell that he shuld returne, for that She had no commission of thEmpror to entar meddill in anny poynt of his ligacie. And for as myche as he, beyng a partie susspect, might be a further ocacion of inconvenyens, then his ligacie might profit, albeit it shuld take effect; therffore yf anny suche thynges as he had movid were thought meit to be movid, it myght be myche bettar mynystrid by some other then by hym, for the ocasions afforsaid. And this She said was the whol contenewe of all that passid, soo that She, to accomplishe hir promys and for the seal that she berithe unto Your Highnes, said ther shuld nothyng be done, wherof anny part myght redond unto Your Grace, but that I shuld have knowlege therof, to thyntent I myght advertis Your Highnes; willing me to have in remembrans hyr moste humble recommendacions unto Your Magistrie. And this I tooke my leve, prepartyng my selff to wryt Your Grace of the premisis: not knoweyng anny other at this tyme, but that Jhesu presarve Your moste Excellent Highnes in moste

prosperus

prosperus helthe and perpetuall felicitie. Frome Breuselles, thys third day of June.<sup>1</sup>

By Your Graces moste humble and  
obedient servand and subject,

JOHN HUTTON.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kinges Highnes.  
In hast, hast, post hast.

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CCCCLXX. HUTTON TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

My moste bounden dieutie remembered unto Your moste Excellent Highnes. Pleasithe the same to be advertissid, that understandyng by letters adressid unto me owt of Your Graces Realme, that it hathe pleasid Your Highnes to augment my diettes to the som of 20<sup>s</sup>. by the day, I thought it my part and moste bounden deutie, to signifie unto Youre Hieghnes, that, were I am myche unworthie either to have suche place in Your Graces service as it hathe pleasid Your Grace to admit me unto, or be able to deserue Your Graces liberalitie showed for my meyntenaunce therin, neyther of anny habelitie to render thankes to Your moste graciecios Majestie for the same, but with my dayly prayar unto Allmichtie God, the whiche shalbe that He, of his moste infinit goodnes, not only supply my part therin, but also give me grace, with dexsteritie and diligence to sarve Youre Hieghnes, as by the same Your Grace may thynke youre moste graciecios goodnes well employed; of oone thyng Your Majestie shalbe moste asseurid, that better hart nor will shall no levying man have to sarve Your Grace, then I; the wiche I trust in my deadis soo to declare, as shalbe to Your Highnes contentacion.

Consarnyng the estate of theis parties is, that as ystarday the newis cam to the Court that the towne of Saynct Poal was taken by assaut, to the utter confucion of the deffendars.

<sup>1</sup> On the same day Hutton wrote to Crumwell a transcript of his letter to the King, with the following addition: "As ystarnyght late ther cam wone of my espialles frome Leige, who brought me woord that Pole lay in the old palis, and that he was pontifikkly receyvd in to the cete of Leige; wher, as it aperithe bothe by report, and by the provision for his howssold, that he is detarmenyd to tary ther till he have answar frome Rome. And, it was told hym, that Thrognotun was gone in to Yngland, for he is not with his master. Ther was a present made to Pole of 3 thosand gildyrns, as it is thought, by the Cardynall of Leige. The take hym ther for a yong god. He commythe but littill abrod, nor he will not speke but with very fewe."

<sup>2</sup> Holograph.

Acordyng to my formall commision, I have not faillid to have contenuall espialles, to thyntent I myght the better advertis Your Grace of thestat and conversacion of Youre Graces traitor Pole, who as yet remaynythe within the cetie of Leige in the Bisshoppis old palais, accompenyd withe the Bisshope of Verona, and not with owt great feare; for as it aperithe ther can com no strangar withe in the said towne of Leige, that departithe unexsamond: in suche wisse that hether cam of late wone William Vaughan, who as he saithe for dreid of Your Graces lawes was fled owt of England, and declarynge his povertie, I helpid hym with suche small releiff as my powar exstentid. Fyndyng hym appt to do anny thyng wherby he myght obteyn your moste graciecios favor and pardon, I devissid he shuld procure to get in to sarvis with the said Pool, and that yff he therof shuldbe denyed, to repayre agayn unto me, and I shuld then otherweis further hym to the uttermost of my powar. He had a letter consarnyng the same frome oone Frear Peito, unto a sarvand of Pollis, namyd Mychaell Throg-nortun, the which he shoid me, the tenure wherof was that he thought it to be a meritorios deid to helpe the said Vaughan in to sarvis with his master. This said Vaughan arivyng at Leige was suspect to be a spie, but, after divers questions movid, and further aquentauance taken, he was brought unto the speche of Pole, who demaundid hym of newis, sayng, "As I ame infurmyd, you be banysshid owt of your native countrey, aswell as I," and therwith incontynent told hym that he rejoissid to se a Welchman, for that his graundfather cam owt of Wallis; sayng that, yf he had not had his full nombre, he wold have byne well contentid to have acceptid hym in to his sarvis, but if soo were that he cold make sheifft to com in to Ytalie at suche tyme as he wer ther, he wold be glad to take hym, willyng hym to repayr hether unto Andwarpe, and to inquear newis, aswell what he cold perceve, that I pretentid towardses hym, as hother weis; and soo gave hym a croune, with promys that, yff he returnyd, his costis shuldbe paid. Itt was told hym by the said Thrognotun that his master wold for a tyme stey his pene frome wrytting, in hope of amendment; sayng, that dewryng Your Graces liffe his master had no trust ever to come in to England; for that, all be it Your Grace shuld graunt hym his pardon, he wold have no trust therunto. At his departyng the said Trognortun delyvered unto hym a letter derectid unto Frear Peito, the copie wherof I have sent Your Grace here in closid<sup>1</sup>, and oone other bill of remembraunce, the which was delyverid unto hym. He knowethe not, whether it be Trog-

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<sup>1</sup> Not preserved.

nortuns hand, or Poollis. He dowttithe myche his passage thoro Almayn, estemyng Your Grace to have procwrid some myscheiffe agaynst hym. He told this Vaughan, that Sir Thomas Palmar, Petar Mewtas, John Wyngffild, Fraunceis Hall, and I, withe dyvers other, were sent in to theis parteis by Your Grace to distroye hym; and as I can perceve, it was soo infurmyd hym by wone Antony, that was sent in esspiall frome Sir Thomas Palmer, he woldbe in Italie in his dubblet and his owsse, with never a penny in his purce. This Vaughan shall returne thether agayne withe suche newis as be currant here, and as I thynke he shall entar in to further matter, wherof Your Hieghnes shalbe frome tyme to tyme advertissid.

This consecdryng your gracieios goodnes exstendid towardes me, I have resolved myself to give me holy to Your Graces service, and for that purpos to breake upp my howsse at London, and soo to convey my poore wyffe hether. I shall moste humbly beseche Youre Grace to give me lycence, when it shall soo stand with Your Graces pleasure, for oone monthe to repayre in to England; wiche done, I shall the better aplie myself, and withe the more quietnes of mynd, to do Your Grace here that service, the wiche my poore hart desyrithe. As knowethe Ower Lord, who presarve Your moste Excellent Majestie in helthe and perpetuall felicitie. Frome Andwarpe, this 17<sup>th</sup> day of June.<sup>1</sup>

By the hand of Your Graces moste  
humble and obeidient sarvand and  
subject,

JOHN HUTTON.

*(Superscribed)*

To the Kinges Highnes.  
In hast, hast, post hast,  
hast, post hast.

<sup>1</sup> Hutton wrote on the same day to Crumwell, sending him a copy of his letter to the King, and addng, " Mychael Thrognotun hathe not byne in England, for as I ame infurmyd he was abrode with the Bysshopp of Verona, who was lodgid in Maklyn, in the same lodgyng that I was lodgid at, and Thrognotun with hym, who knewe me, as he hathe synns reportid, but I knewe not hym. He gave great charge to William Vaughan to inqwear, yf ther had byne anny communicacion upon the openyon of the fesissions, whether the Quenys Grace were withe chyld with a man child, or not."

From St. Omer Hutton wrote two letters, one on the 21st of July to the King, and another on the 23d to Crumwell. In the former he describes some of the military operations at the siege of Thérouenne, where the Queen Regent was present, and the discovery of mines without the walls, which in the second letter he states would probably cause the siege to be raised.

The military operations are further detailed in three letters transmitted by Sir Robert Wyngfeld at Calais, who states them to be from his nephew Halle. They are dated before Thérouenne, the two first on the 22d, and the third on the 24th of July.

Hutton on the 26th writes to Crumwell from before Thérouenne, that it was rumoured the assault would be given on the morrow, and from St. Omer on the 29th he reports that a feigned attack had been made by Iselstein.

CCCCLXXI. HUTTON TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MY moste bounden duetie remembered unto Your Lordship. This shalbe for the sartyffyng, that as this day in the after noon the newis cam hether to the campe, that the Commissioners of Fraunce and of theis parteis have concludyd a treuis for 10 monethis, but upon what capitilles is as yet unknownen; soo that I will procure with all diligens to get a copie of them to thyntent the Kynges Highnes maybe advertissid therof.<sup>2</sup> Here is a great murmurryng emonge the men of ware, specially emong the Highe Almayns; in suche wysse that the Lord of Breidrowd, who is a kapteyn of five thosand, reportid this day in the presens of the Lord of Bewre, that he woldnot forsake his men, till this sommar were past; and by that I cold perceve he intendithe to make ware agaynst the Dewke of Holst, in the favor of the Kyng Cristian, who hathe byne long and yet is presonar, sayng that he coldbe well assewrid of 7 or 8 thosand that were in this campe to goo with hym in that enterprince, for sixe weikis, with owt anny penny. In my openyon this treuis was taken only for lake of money, the which will redound to the myche shame and great afterdell of theis parteis, who had the town of Turwyn at a great advaantage. Ther wilbe myche defycultie to seperat this army with owt dangar of displeisur.

If anny thyng chaunce, acordyng to my duetie, the Kynges Highnes shalbe advertissid. As knowethe the Lord, who presarve Your good Lordshipe in long lyffe and myche honor. Frome the campe beffore Turwyn, the last day of July.<sup>3</sup>

By the hand of Your Lordshippis  
most bounden

JOHN HUTTON.

*(Superscribed)*

To the right honorable and his singular good Lord,  
the Lord Prevy Seall, at the Roulles,  
in hast, hast, post hast.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> It is dated at Bommy on the penultimate of July 1537, and is printed in the Recueil des Traitez, Tom. II. p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Hutton on the 1st of August reports to Crumwell from St. Omer, that the truce has been proclaimed, and on the 4th sends to the King what he has collected from report to be the substance of the truce, with this addition, which the treaty does not disclose, that "the Frenchmen made  
" the

CCCCCLXXII. HUTTON TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASITHE Your good Lordshipe to be advertissid, that the artikilles here in clossid<sup>2</sup> were sent me by wone of the Regenttes Cecretoreis, and not knowyng whether the Kynges Highnes were advertissid of like newis, I thought it my duetie

" the first offer, and that ther is paid by them towardes the Emprors chargis two hundrithe " thosand crownyss."

On the 5th Hutton followed the Queen Regent to Bruges, whither She went on her route to Bruxelles; and the next day finding that one of the Emperor's embassy in England was about to proceed there, he asked Her to certify to the King the nature of the truce, to which She answered that the Lord of Buren had written to His Majesty.

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> " Summariye of some letters sent in to Flaundres :

" The Prince de Auria departed from Messena the 9<sup>th</sup> of July with 30 galeys, veray well in " order, for to descover the Turkes armye, whiche is yet at Avallon, and horely we trust to here " of his embarkement and where he woll make his entreprise.

" The Frenshemen being in Piemont have ben of late dayes a handgonnes cast nre Aste, " thinking to take the same. Don Anthony dArragon was therin with 1800 fotemen, and bicause " they were not strong enough to resiste their ennemyes, they advertised the Marquis of Guast " therof; the which sent succours in suche maner, that the ennemys did retyre with lost and " grete shame, and our men pursued them doing the wourse they could agenst them.

" The Viceroy of Naples writeth by his letters of the 3<sup>de</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of July, that the Bishop " of Romes galeys arrived at Naples the last day of Juny, and then incontinently departed the " Prince dAuria with the same and with other of the Siciles, and with hym 1500 Spanyardes : " and the 3<sup>de</sup> day of July shal departe all the residue of the armye that is in Naples, with their " shippes, for to folowe hym.

" The 4<sup>th</sup> of July the said Prince de Auria arryved at Messena with all tharmye, and shal " shortelye departe thens.

" The 24<sup>th</sup> of Juny there arrived at Zante a brigantyne of the Religion, and said that the " 18<sup>th</sup> of the said of Juny he discoverd the Turkes armye at the poynte of Saint Angel, and " rekened 150 galeyes; and, bicause they were veray nere oone an other, that he could not reken " them all, but they may be about 350 sayles, the most part galleyes, and 70 foystes, and the " rest naves, and that they earye with tharmye 400 smal houses and many laders and other " engins, for to assaulte townes. Sithens, we had newes that they were arrived at Modon, and " were 350 sayles.

" There is advertisement, by letters of Corfu, that Lutfyven is at Nigroponte with 130 sailes, " and 40 leages beyond that is Lifut Syman Bassa with 50 sayles, and Criadin Bassa was in an " other port with the rest of the armye. It is feared lest the Turk shal invade Corfu.

" That in Scopia were the Frenshe Ambassadours, solliciting the Turkes commyng forward.

" Albania and other countreys be rysen agenst the Turk to serve thEmperour, bicause the Turk " commaunded that they shuld be destrued.

" The letters from Ragusa of the last of Juny say, that the Turkes armye was at Modon

duetie to send them unto your Lordshipe. Not havyng in theis parteis anny other newis, but only that the sayng is the Governor of Frice prepairithe sarteyn nombre of footman agaynst the Dewke of Gelder. The Lady Regent is as yet remeynyng in Bregis, wher She is daily in councell withe the Estattes of this thEmprors Lowe Countrey, the effect wheroft I canot as yet obteyn knowlege.

I wrot your Lordshipe in my formall letters consarnyng the act made for money by exchange<sup>1</sup>, the wiche, in my openion, onles it be resolvid, wilbe a great ocacion not only to cawse a stey for salis of wolen clothis and carseis, but also that great sommes of coyne shall by reson therof be conveid owt of the realme, for ther is not laden the 10<sup>th</sup> part in marchandis for all suche commodities as commethe owt of Fraunce, soo that the rest mooste be eyther made over by exchange or conveid over in money. And for theis parteis, were the trade for salis of ower commodateis is, the moste part that

“ commynge towardes Lavelona, and that they were but 250 galeys, and that the same that shal  
“ invade Apulia shalbe gretter.

“ From Avalona the Turk sent his Capten General Lutfibaxen and Barbarossa, towardes  
“ Hostia, with 135 galleyes the best he had, for to gett the port of Rome, and purposeth to come  
“ in to Lombardie for to joyne with the Frenshe King.

“ That the 8<sup>th</sup> of July the armye passed the canal of Confo the nombre of 330 sayles and  
“ more, wheroft there be 170 galleyes well armed, and 70 bitwen galleyes and foystes, and many  
“ other; and the galleyes of the Veneciens are going and commynge in grete peace and amytie, and  
“ doo fortifie their armye.

“ It is unknownen where the armye woll arrive; it is thought that it shalbe at Naples or  
“ Sicilia.

“ The Grete Turke hath with hym men of Romanya to the nombre of 100000 horsemen with  
“ the 30000 he hath in Scopia.

“ The Begeler Bey of Grece, whom the Turk sendeth to the confynes of Hungarye, hath seven  
“ sanjakes, that is, abouete 10000 men and 12000 janissaries, and 15000 other men of his Court,  
“ and moche artillerye. He shal come towardes Scopia in a place where is veray freshe, 2 days  
“ journey from Avelona, where his logyng is prepared, and there he shal appointe what the armye  
“ by lande shal doo.

“ ThAmbassadeur of Genes, by his letters of the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, confermeth the retrayte of the  
“ Frenshmen within Ast, at the commynge of the Marquis of Guasto with our armye, as is afore-  
“ said, without playeng with trompete or drom, and did retyre towards Alba, where they had the  
“ gates open; and there they be nowe, and our men in Ast. The ennemyes have grete lak of  
“ munition, and dayly their Italians fotemen doo forsake them.

“ It is said that the Frenshe King hath a fever terciane. It is also said that the King of  
“ Romains is veray myghty.”

<sup>1</sup> Hutton sent to Crumwell a copy of the before-mentioned letter to the King of the 6th of August, and in a postscript added, “ I here by report that exchange is stopped: onles ther be good  
“ order gevyn by your Lordshipe, no fail ther wilbe myche money conveid over, albeit that all  
“ coynns shalbe called downe here, the whiche wilbe a great stay.”

be

be byars therof do charge them selvis by exchange, to repay here uppon suche moneis as grouithe of ther salis, by wiche policy many have had, and yet at this present have, great doynges, that shuld here after have but littill; yf it shuldbe manyffestid openly, howe myche the charge them selvis by exchang with, it shuldbe great dekey to ther credence. I dowt not but your Lordship can consedar the many discomoditeis, that may insewe therby, myche better then I eyther can wryt or speke them, the wiche be like were unknownen to hym or them that have preffarrid the same, who myght of a good syl doo it, albeit the thyng in effect is myche discomodios, as by many resonys myght be more at large alegid. Not havyng at this present anny other thyng worthy of wrytting unto your Lordshipe, whome I pray Jhesu presarve in longe lyff and prossperus estate. Frome Andwarpe, this 12<sup>th</sup> day of August, by the hand of your Lordshippis moste bounden

JOHN HUTTON.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right honorable and his syngular good  
Lord, my Lord Prevy Seal, at the Roulles,  
in hast hast hast post hast.

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### CCCCLXXIII. HUTTON to KING HENRY VIII.<sup>1</sup>

**M**y moste bounden duetie remembered unto Your moste Excellent Highnes. Pleasithe the same to be advertissid, that to thyntent Your Highnes myght the better be sartiffied of Your Gracees traitor Pole, I had conteneawally good esspiall at Leige, wher as he hathe byne resident synns the date of my last letters sent unto Your Highnes consarnyng hym, unto the 22<sup>th</sup> day of this present monethe, at wiche tyme he departid frome thens, riddyngh thoro the cetie solemly, gevyngh his benediction unto the peple. Ther was borne beffore hym a crosse and other two serymoneis, wherof my auctor cold not tell me the proper name. He was accompenyd withe the Cardynall of Leige, the Bisshope of Verona, and wone other who is namyd here le Nounce du Pappe, by that terme. The Cardynall of Leige, after that he had accompenyd hym a littill owt of the cetie, returnyd bake agayne; and he withe his compeny rode furthe towardes Mastrike, wher as ther is apoyntid a

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

chapter to be holden the third day of the next monethe; the which done, as I ame credably infurmyd, he will depart with all deligens towrdes Rome. Ther is two whit munkis, that have taken upon them to conduct hym thoro Almeyn.

To sartifie Your Highnes of the occurrenttes in theis parteis is, that by letters beryng date at Rome the 13<sup>th</sup> of this present monethe, sartiffie that dyvers galeis off the Venissians have made affraye with other vesselles of the Turkes armye, in soo myche that it is thought the Venissians shalbe constreynyd to spane in with thEmpror, albeit that the Auncienttes of ther Senat in no wisse will consent therunto, for that the have in Surrea great substance of marchandys, the wyche, yf ther be a breche, the knowe to be clerly lost. But the sartenty what the will doo is as yet unknownen. By the same letters it is sartiffied that the Bisshope of Rome hathe in aredynes 7 thosand foote men, and dayly procureythe to assemble a greaterre nombre, soo that ther was never seyn in Rome non suche harvist for getheryng in of money, as is at this present; in soo myche that the openion of some is, that Saynt Petars riche coope is in great danger to put to sake. It is also sartiffied that the Turke hathe gotten dyvers holdis that were adjonyng to Castro, albeit the be not estemyd of great importanc. The Vice Roye of Napulles is departid towrdes the Turkes armye, accompenyd withe 10 thosand foote men and 6 thosand horcemen, the wiche be estemyd to be the best men of warre in the world. Many men here thynk that the victore, the wiche Andrea Dorea had, shall rather turne to displesur, then furtherance, for that therby his galeis be unffurnysshid. As the newis goythe, it was a crewell fygth. I have sent Your Highnes the copie, that was sent hether<sup>1</sup> by wone who was present at it; not dowtting but Your Grace hathe had longe or thys tyme newis therof, but therby Your Highnes may perceve whether the agre or not. Here is a great bruyt that wone Kapteyn Barlo shuldbe atachid and in danger to suffar, for that he with dyvers other of Your Graces subjecttes shuld sarve thEmpror in his warris; wherat many grudge, sayng that the have not hard of anny such like to be done to thois Your Graces subjecttes havyng sarvid the Frenche Kyng, and yet the sey ther was found Ynglische men at Saynt Pole, Muttrell, and all other places that the wer at. Unto wiche I have answerid, that yf anny suche partie be tachid, it shall welbe aprovid to be for some other cryme.

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<sup>1</sup> It is extant, but it has not been thought necessary to print it.

Not havyng at this present anny other thynge neidfull to wryt Your Grace. As knowethe the Lord, who presarve Your most Excellent Majestie in contenuall helthe and perpetuall felecitie. Frome Andwarpe, this 30 day of August.<sup>1</sup>

By Your Graces moste humble  
obeysaunt sarvand and subject,

JOHN HUTTON.

(*Superscribed*)  
To the Kynges Highnes.

In hast hast hast  
hast post hast.

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#### CCCCLXXIV. HUTTON TO KING HENRY VIII.<sup>2</sup>

My moste bounden duetie remembered unto Your moste Excellent Highnes. Pleasithe the same to be advertissid, that by my late letters datid at Andwarpe the last day of August, I sartified Your Majestic of the departyng frome Leige off Your Graces traytor Pole, and in mediatly aftar I repayrid hether to Bregis, wher the Lady Regent is as yet resydent, not beyng detarmynyd to give anny sarten knowlege of hir removyng. Here is a forrest neir adjoynynge unto this towen, wher She for the moste part every day takythe hir recreacion in huntyng the hart afforce, and commythe not to Councell soo ofte as She acustomably ussid to doo. At this present here is fewe or non of the nobles, but suche as be towardes the lawe.

Here is publishid a pardon that is com frome the Bisshope of Rome, the wiche, as the say, shall absolve them, bothe de pena et culpa, aswell the wone as the other. It is gevyn fre with the owt takyng of anny money, but the that receive it be commaundid to fast thre days together, and the fourthe day to be shreven and howsselid, wiche day is kept here with great solempnytie this present Sunday; yet is it thought by some that pardons be not myche set by in Ytaly, that the be sent soo good chepe hether in to Flandres, and yet many dowt the will not be receyvd here the next yere, onles ther com money with them.

As I ame inffurmyd, it is concludid that the Lord of Prat and the Lord of Liskyrke shall depart towards the Empor, with all spedys diligens. The

<sup>1</sup> The letter No. CLXXXVII., which in Vol. I. p. 740. is arranged as of the year 1542, ought to have been placed in 1537; for Hutton and the Empress, who are there mentioned as living persons both died before 1542, the former in 1538, the latter in 1539.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph.

Councellar Loys Schore, and the Cecretary George Displegen, shalbe sent in to Estland. The Regent lookythe dayly for the Duchesse off Mylleyn, whoo shalbe maried to the Deweke of Clevis sone and eyer. It is here reportid that the Seneshall of Henault shall eftt wonus returne in to Fraunce, and that Mons<sup>r</sup> Du Peynnys shall com hether agayn, for that the canot agre uppon ther rauncesom. The Dewke of Geldar had assemblyd a sarten nombre of men off warre, the which heryng, the Governor of Frisland did reteyn all suche as cam thoro Frisland frome the campe; uppon knowelege wheroft the Dewke dischargegid his, and soo did the Governor thois that he had reteynyd; and soo it restithe. Not havyng anny other thyng at this present to wryt Your Highnes. As knowethe the Lord, who presarve Your moste Excellent Majestie in contenewall helthe and perpetuall felicitye. Frome Bregis, this second day of Septembar.

By Your Graces most humble

obeydient sarvand and subject,

JOHN HUTTON.

(Superscribed)  
To the Kynges Highnes.  
In hast hast post hast  
hast post hast.

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### CCCCLXXV. HUTTON to CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASITHE Your Lordship to be advertissid, that acordyng to your Lordshippis commyscion I sent furthe, the 11<sup>th</sup> day of this present monethe, a messyngar with your Lordshippis letter, derectid unto Mychaell Thrognortun, with wone other of myne, a copie wheroft I sent youre Lordshipe with my late letters into Yngland; wiche messynger at this present instant arivid here, not havyng delyverid the said letters, for that Thrognortun was departid with his master frome Speir in post towardes Rome, with wone other, levynge the rest of his treyn to folo by jorney. His sayd master made no tarians at Mastrik, but was conveid thoro the Bisshope of Utreghtes countre, clen owt of the way custommably ussid by them that take ther jorney thoro Almeyn for Rome. The messyngar, who is native of theis parteis, did meit with the two munkis and fowre of the Cardynall of Leige sarvandes, the wiche had the charge to conduct hym thoro Almeyn; and entryng in to compeny withe them had

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.

the

the sarten knowlege of his departyng; and further wone of the sayd sixe told hym that he had of the Cardynall his master 15 thosand gyldyrns. I keipe the letter by me, to knowe further your Lordships pleisur, whether it shalbe sent unto hym or not.

The letters frome Venice beryng date the 31<sup>th</sup> of the last, confyrmē aswell the Frenche Kynges overthrow in Piemount, as the Turkes retornyng bake; the which is estemyd to be aswell, for that the Perciens invadid his countrey in his absens, as for that the French Kyng was not in Ytalye, acordyng to his apoyntment. The Imperiallis be at this present very stronge in Ytalie, in suche wysse that the French Kynges frendes ther be in great dangar, as men owt of hope to have anny succors, for that ther is no vittelles to be recoverid for anny nombre of men, by resone the countreis of Piemount and Savoia be utterly spoillid. The Frenche Kyng hathe obteynyd graunt for tene thosand Swissars, the wiche as yet be not past. Andrea Dore foloyd the Turkes armye with 34 galeis, but ther is no newis of annyfeat that he hathe done. The Venissians have sent ther Ambassador to the Turke, for that ther was fowre of ther galeis taken, and wone sunk under wattar, by Barba Russa; who, aftar he had taken the sayd fower galeis, cawssyd two of the kapteyns hedes, beyng Venissians, to be strekin off, with other dyvers brechis, that hathe byne betwixt the Turkes armye and them; but it is thought that the Venissians will suffar myche wrong, beffore the will breake with the Turke.

The Regent is at a monestrary callyd Bowlo, wher as She is apoyntid to take some recreacion in huntyng, and frome thens to Breuxelles. Other occurrenttes ther is not at this present. As God knowethe, who presarve your Lordship in prossperus and longe lyff, to Godes plesur, and your myche honor. From Andwarpe, this 19 day of Septembar.

JOHN HUTTON.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right honorabull and his syngular good Lord.

my Lord Prevy Seal.

Moortlake.

In hast hast hast post hast.

## CCCCLXXVI. THE DOGE OF VENICE TO KING HENRY VIII.

SERENISSIMO et Excellentissimo Domino Henrico, Dei Gratia, Regi Angliae et Franciae, Domino Hiberniae Illustrissimo, ac Fidei Defensori, Andreas Griti, eadem gratia, Dux Venetiarum, et cetera, Salutem, et prosperorum successuum incrementa. Auditio eo Nuntio, qui ad nos proxime perlatus est, Coreyram, non solum nobis sed Italiae cæterisque Christianorum Principum regnis maxime opportunam insulam, a Turcarum Rege maximis copijs ornatissimaque et ingenti classe oppugnari, quamvis haec sint hostium vires, ut extimescendae Christianis hominibus sint, in quorum pernitiem comparantur; statuimus tamen non demittere animum, neque in humilem ullam cogitationem abjecere, sed omni studio omnibusque viribus eniti, ut frustra sentiat Christiani nominis nostræque religionis acerrimus hostis, hujusmodi se provinciam suscepisse, freti primum auxilio præpotentis Dei, deinde non tantum nostra, sed etiam cæterorum Regum ac Principum Christianorum ope, quos omnes arbitramur fore, ut tanquam ad commune incendium extinguendum concurrant, ne majores quotidie vires acquirat, quemadmodum fecit adhuc magno cum Reipublicæ Christianæ malo. Itaque cum summo Pontifice Cæsareaque Majestate foedus inire decrevimus, ut non solum communis hostis injurias propulsare ac propellere, sed ei etiam bellum inferre, possimus, quo in foedere (uti par est) honorificam habere voluimus cæterorum Principum Christianorum rationem, qui coire nobiscum societatem volent sese ad causam adjungendi, in eaque sententia, belli scilicet fortiter maximoque animo contra religionis hostem immannissimum gerendi, etiam nunc permanemus, quamvis re infecta illius classis exercitusque discesserit, Coreyramque reliquerit obsidione periculoque omni liberatam. Quod cum ita sit, ad Majestatem Vestram has literas misimus, quibus ab ea id auxiliij petimus ad bellum gerendum, quod ei videbitur vel summæ in Deum pietati, vel incredibili erga nos benevolentiae suæ maxime convenire. Nihil enim ab ea hoc tempore vel ad hominum Christianorum salutem utilius, vel ad sui nominis commendationem gloriosius, potest. Quemadmodum a Hieronymo Zucato, Secretario nostro, copiosius intelliget, cui eam fidem habebit, quam nobismet ipsis adhiberet. Datae in nostro Ducali Palatio, die 11 Octobris, inductione undecima, 1537.

(*Superscribitur*)

Serenissimo et Excellentissimo Domino Henrico,  
Dei Gratia, Regi Angliae, Franciae, Domino  
Hiberniae Illustrissimo, ac Fidei Defensori.

CCCCCLXXVII. HUTTON TO CRUMWELL.<sup>1</sup>

MY bounden duitie remembered unto Your good Lordshipe. Plesith the same to be advertissid, that havyng receyvd wone of yours beryng date at Mortlake the 10<sup>th</sup> day of this present, by Fraunces the coror, withe wone other frome the Kynges Highnes derectid to the Lady Regent, apercevyng thefect of the same by a copie therof inclosid with your Lordshipis said letter, I adressid my selff to the Court, and ther at hir commynge frome masse made delyvery therof; the wiche She havynge reed, willyd me to bryng Hir all suche doleanceis in wrytting as was mencyonyd in the Kynges Highnes letter, and She wold cawse hir Councell to visset them, the which done She trustid to make the Kynges Majestie suche answare, as shuld satisfie His Grace consarnyng the same. Wherwith I departid, procuryng to frame owt all suche artikilles of grevaunce, as the Kynges Highnes subjecttes have byne and as yet dayly be exactid, contrary to the treactie of entercourse. The wiche booke fenysshid, beyng of the tenewre here in cossid<sup>2</sup>, I did present the next day foloyng unto Hir, as She was goyng to the Councell Chambar, but for that ther was some other mattars in hand, the said booke for that present tyme was not mencionyd, and at the brekyng upp of the Councell I taried to knowe what shuldbe said unto me, consarnyng the same; wiche was, that Monsur de Palermo and the Chauncelar Negryn were apoyntid to visset the artikilles, and that done, to make report therof; at wiche tyme She said ther shuldbe answar in wrytting made to the Kynges Highnes letter.

Dueryng all this space I movyd nothyng of the matter mencionyd in your Lordshippis letter, dowtting She wold have suspectid that I had byn infurmyd therof owt of England; and conseydryng Hir sone departyng towrdes Namewre, I thought to fynd noo better tyme to move it then riddyg by the wey. Soo that as ystarday, acompenyng Hir owt of Bruxelles, I told Hyr that I had receyvd letters owt of Fraunce, makyng mencion that the Frenche Kyng wold yet efft wons one pilgrimage over the mowntayns. Wherunto She answerid, sayng, "I ame not infurmyd that the King will Hym selff goo, but I have " newis that the Dolphyn is prepayryng thether; but yf He goo Hym selff, " I pray God He may speid no better then He hathe done hetherto, as my " trust is He shall not, for, God beyng indefferent, thEmpror is astronge at

<sup>1</sup> Holograph.<sup>2</sup> Not found.

" this present in thois parties, as He." Then I told Hir that I was sartiffied by my said letters that in Fraunce ther was good hope of peace, the wiche cheifly was thought to com by hir good helpe, wherin I sayd yf She wold inploy Hir selff, I estemyd it to be greatly to Godes pleasure, and myche to hir prais and honor. To which She said, " I wilnot ly, but if it lay in me for the welthe of all Cristindom, I coldbe contentid to inploy My selff therin; but it is soo unlyke, that I ame almost in disspeir therof." Then I said, " Why, Madam, will not the Frenche Kyng be contentid havyng rendred unto Hym the Duechie of Mylleyne; the wiche, as I ame inffurmyd, you have made offar to do?" Wherat she laughet, sayng, " Your newis were wryttyn by a Frenche man, for the demaund nothyng elles." Wherunto I did answar that it was wone of my good frendes, the which did knowe many cecrettes, who had also syngnyfied unto me that in the treatie betwixt thEmpror and the French Kyng ther shuldbe set furthe suche vyle cedisscions agaynst the Kynges Highnes my master, as had byne reffussid and greatly contempnyd, wheroft I myche marvelyd, knoweng thEmpror to be a prince of soo myche honor, howe He shuld be soo voyd of all gentilnes, as only to wische anny vilnes to Hym, at whois handes He hathe found soo myche goodnes, as He had done at the Kynges Highnes; sayng, that I was bold to be playn with Hir, not myndyng to wryt anny thyng therof unto the Kynges Highnes, by cawse I wold be lothe to be a mynistar of anny suche grudge, as myght arisse uppon suche like ocation. With that She said, " This is not the first bowrd that the Frenche men have inventid; you may be sewre, if anny suche thyng were, albeit you wold not sartiffie the Kyng your master therof, He cold not fail to be advertissid in the amplist maner; but it is ther ordenary practis to invent suche lyke talis and fabulles, the which be to manyfest lies to be beleved, for I dare say ther is no creature levynge, who can justifie that ever the Empror wrot or spake anny thyng that myght redound to the Kyng your masters dishonor; and I dowt not but His Majestie knowethe it soo well, that albeit the same report had byne made unto Hym, that was wryttyn unto you, He wold not have beleved it to be trewe." Withe this cam the Lord of Istilsteyn, who brake ower communication; so that incontynent I tooke my leve of Hir and returnyd towardes Breuxelles, to the intent I myght sartiffie your Lordshipe of the premysse.

As this day the Lord of Liskirke departid towardes Cambray, accompenyd with M<sup>r</sup> George Displegan, wher ther is apoyntid to meit sarteyn Commisionars owt of Fraunce; but, as I ame inffurmyd, it is only to redres suche depredacions, that have byne done synns the abstynens of ware, contrary to the

the same. The Archebisshope of Treves dothe meit withe the Regent at Namewre, and dyvers other great men of Almeyn; but wheroft the shall treat as yet I canot obteyn no knowlege.

Not havyng at this present anny other thyng to advertis Your Lordshippe of, but that incontynent after the Regenttes departyng the newis came hether sarteyn, that it had pleissid God to send the Kynges Highnes a sone, and us a Prince, whom I pray Jhesu presarve with long liffe and sprossperus helthe, withe as myche honor, as ever did anny of his noble progenitors, and your Lordshippe the residue of your noble harttes desire. From Breuxelles, this 20 day of October.

By the hand of Your Lordshippis moste bounden,

JOHN HUTTON.

(*Superscribed*)

To the right honorable, and his syngular good

Lord, my Lord Previ Seal.

In hast hast hast post hast.











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